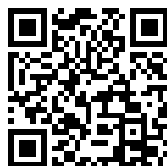

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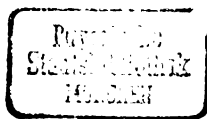
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THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA,

NO. XXXIII.

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NO. LXXXV.

JANUARY, 1852.

ARTICLE I.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

By Daniel R. Goodwin, Professor in Bowdoin College.

[THE following Article needs some explanation. The Essay in the Democratic Review, to which it refers, appeared in September, 1847. This Article was immediately written in reply and offered for insertion in that Review, in the November following. The Editor declined to publish it, giving as his only reason that such discussions were foreign to the purposes of his Review. The manuscript has therefore lain quietly in our desk till the present time, with no expectation on our part that it would ever see the light. And if the views here controverted were peculiar to one individual, we certainly should not have thought it worth while to trouble the readers of the Bibliotheca Sacra with our reply. But similar views are widely held. Similar objections and statements in regard to the doctrine of the resurrection are often made and industriously urged to the unsettling of the minds and the faith of many; and for ourselves we have not seen them distinctly answered. Besides, as the Democratic Review has since retracted nothing and made no explanation, but as articles similar in tone and character to that here replied to still appear not unfrequently in that and other political Journals; we have at length concluded that if those Journals, while they freely open their columns to one party, do not choose to allow a hearing to both sides, it is no more than simple justice that the public should know it.

This Article is therefore here presented *verbatim et literatim*, as it was sent to the Democratic Review, with the exception of one short

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note which has been added. This fact will explain to our readers the peculiar form in which it appears. We have thought this a better course on the whole than to make any change in it for the purpose of adapting it more perfectly to the usual style of this Theological Review. If we should have leisure, we propose to follow this up with an Essay towards a full historical and dogmatical development of the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection. In that case we shall have an opportunity to make *positive* amends for the *negative* character of the present Article.]

THIS is the title of an Article in the September number of the Democratic Review, from the general doctrines and conclusions of which, the present writer feels bound earnestly and strongly to dissent. As the resurrection of the body has been a part of the creed of the church catholic in all ages, I trust it will not be insisted that a flat denial of that venerable doctrine shall pass in the pages of this Review, unchallenged and unquestioned. The author of the article referred to acknowledges that this doctrine is one of great speculative importance and of universal, practical interest; and, since, at the same time, its discussion does not involve any of the exciting and hackneyed questions of party strife, I trust that the editor will, in this case, so far depart from any rule which he may have laid down to the contrary, as to allow what has already been published in this Review to be controverted in its subsequent pages; provided the discussion be managed with good temper and an honest love of truth.

With the author from whom I beg leave to dissent I have not the honor of the slightest personal acquaintance. I know nothing of his creed or character, of his age or standing, of his social, political or ecclesiastical connections; absolutely nothing but what I learn from the article in question. He will, therefore, not interpret anything which I may say as having an offensive personal application; and I hope he will not consider it discourteous that an entire stranger should, in a spirit of earnestness and candor, call in question his published opinions.

He opens the discussion thus: "In treating this subject, the starting point is to determine two things, viz., what is and what is not; the body either does or does not rise again."

We have meditated upon this statement, and analyzed it in every way we can think of; but must acknowledge ourselves utterly unable to divine what it means. It seems either to require such a vast comprehension of the knowledge of all facts to "start" with, or so to con-

found the "starting point" with the goal, or both; that we cannot flatter ourselves with having got any glimpse of its true sense. And yet, no doubt the author had a distinct and logical meaning, which he has logically expressed; for his very next words are: "to reason at all we must reason on fixed principles." Still, as, with our best efforts we cannot find his "starting point," he will excuse us for not following the course of his argument in his own order. We shall take the liberty of the epic poets, and begin *in mediis rebus*.

We think the statement of our author's general doctrine will be found in the following paragraph:

"If this identical body was raised, how painful, how awful would be the sight! . . . There would be the lame, the blind, those who had lost limbs, who were crippled, the maniac, the savage! This must be if the identical body is raised up; for any different body would not be a resurrection of the body; in *fact*, would be no resurrection at all, but would be a new creation; so that, if the resurrection of the body takes place at all, it *must* be *this identical* body, or else it is no resurrection but a new creation of some other body."

We suppose it is clear from this that the author means, by the "identical body," strictly and precisely *the* body as it exists and is constituted at the moment of death. This must be so, or there can be no motive for the horror expressed at the resuscitated forms of the lame, blind, maimed, crippled and crazed. If we may go back to one day before death to find the "identical body," which is to be raised, how can any theoretical limit be set to the right of retrogression? We understand the author's major proposition, therefore, to be: that *if the resurrection of the body takes place at all, it must be a resurrection of each body precisely as it existed and was constituted at the moment of death*. His minor proposition, as gathered from the general drift of his article, is: that *it is impossible that each body should be raised precisely as it existed and was constituted at the moment of death*. Ergo, *there can be no resurrection of the body*. Such, if we understand it, is his argument reduced to a syllogistic form. For the sake of brevity and convenience of reference we shall beg leave to retain throughout these remarks the designations *major* and *minor proposition*, as we have just applied them.

Now, we utterly protest against and deny the *major proposition*. But, inasmuch as our author has vouchsafed no proof of it except what may be contained in the strong assertions of the paragraph just quoted, we shall defer for the present what we have to say on that

head. He spends his strength in endeavoring to establish his *minor proposition*. If he has failed in this, of course his conclusion fails; and if he has succeeded in this, the *major proposition* yet remains to be tested before his conclusion is established.

Let us see, in the first place, how he succeeds in proving that the resurrection of "this identical body" is an "utter impossibility."

He begins very scientifically and learnedly with proving at large, that, as far as can be ascertained by chemical or any other physical tests, the human body is subject to the same general laws of development, growth, and decay, while it lives; and of dissolution, decomposition, and dispersion, when it dies, as those to which the bodies of the ox and the horse are subject. All this is "what is;" and, of course, it is no news to any body. But what does it prove? Does it prove that therefore it is *impossible* for God to reconstruct and reanimate the human body? Is it therefore to be thought a thing incredible that GOD should raise the dead? We can see no such force of proof in those facts. We are not aware that any body has undertaken to bring positive evidence of a resurrection of the body from chemistry or natural philosophy; and we cannot conceive what disproof there is in the absence of proof derivable from those sciences.

But, (it is insisted,) after the minutest chemical analysis, after the most patient and thorough testing by all known agents and reagents, after the most careful examination, and after ages of experience, we have never found any more signs of a tendency to a resurrection in the body of a dead man than in that of a dead dog. And what then? Therefore there is and can be no resurrection of the human body? Most lame and impotent conclusion! As though we already knew everything pertaining to the powers, properties and possibilities even of material things; as though we were not prying deeper and deeper into the secrets of nature every day; as though there were not evidently dynamics and laws at work in the material world, which elude all our chemical tests and physical reagents; and, *as though we could see distinctly around and above the power of Almighty God*, which, with its higher, and perchance forever inscrutable laws, presides over and controls all the laws and functions of nature. All positive evidence for a resurrection of the body must be sought for in the teachings of Revelation; and that evidence, be it more or less, is not in the slightest degree affected by this chemico-physical argument; it is left just as it was and where it was, entire and intact.

But, says our author, "if these remarks serve to prove this fact,

viz., that the same particles which now form our bodies will [may ?] hereafter enter into the formation of others, which none can successfully deny, it at the same time will make self-evident [*make self-evident ?*] the fact that the moment a body is resolved into its elementary principles, they at once cease to bear any relationship whatever with the form which they had previously entered into, so that the gases which now constitute any specific body will, when it ceases to exist, and they in consequence become set free, *cease to bear forever afterwards any more relationship to that PARTICULAR body, than if they had NEVER entered into it at all.*"

Now we assert, with all due deference, that those elementary principles do and always must continue to bear a practical, historical relation to that body; that it is and will ever remain a fact in their history that they once entered into the composition of that body; and that this is not a barren fact, but that all their subsequent history is modified and in some degree determined by that fact; so that all the changes and transmigrations through which they afterwards pass, all the combinations into which they afterwards enter, are different from what they probably would have been, had that fact been otherwise. And, moreover, there is nothing in the proposition just quoted, with all its italics and capitals, which can ever "make it self-evident," either that it transcends the power, or that, as a matter of fact, it is not the will, of Almighty God, to reconstruct that dissolved body, restoring those elementary principles to their former positions and relationships. There is nothing in that proposition which renders any positive conclusions in regard to a resurrection of the body, derived from a well-authenticated revelation, incredible or even improbable. Again, it leaves all such positive evidence untouched and unimpaired.

But it is still insisted that "no restoration of bodies could take place without a destruction and complete annihilation [?] of very much that has been brought into existence. The restitution of any specific body whose original elements now form a component part of another body, must necessarily cause, if it took place, a destruction of that body." [And what if it did? Did not the construction of this latter body require the destruction of the former? And is not this process of destruction and construction the mere ordinary course of nature?] "Moreover, is it not a fact, that bodies go out of existence, and become as entirely extinct as though they had never existed at all [?] and therefore a resurrection of this identical body could not possibly be implied or understood; for in order for a resurrection or

restoration to take place, the thing so restored or raised must *necessarily be in existence*. Now, if a body has gone entirely out of existence, it is *impossible* for it to be restored."

The statement that "a body has gone entirely out of existence," we suppose must mean one of two things; either, that, as a body, in respect to its form and constitution, it has ceased to exist; or, that, in respect to its very substance and the material which composed it, it has been annihilated.

The latter sense cannot be that which our author intends, for he elsewhere expressly recognizes "the law of nature that no particle of matter is ever lost;" and yet it is only with this latter sense of the words that there is any self-evidence or convincing power in the proposition "that it is *impossible* for a body which has gone entirely out of existence to be restored."

But if, when the terms are explained in the former sense, that proposition be self-evident, then the trouble of all his elaborate argumentation might have been saved; for, in that sense, it is a mere formal decision of the question in debate, and, if that decision itself is self-evident, all discussion is clearly a waste of time. And yet we are not aware that those who believe in the resurrection of the body have denied that, so far as the point could be ascertained by chemical and physical tests, the human body is, in many cases, resolved into its original elements. To *their* minds, therefore, the proposition that "it is impossible for a body which has been thus dissolved to be restored," cannot be supposed to be "self-evident." But if the proposition be not "self-evident," then the author has furnished no evidence for it whatever. Indeed, it will be seen that, according to his statements, the restoration, reconstruction, reorganization of any body, under any circumstances and on any hypothesis, is a sheer absurdity; for, in order that a body may be restored, reconstructed, reorganized, he expressly makes it necessary that it should already exist, actually constructed and organized!

It is true our author, immediately hereupon, goes into a profound argument to show that, though the body might perchance be restored if it were simply resolved into "dust," yet, inasmuch as it is resolved into oxygen and other "gases," its restoration is impossible and inconceivable. Now we must honestly confess, whatever imbecility of mind, whatever lack of science or of philosophy the confession may betray, we must confess that the assertion of its being any jot or tittle more absurd or inconceivable for God to reconstruct a body from its original gaseous elements than for him to reconstruct it from

its scattered particles of dust, is neither "self-evident" nor in any other way evident to our humble apprehension.

We agree fully with our author that the great difficulty in this discussion is "that men do not define things properly to their own minds. They are content with indistinct pictures, vague imaginings, dreamy and indistinct sensations, instead of fixing and defining things permanently, and giving them a tangible, fixed and definite form and position." We shall therefore endeavor not to be juggled with at this point.

We take for granted that the "elementary principles" into which the body is said to be resolved, are matter, true and proper matter. This they certainly are unless our author, with Leibnitz and Herbart, prosecutes his metaphysical analysis beyond the power of all his chemical tests. At all events, they are either matter or not matter. If they are not matter, then the material particles which have been resolved into them, have, according to our author's own principles, utterly ceased to exist. But this is contrary to his express assumption that no particle of matter is ever annihilated. If, on the other hand, they are true and proper matter, then, like all matter, they are, or consist of, material particles. And the definite, identical, material particles of a cubic inch of oxygen gas are no more annihilated, or absolutely lost and confounded by being mixed with another cubic inch of oxygen gas, than are the definite, identical particles of a cubic inch of "dust" by being mixed with another cubic inch of homogeneous dust."¹ It certainly is assuming more than is "self-evident" to say that omniscience cannot identify them and trace them through their new combinations, and that omnipotence cannot segregate them and restore them to their former connections. We do not here contend that this could be done by any human power or merely natural process, but we insist that the thing is not inconceivable and therefore is not absolutely impossible.

¹ Our author evidently assumes oxygen in the state of a *gas* to be an "elementary principle." Of course he does not recognize the materiality of caloric. In this we are willing to follow him. It will be perceived that we have instanced a mixture of dust with *homogeneous* dust. As the "gas" was assumed to be mixed with a homogeneous gas, it was but fair that the "dust" should be placed in similar circumstances. But if any one prefers the hypothesis of a mixture of *heterogeneous* dust, he is welcome to all the advantage to be gained thereby; which will be this, that, as he has no right to assume the "dust" to be so coarse as to be separated by mechanical means, in order to its separation by chemical agents, one more step will ordinarily be necessary than in the case of the gas, for the "dust" must itself be reduced to a fluid state before it can be brought under the influence of the attraction of affinity.

¹ The case just stated involves precisely the pinching point in the argument on the other side, if that argument pinches anywhere. For as to saying, as our author seems to do, that one simple substance loses its identity by entering into *composition* with another simple substance; that is plainly false, even on natural principles. Let us try a few instances.

If a certain number of grains of pure copper be combined with their definite proportion of oxygen, and this oxyde of copper be dissolved in nitric acid, we shall have the nitrate of copper, which may exist in a perfectly liquid form. But by decomposing this nitrate of copper the pure copper may be reproduced — the very same copper and no other — the “identical” copper, with which the process was begun. Now copper is as truly an “elementary principle” as oxygen gas.

But gases may be recovered from their combinations as well as metals. Let a quantity of oxygen and hydrogen be combined in due proportion for forming water. Let the water be decomposed by means of a quantity of potassium, and the hydrogen will be liberated, the very same hydrogen as at first; and, the potash being decomposed, the original, identical oxygen may also be recovered. If, in these processes, some portion of the original, simple substances should escape from us, it would only show the imperfection of our instruments, but would not in the slightest degree affect the applicability and force of the argument for our present purposes. We have here a mere business of *degrees*. No *principle* is involved in the recovery of the whole, which is not involved in the recovery of a part. If then, with our limited, practical powers, we can recover a part, surely it cannot be said to exceed the bounds of omnipotence to recover the whole; it cannot therefore be absolutely impossible.

So much for cases of *inorganic* combinations. Now take cases which involve the *organic* influence of the principle of life.

Let a quantity of calcium and a quantity of phosphorus be respectively combined with a due proportion of oxygen; let the lime be combined with the phosphoric acid; and let this phosphate be mixed with a soil (or, certain ingredients of a soil) which did not before contain a particle of calcium or phosphorus. Let some grains of wheat be planted in that soil; and, by an analysis of the product, we may obtain, in its original, simple form, a portion at least of the identical calcium and phosphorus with which we began, mingled perhaps in this case, with a small proportion of each of those substances derived from the seed.

One case more: A. takes certain crystals of arsenic, and, having pulverized them and combined the metal with the proper proportion of oxygen, mingles the poison with B.'s food, who swallows it, and dies. Some time after, by an analysis of the contents and *coatings* of B.'s stomach, the arsenic is recovered and recrystallized. It either is or is not the "identical" arsenic which A. gave. If it can be proved, to the satisfaction of a jury, that it is not the same, then the evidence that A. is guilty of the alleged act of poisoning B. is not at all increased by the detection of this arsenic in B.'s stomach, for it is not the arsenic which A. is alleged to have administered, but some other.

If it be said here that the arsenic, as a mass, is indeed the same, but that the individual crystals are not "identical" with those originally pulverized; we answer that thus the specific point for which we are now contending is yielded, viz., that the alleged impossibility of the resurrection of the "identical" body cannot arise in any degree from the fact that the simple elements, into which it has been resolved, enter into *new combinations*. The whole difficulty is carried back to the point to which we have already referred it, viz., the fact that these simple elements become mingled with other quantities of *homogeneous* elements. We admit, in the case supposed, a very high degree of improbability that the reproduced crystals of arsenic are, each of them, as a matter of fact, identical with some one of the original crystals. But can any one positively prove that, even as a matter of fact, they certainly are not identical; still more, can he prove that it is absolutely impossible and self-contradictory that they should be? As to the supposition of mechanical marks or defects, they could not indeed be reproduced by crystallization; but, the identity being in other respects restored, they could easily be reproduced by mechanical means.

We plant ourselves at one of those original crystals. It consists of certain individual and identical, though homogeneous, particles, arranged according to a certain law in certain definite, relative positions. It is dissolved; and its particles are mingled with other homogeneous particles. Now the question is, can it be rationally conceived that those original particles should be segregated from their present mixture, and restored each and all to their original relative positions, and the whole to its original form? We freely admit that such a result cannot be *secured* by any power of man or known law of nature; but we fearlessly assert that the accomplishment of such a result cannot be proved to transcend the power of Almighty God,

who can identify every particle of matter which he has created, and control its movements according to the counsels of his own will. We not only assert that such a result can be conceived to be accomplished by the exercise of *miraculous power*, but we assert that its actual accomplishment would not violate any known, positive laws of nature, but would be in perfect accordance with them all; and indeed is one of the possible contingencies under those laws. Therefore it is not absolutely impossible.¹

If now it be insisted that, after all, the crystal so reproduced, i. e.,

¹ The most scientific men will confess that there may be exceptions to the recognized laws of nature, or, perhaps we should rather say, higher laws harmonizing both the rule and the exception, laws which may transcend the scope of their loftiest generalizations. A king of Ava is said to have heard patiently all that the Christian missionaries had to tell him about heaven and hell, and the mysteries and doctrines of Christianity; but when they chanced to say that water, in their country, was sometimes found in a solid state, he declared *that* to be so palpable a lie, that he would not believe anything else they had told him. Now he will hardly be thought to have shown himself much of a *savant* or a philosopher; yet he reasoned from what were to him familiar and invariable laws of nature. Had he been told that the solid water, though much colder than the liquid, would float upon it from comparative lightness, he might have denied the possibility of such a phenomenon, even though he had known much more of nature's laws than he did; for, that bodies are expanded with heat is one of the best established laws in the material world. But how would his incredulity have been excited almost to madness, had he been told that water, which he knew to be one of the best means of extinguishing fire, is composed of two ingredients, one of which is among the most inflammable of substances, and the other a substance without which no flame whatever can exist!

Scientific men will also admit that, (assuming the so-called imponderable agents *not* to be material substances,) a body may present a great variety of forms, without either losing its substantial identity or even suffering decomposition. Water will serve yet again as a convenient and striking illustration. It is the massive ice that renders rivers, lakes and seas impenetrable to the lightest and the bulkiest ships; it is the expansive steam which propels the hastening vessel across the vast ocean, bringing into proximity regions the most widely separated. We seek it from the spring to quench our thirst; we inhale it with the atmosphere to sustain our lives. Blown into an attenuated bubble, it is black; dashed headlong in the foaming cataract, or gently descending in wintry flakes, it is white. Falling in drops, it exhibits all the colors of the prism in the rays of the sun; floating in clouds and vapors, it adorns with unnumbered hues and untold beauty the evening and the morning sky. It may be so heavy that the power of myriads of horses could not raise some of its masses from the earth; it may be so light, so much lighter than air, that the power of myriads of horses could not prevent its ascending towards heaven. It may be pellucid in the purling brook; or it may be frozen into opaque, compact masses, or into little, solid, lustrous, acicular crystals. Thus *real identity amid apparent diversity* is one of the recognized laws of nature.

with all its original particles in their original relations, is not "identical" with the original crystal; then the word "identical" must be used in a sort of hyper-metaphysical sense, in which it is not applicable to material, visible things at all. For, according to such a view, supposing an ultimate particle of water to consist of a particle of oxygen united to a particle of hydrogen, (and the contrary cannot be proved,) it would follow that, if this particle of water be decomposed into the two gaseous particles, the reunion of these same gaseous particles would not reproduce the "identical," original particle of water, but a different one. And *à fortiori* it would follow that an ounce of water being decomposed and the same elements reunited, or being converted into steam and that steam condensed, or even being poured out of one vessel into another, the water which would result and remain would not be "identical with" the original water, but somewhat different. Hence it would follow that, as all visible material things are in a constant flux, the idea of identity would be absolutely inapplicable to anything in the physical universe, except, perhaps, to the elementary and unchangeable, constituent particles. Nay more, all such words as reproduction, reorganization, restoration involve a logical absurdity; and not only so, but the very terms "identical with" are nonsensical, for, inasmuch as in every proposition, which conveys any meaning, the predicate must be conceived in some respect diverse from the subject, to assert that the one is "identical with" the other is a downright and palpable self-contradiction!

But our author cannot have used the terms in any such super-refined sense, for then his whole argument should have assumed a purely metaphysical character, and all his elaborate, physical reasonings and illustrations are a perfect *hors d'oeuvre*. And moreover he will have uttered unadulterated nonsense in asserting that the reorganization of this "identical" body from its gaseous elements is any more manifestly impossible than would be its reorganization from scattered particles of elementary "dust."

Here we are met with the exhortation: "Let those who would answer by the power of God reflect but a moment and they must see that this very power would forbid such a state of things, for it can never act in *contradiction* to itself." We simply answer that, in reconstructing the body from the elementary principles into which it may have been resolved, omnipotence will not be acting in *contradiction* to itself. Such a work is no more inconceivable in itself than the ordinary processes of growth, dissolution, renovation, which, with every changing year, we see all around us. Or, if the mere fact of

its being *diverse* in some respects from the known and actual course of nature and physical laws, be the point objected to as contradictory; then, we reply that, on that ground, it is no more contradictory than any miraculous interposition whatever; than *the resurrection of Christ, or of Lazarus*, for example; or than *the act of creation itself*, than which no act can be conceived more utterly diverse from and even contrary to the whole system of natural laws as learned from the inductions of empirical philosophy. We wish distinctly to know whether or not our author here intends to assert the absolute impossibility of all miracles and of an act of creation among the rest. If he does not, we send back his argument to be amended; if he do, we have no answer at present to offer, as it would require a greater sweep of discussion than we can now undertake.

But, says our author: "In reply to the question, Does the body rise again? I answer, no! It is impossible, wholly and utterly impossible, and incompatible with all that we see and know of the works of God." Here is a sufficiently positive assertion; if that can settle the question. But a reason for the assertion follows; and what is it? "It is impossible on the ground that it is contrary to the wisdom that God ever displays." Of course that is irrefragable proof. A man thinks that it would not be wise in God to raise the dead, therefore it is *impossible* he should do it; even though he may himself have assured us by a special revelation that he shall! So much for the impossibility. Now for the incompatibility. "It is incompatible, because, if it took place, it must necessarily produce a state of things wholly inconsistent with the character of the infinite, and at variance with all the laws by which he governs the world." That is to say, "It is incompatible with all that we see and know of the works of God" *because* its results would be "wholly at variance with all the laws by which God governs the world; [a very perfect circle, surely;] *because*, also, those results would be "inconsistent with the character of the infinite!" This is the way of determining the unknown by means of the known! This is what is called "defining things permanently and giving them a tangible, fixed and definite form and position!" But let us not wrong the argument which we would refute. It may be that those general propositions are intended to find their real support, not in their own "self-evidence" or in any assumed knowledge of the "character of the infinite," but in the evidence which results from the subsequent sentence. That sentence is as follows:

"According to computation on the subject, there has already ex-

isted upon the earth a sufficient number of inhabitants to constitute a bulk of matter approximating in amount to the whole contents of this globe, which amount will increase as time rolls on, until it may exceed it by ten thousand fold."

Here we have no longer any lofty speculations about the "character of the infinite;" no more metaphysical refinements about "elementary principles" or absolute "identity;" no more "indistinct pictures, vague imaginings, dreamy and indistinct sensations;" we have a "tangible, definite," intelligible proposition. Here is a question of facts and numbers. Now facts are stubborn things, and numbers will not lie. In this case, therefore, we may be pretty sure of "what is and what is not." We propose to subject our author's statement to a patient and rigorous examination.

We take the following six points as our data:

1. Let the mean diameter of the earth be 8000 miles.
2. Let the specific gravity of the earth's mass be five times that of water.
3. Let a pint of water weigh one pound; from which, there being 231 cubic inches in a wine gallon, it will follow that one cubic foot of water will weigh 60 pounds nearly.
4. Let the average weight of each person at death be 100 pounds.
5. Let the average duration of human life be 30 years.
6. Let the average, constant population of the globe be 1000 millions; consequently the whole number of mankind in 6000 years will be 200,000 millions.

Before proceeding to our "computation" from these data, let it be observed that if, for the sake of round numbers, we have in some cases assumed a fraction in our favor, we have far more than counterbalanced it by what we have granted in other cases. For, the greatest population of the globe is rarely set at so high an estimate as we have allowed, and we have assumed it to have been just as great immediately after the creation and the flood — events which are commonly recognized among Christians — as at any other time. And, since it is estimated that one half of mankind die in infancy, and since the rest die at various ages and ordinarily after some degree of emaciation, 75 pounds would probably be nearer than 100 pounds to the average weight of each individual at the moment of death.

Now, if the mean diameter of the earth be 8000 miles, its surface will be equal to more than 5,000,000,000,000,000 square feet; and its cubical contents will be equal to more than 170,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 cubic feet of *water*; which is more than

10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 pounds; which is equal to 100,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 of human bodies; or to 500,000,000,000 times the mass of all the human bodies which will have existed on the earth at the end of 6000 years from Adam.

Thus, in the sense in which it is true that one is an "approximation" to five hundred thousand millions, in the same sense does it appear by "computation" that "there has already existed upon the earth a sufficient number of inhabitants to constitute a bulk of matter approximating in amount to the whole contents of this globe." The imagination is staggered in the effort to conceive the *nearness* of such an "approximation."

It may put the subject in a clearer light to say, that one half of a cubic mile of the earth's mass contains a greater quantity of matter than all the bodies of all the generations of mankind (195) which have actually existed on earth since the creation of Adam. Or, to illustrate the subject in still another form; there are 7000 grains in a pound avoirdupois; consequently in one body weighing 100 pounds there are 700,000 grains. Now if we take one such body and divide it into grains; and then take one of those grains and divide it into as many parts as there were grains in the whole body; the ratio of one of these last infinitesimal portions to the mass of that one human body, is nearly the same as the ratio of the entire mass of the bodies of all mankind hitherto to the contents of this globe; and this is what is called an "approximation!"

But our author anticipates that, "as time rolls on," that approximate quantity will go on increasing until it shall exceed that with which it is compared "by ten thousand fold." By our computation it appears that, before such a result shall have taken place, more than thirty millions of millions of millions of years will have rolled away. The German astronomer who has computed that, in some twenty millions of years, our sun will have completed one revolution around the newly discovered centre of our stellar system, is generally thought to have stretched the imagination far enough into the abysses of futurity. But what is *that* to anticipating a time when more than a million of millions of those inconceivable cycles shall have been completed? We may safely assume that none who believe in the resurrection of the body *take for granted* that it will be deferred so long. Will those who disbelieve undertake to *prove* such a delay?

But says our author a little further on: "If a resurrection of all who have lived should take place their numbers would cover the whole surface of the earth in one solid mass to a depth or height of miles in thickness."

If this statement were literally true, we see not what difficulty could arise from it; "For, (says the apostle Paul,) if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ *shall rise* first; then we which are alive and remain shall *be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air*: and so shall we ever be with the Lord." 1 Thess. 4: 14—17.¹ So that it will not be necessary that the whole multitude should be piled or even stand on the surface of the earth. But even supposing it were necessary, let us see if there would be such a lack of room as our author supposes.

Taking the area of the surface of the earth and the number of all who have lived upon it as before given, it will appear that, allowing 21-2 square feet to each individual, more than 10,000 times the whole number of past and present generations could be accommodated upon the earth's surface. In other words, the whole multitude could stand comfortably side by side, with three square feet each, on one third of the surface of the state of Virginia; and, so far from there being any necessity of piling them in solid mass miles high upon the whole surface of the terraqueous globe, a single shower of rain over the state of Virginia, measuring two inches and three tenths of an inch by the rain gauge, would be equal in mass to all the matter contained in the bodies of the entire multitude.

We are utterly amazed that one who is so fully aware of the importance of "reasoning on fixed principles," and avoiding "vague imaginings and dreamy and indistinct sensations," should have allowed himself in statements so wild and loose. We can hardly trust our senses as we compare those statements with the results of our

¹ The first verse of the above quotation is to our mind one of the most exquisitely touching passages of Scripture; and we almost feel as if we had desecrated it by introducing it in such a connection.

The whole passage, *being expressly spoken "by the word of the Lord,"* may be considered as settling one or two other points. In the first place, that the resurrection, which the Apostle taught, of those who *are dead*, is not a past or present but a future resurrection, (or at least *was* so when he wrote,) — "the dead in Christ *shall rise*." In the second place, that that resurrection does not take place with each individual at the moment of death, but that the dead in Christ generally will be raised together at the great day of the glorious coming of the Lord. These two points cannot reasonably be supposed to be affected by the bold, figurative language in which the coming of the Lord is described.

own calculations. We have been tempted to believe there must be some error in our data, or some mistake or fallacy in our computations; we have carefully reviewed them and can find none. Neither can we conceive of any possible mistake in our interpretation of the statements themselves; unless the author may mean, when he speaks in them of the immense mass of the "inhabitants" of the earth, "of those *who* have lived" in it, and when he elsewhere refers to the "whole billions of millions *who* have lived from *Adam* downwards,"—that, in that mass and number should be included not only the bodies of men but those of all other animals. Yet, on reflection, that cannot be his meaning; for, in that case he would only have set up his own man of straw to knock him down again. Who maintains the doctrine that the bodies of all animals will be raised again? Our author has not shown, nor do we find that he has pretended to show, such an intimate connection between the bodies of men and the bodies of other animals, that God could not raise the former without also raising the latter. Moreover it is clear from the whole current of our author's remarks in and near the statements referred to, and in some instances from the grammatical construction of his sentences, that he had in mind only human bodies. And finally, every reader would understand him to refer exclusively to human bodies, and he must have known he would be so understood; therefore it would be charging him with gross dishonesty to suppose him to have meant otherwise; therefore he did not mean otherwise; and therefore, finally, either he or we have committed a gross blunder. If we have committed the blunder, we shall stand corrected. If he has committed the blunder, then the propositions which these statements were intended to support must be left to stand alone, as well as they can.

Those are all the arguments and facts, so far as we can discover, which our author has brought to establish his *minor proposition*; and we think our readers will agree with us that they fail to accomplish his purpose. Whether it be or be not impossible that this "identical" body should be raised, we submit that he has not proved such an impossibility. And whether it be or be not the doctrine of Scripture that there shall be such a resurrection, it is our firm conviction that its absolute impossibility can never be proved; although much stronger arguments may, perhaps, be adduced for it than any we have been called upon to consider at present.¹ But, finally, be

¹ There is one form of objection to the possibility of a resurrection of the "identical" body, which we do not understand our author specifically to urge,

that as it may; the assertion that "if the resurrection of the body takes place at all, it must be a resurrection of this identical body," i. e., of *this body precisely as it existed and was constituted at the moment of death*, (which we have called our author's major proposition,) we utterly deny. He has given no proof of it, and we will be as brief as possible in our remarks upon it.

Some of our author's axioms, in this connection, deserve, perhaps, a passing notice. "Things either *are* or *are not*, (says he,) they *must* be or they *must not* be." To the first of these axioms we need make no objection. Profound and startling as it may be, it will serve our

(though it may be involved in his general statements,) but which, to our apprehension, brings the idea of such a resurrection nearer to an apparent self-contradiction than any other form of objection we know of. It is this. The same particles may have constituted a part of several successive human bodies at the moment of their dissolution; therefore it is impossible that each of these bodies should be raised identical with that which was dissolved. There are at least two ways of answering this objection. 1. However likely the alleged fact may be, unless its absolute certainty can be demonstrated, there is room left for the possibility of the contrary. How can we know but that God so watches over the dust of every human body, and so guides it in all its transmigrations that it shall never be found to constitute a part of any other human body when that body dies? Thus the objection is answered by demanding proof of the alleged fact on which it is based. 2. As our bodies are constantly undergoing change while we live without being thereby destroyed, so "the identical body" being raised, it may undergo an instantaneous change to an unlimited extent. It may, therefore, be instantly divested of any particles which may be required for the reconstruction of another body; and this last being reconstructed, any needed particles may be transferred to a third; and so on to any extent. We have only to suppose, therefore, that the bodies of mankind shall be raised successively, in the order of their dissolution; (at intervals however small, infinitely small if you please, so that there shall be a practical simultaneousness;) and, though a certain particle should have been common to every one, having passed through the whole series in six or eight thousand years, yet it may be caused to circulate through the whole number again, as they may be successively raised, in less than a millionth part of the least assignable instant of time; for no limit can be set to the possible rapidity of motion. Thus the objection is answered, admitting the allegation on which it is based.

It may be said that these are violent suppositions. We may admit it, but at the same time we have four things to say with that admission. 1. Neither of those suppositions is, like the creation of matter from nothing, absolutely inconceivable to our minds. 2. If the objection alleged merely a high improbability instead of an absolute impossibility, we should not urge such suppositions in reply to it. 3. Those suppositions are made in answer to the objection taken on its own principles, and entirely *irrespective of what may be the actual doctrine of Scripture* on this question. 4. However violent the suppositions suggested may be, they will answer their present purpose, and it will be seen in the sequel that we shall have no need of them.

turn quite as well as his. But in regard to the latter axiom, we would respectfully suggest that either its English needs amendment or we shall be compelled to adopt in full the Hobbean doctrine of necessity. All things come to pass by necessity, said Hobbes. For example, "It must either rain or not rain to-morrow." Now as one or the other of these is necessary, that which actually comes to pass is of course that which was necessary. So of all other events. Here was a demonstration of the doctrine of necessity in a nut-shell. We trust it needs no refutation of ours. But whatever be its self-evidence or its fallacy, for us it may suffice here to give distinct warning, that, when we deny the proposition that, "if there be any resurrection of the body, it *must be* a resurrection of this identical body;" we do not therefore hold ourselves bound either to prove or to admit that other proposition, that, "if there be any resurrection of the body, it *must not be* a resurrection of this identical body." We merely insist upon it that there is no such necessity at all in the case, and that the question of fact is an open question.

It is obvious to remark that in proportion as our author might urge any metaphysical refinements upon the idea of identity to strengthen the evidence of his *minor proposition*, in the same proportion is the evidence of his *major proposition* enfeebled; so that nothing is thereby gained for his conclusion. And as we would not knowingly or carelessly "assert in one place what we deny in another," we wish distinctly to bear in mind *the conditions of identity* which we have all along supposed our author to assume. A body being dissolved into its elementary particles, we have supposed that if all those particles, without any addition or admixture of others were restored to their precise original positions, combinations and relationships, the "identical," original body would be restored; and not otherwise. We think that, even with these strict conditions of identification, the *minor proposition* has not been proved. If now, in order to strengthen the evidence for the *major proposition* a looser idea of identity is proposed, let it be remembered that the evidence for the *minor proposition* will become still weaker than before. We shall therefore demand that the same strictness of the conditions of identity shall be retained in interpreting the one proposition as were allowed in interpreting the other. When therefore it is asserted that "if the resurrection of the body takes place at all it must be a resurrection of this identical body," we understand the meaning to be, 1st, that the body raised must be identical with the body as it existed and was constituted at the moment of death; and, 2nd, that, in order to be thus

identical, it must consist of the very same particles exclusively and inclusively, arranged in the very same positions, combinations and relationships. And, so understood, we deny the proposition. We deny it, because, in order to a resurrection of the body in a true, proper, scriptural, and (as Guizot says) "human" sense, it is neither necessary, in the first place, that the body raised should be identical with *the precise body which expired the last breath*; nor, in the second place, that it should be *identical with any body whatever* in so strict a sense as that required.

The first point may be settled at once. Here is a man at the age of thirty years, in perfect health and soundness of body and mind. Before he dies, he may lose his arms or his legs, he may become a maniac, blind and deaf; he may die in utter decrepitude. Now, if, at the last day, the body given him should be identical with his present body instead of being identical with that decrepit frame with which he will have died, would there be no resurrection of the body, no resurrection of his own proper body? Would it be a "new-creation" instead of a resurrection, simply *because* the raised body would not be identical with the body precisely as it existed and was constituted at the moment of death? Does a man's body never become *his own* until he dies? Reason and common sense answer, No! And what becomes, then, of all the horror expressed by our author at the imagined reappearance "of the lame, the blind, those who have lost limbs, who were crippled, the maniac, the savage?" Pray, why did not he insist upon the resuscitation of the fevers and ague fits, the cancers, gouts and rheumatisms, and all the mortal diseases and ills the flesh was heir to at the moment of death? In short, why did he not maintain that if the body be raised at all it must be, when raised, *in the very act of dying again*? for, the internal states are as essential to identity as the external features!

We turn to our second point, viz., that in order to a proper resurrection of the body, it is not necessary that the body raised should be identical with any former body whatever, in such a sense as that it must consist of precisely the same elementary particles, neither more nor less, arranged in precisely the same positions, combinations and relationships.

Now it is a well known fact, that not only does a great change take place in our bodies between the periods of infancy and old age, but, while we live, they are constantly in a process of change, so that the body which we have at one moment is not perfectly "identical" with that which we had at any preceding moment; and it is evident, from

a sentence which our author cites with approbation from Bishop Butler, that he fully recognizes this fact. But from this fact it follows that no person ever wakes with that "identical" body with which he went to sleep; and consequently it follows further, on our author's principles, that, as often as the body sleeps, it sleeps an eternal sleep, and the body with which a man wakes is always a "new creation"! for the body which wakes is never "identical" with that which was lulled to slumber. We think our author will find few to agree with him in insisting upon such a conclusion. We will suppose, therefore, the body which rises to differ from the body which lived before, *only to the same extent* as the body which wakes differs from the body which slept; would there then be a resurrection of the body in any proper sense? If so, then our proposition is established and our author's overthrown, without further ado. And, besides, a principle is thus gained which reaches much farther than is barely necessary to overthrow that proposition of his; for, if a slight difference is consistent with such a practical and substantial identity as is required for a proper resurrection of the body, will any one tell us precisely the limit of this difference; except, that there must be some organic or real connection, something in common, between the body which is raised and that which lived before? And so much we shall certainly maintain.

Let us amuse ourselves here for a moment in constructing an hypothesis.

The principle of animal life in man is presumed to be distinct from the intelligent and immortal spirit; but, as it is not itself a substance, when abstracted entirely from the body it ceases to be. Now we will suppose, on such premises, that, in the economy of human nature it is so ordered that, when the spirit leaves the body, this vital principle is neither lost and annihilated on the one hand, nor on the other able to keep up the functions of the animal system, but *lies dormant* in connection with so much of the present, natural body as constituted the seminal principle or essential germ of that body, and is to serve as a germ for the future, spiritual body; and this portion may be truly body, material substance, and yet elude all possible chemical tests and sensible observation, and all actual, physical dissolution.¹ On the reunion of the spirit at the appointed hour with this

¹ Johannes Müller, one of the greatest physiologists of the age, has given a well-known theory of the "vital principle." As it coincides so perfectly with the hypothesis described above, we venture to add it in this note. It is as follows: "Life is a principle, or imponderable matter, which is in action in the substance

dormant vital principle and its bodily germ, we may suppose an instantaneous development of the spiritual body, in whatever glorious form God shall see fit to assign it. Such a body, so produced, would involve a proper resurrection of the present body. The new body would be a continuation of the old, a proper development from it. The germinal essence is the same, the vital principle is the same, the conscious spirit is the same. The organic connection between the two is as real as that between my present body and the seminal principle from which it was first developed in the womb; as that between the blade of wheat and the bare grain from which it grew.

We throw out the above as a mere casual hypothesis. We do not pretend that it is a statement of ascertained or *ascertainable* facts. We do not even propose it as a *theory*. We offer it as *one among many possible hypotheses*. Its absolute impossibility, at least in its essential features,¹ we challenge any body to demonstrate; and its bare *possibility* is of such force as to demolish our author's argument *de fond en comble*. As a *positive doctrine* we do not hold ourselves bound to admit our own hypothesis or any particular parts of it; and if any one should seek to impose it upon us in that form, we should resist the imposition with all our might. We admit it only with the implied assumption that it involves a true and proper *resurrection of the body*; for this is a doctrine which we shall not willingly compromise or suffer to be compromised in any way.

For ourselves we do not pretend to say *how the dead are raised up*; nor do we feel bound to do so; although our author seems to think we are, when he says, "let those who still believe that the body is raised, fix in their own minds and define to themselves clearly if they can, how it is raised." We wonder that the author, when he wrote that, did not remember the reply which the apostle Paul makes to a man whom he represents as urging the same requisition. "But some one will say, how are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool!" We wonder the more at this oversight on the part of our author, because he actually quotes the words which the apostle proceeds to address to the fool, while he forgets to insert the address itself.

of the germ, enters into the composition of the matter of this germ, and imparts to organic combinations, properties which cease at death." He denies that there is any more obscurity in the physiological views of this subject than in the philosophical doctrines concerning light, heat, and electricity. — See an able article on "the Principle of Life," in the Whig Review for Oct. 1847.

¹ The part assigned to the "vital principle" may be omitted, if any so prefer.

He seems to us to have committed an oversight of much greater practical importance in his interpretation of the words he quotes: 1 Cor. 15: 36, 37, 38, 42, 43. The Apostle, as it seems to us, would *illustrate* the mysterious connection between the natural body and the spiritual body, and the identity in diversity which characterizes that connection, by pointing to the equally mysterious connection between the bare grain of wheat sown and the plant that grows from it. According to our author's interpretation, he points to the connection in the latter case to illustrate the fact that there is no connection in the former case at all! But if *what is raised* has no connection at all with *what is sown*, why talk about the *sowing* at all? the Apostle could certainly have made a simple statement of the fact, which would have needed no illustration, and which is quite obscured by the illustration he has given. "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption;" says the apostle; "it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." What is sown? the body, not the spirit. What is raised? the body, not the spirit. If the Apostle is to be presumed to have any object in view which needed his illustration, the subject of the two verbs, though only implied in the original, must be logically *identical*; and yet our author adduces the passage in proof that Paul did not believe in a resurrection of the identical body! If the apostle Paul taught anything in regard to a resurrection of the dead, he certainly taught that *our vile body shall be changed*, that it may be fashioned like unto *Christ's glorious body*; that *this corruptible* shall put on incorruption and *this mortal* shall put on immortality. If such expressions do not assert a real connection between the spiritual body and the natural body, we are at a loss to conceive what language could assert it.

A wiser than St. Paul once solemnly declared: "The hour is coming, *and now is*, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live. . . . Marvel not at this: for *the hour is coming* in the which all that are *in their graves shall come forth*; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." John 5: 25, 28, 29.

Now if the 28th verse is to be taken in a "spiritual sense," what is to be made of it as contrasted with the 25th, where there is an acknowledged "spiritual sense?" And what metaphorical sense of any kind can any one reasonably attach to the terms of the 28th verse, uttered in such a connection and under such circumstances? We do not ask, what metaphorical sense he may feel compelled to attach to

them in order to save them from expressing what he looks upon as a self-contradiction and an absurdity ; but we ask, what metaphorical sense *those who heard them could attach to them, or could be expected to attach to them by him who uttered them ?* When Christ said, speaking of himself, "I am the vine," "I am the door ;" or, speaking of a loaf of bread, "this is my body ;" we suppose that those who heard him could not have been expected to understand him literally, judging from the natural and recognized laws of human language and human thought. But when he says, "*all that are in their graves shall come forth,*" what reason is there for supposing that those who heard him were expected to understand the words in any other than their plain, literal sense ; in any other sense than that in which the Christian church has generally understood them ?

In the case of Paul, our author admits that he did teach a "physical resurrection," as he chooses to call it, or seemed to teach it. And he gives this singular reason for the Apostle's teaching or seeming to teach what was so grossly inconsistent with what he really meant, viz., that it was out of condescension to the prejudices and scepticism of the gentile world ! As though it were not notorious that many of the heathen *philosophers* believed, or half believed, in the immortality of the soul, *without being laughed at* by their neighbors ; and that even the *popular belief* implied *some* continuance of existence after death. While no point in Paul's preaching excited more ridicule or incredulity among the philosophizing Greeks than his doctrine of the resurrection, whatever that doctrine may have been. *They* manifestly understood him to mean a resurrection of the body ; nor do we see how they could reasonably have been expected to understand him otherwise ; since it was his almost uniform custom — as in this 15th chapter of Corinthians and in the passage before cited from Thessalonians — to present the resurrection promised to Christians as inseparably connected with the resurrection of Christ, both as its type and as its indispensable condition. The Greeks may have held that the immortality of the soul was deficient or even destitute of proof, but they were not accustomed to look upon it as absurd or ridiculous. Yet Paul's doctrine of the resurrection seemed as absolutely irrational and impossible to them, as does the resurrection of the body to our author ; and probably for similar if not "identical" reasons.

But we find ourselves becoming gradually involved in the Scripture argument, into which it was entirely contrary to our intention to enter at present. Indeed, we should hardly consider it worth while to enter into that argument at all ; unless both parties were distinctly

agreed to seek the simple, natural meaning of the Scriptures, interpreting them according to the recognized laws of human language and human thought; with the honest intention of abiding by the result, as authoritative and absolutely decisive.

We wish our position to be distinctly understood. To prove the absolute impossibility of a resurrection of the body, we hold to be impossible. To show its *antecedent* probability or want of probability on mere natural principles, we hold to be, for Christians, irrelevant. The *fact* is to be determined solely by the authority of revelation. And, though, when that fact has been thus ascertained, it may be supported and illustrated by analogies drawn from the physical world, it can never be refuted by any want of antecedent probability drawn from such a quarter. Nothing short of a demonstrated impossibility will suffice for its refutation. Analogy may prove or at least confirm, but it can never disprove, *what rests upon its own direct and decisive evidence*. Analogy has merely a corroborative or apologetic character. It may serve to remove objections; but it cannot stand alone as *positive* evidence, especially when the subjects compared are of a widely different nature. As *negative* evidence it is good for nothing at all, except to show that a certain sort of confirmation is wanting. If nothing is to be received as a doctrine of Scripture, unless it can be shown to be probable by independent evidence drawn from the known laws and principles of nature, then, we see not but *the creation of the world, the incarnation of the Son of God, his glorious resurrection and ascension*, and many other doctrines which have been received by the church in all ages, must be put under the ban as well as the resurrection of the body. If the principle is received, it must be consistently applied. But if all prejudices of antecedent impossibility or improbability are fairly silenced and set aside, so that the mind comes to the interpretation of Scripture in a perfectly unbiassed state, we have no fears at all for the result. *Without* such a state of the premises, we should think it of very little consequence to discuss the Scripture argument for the resurrection of the body; and *with* such a state of the premises, we should not think it of much greater consequence, believing as we do, that no intelligent man, in such a state of mind, would honestly deny that that doctrine is taught in the New Testament. The trouble is, as we understand it, that men settle first in their minds that the thing is impossible or improbable, and then, honestly enough, endeavor to save their Christianity by interpreting the Scriptures accordingly. Yield your argument of impossibility and waive that of antecedent improbability, and you are

welcome to construct your Scripture doctrine as you may see reason. Our course is, therefore, first to refute the charge of impossibility, and, secondly, to hold the question of analogical probability in abeyance, until the *fact* has been determined by the appropriate, positive evidence, that of Scripture. That *fact* being ascertained or admitted, natural analogies will not be wanting to confirm it; although the whole process involved in it may never thereby be rendered perfectly plain and comprehensible.

We confess ourselves to belong to the class of those old-fashioned, and, if you will, old-womanish people, who, in the words of our author, "think it a commendable habit to acknowledge that such and such things are beyond our comprehension; we must leave them in his hands who does all things well." But he would fain shame us out of the supineness of such unmanly modesty; and continues in the following eloquent strain:

"If this had been the real intention of the Almighty, he would never have created man with mind, and endowed him with that high intelligence which is ever seeking to make itself acquainted with not only the material world, but also that world which lies beyond — not only with the visible, but the invisible; a mind whose ardent seekings long to comprehend the universe of God. Now those who are content to remain in ignorance of any great truth, do not discharge the duties they owe to God, themselves, and their fellows. There is a limit to man's power, because he is finite; but then where that limit is, who can tell? Has not his genius discovered and become familiar with things which those who lived before him never dreamed of, or thought wholly impossible? Has he not made the elements subserve his will, and matter subject to his pleasure? Does not the experience of every year teach us, as plainly as if it were written with a fire-beam on the roof of heaven, that man is rapidly advancing to a higher and higher state of being, bringing home to us all the bright and glorious truths, that God has indeed made "man a little lower than the angels, and has crowned him with glory and honor?" And do we not find that each discovery, each grand truth that is unfolded increases our reverence, our love and adoration for the God who made us? Who feels the greatest admiration, and comprehends most his power? the astronomer who sees a world in every star, many surpassing his own by a thousand fold in extent, and all rolling in beauty and order through space; or the simple and uninformed mind, who sees nothing in the stars but small lights to give light by night? The question requires no answer; and the experience of the past

tells us that we shall go forward, that our progress is onward and upward, and the revelation of every truth is a step higher in the order [?] of our existence. The investigation of no subject, however solemn, if done [?] in a proper spirit, but what [?] must be attended with more or less advantage; and to ascertain the attributes of our Maker, and our relationship to him, is our first and highest duty."

Now it may be that we honor science and philosophy as highly as our author himself; yet we must take the liberty to think that the moral and spiritual qualifications and means for a right and religious apprehension of the knowledge of God, are quite as important as any scientific or philosophical attainments. We have no doubt that Moses and Samuel and Peter and John, and many a simple, pious peasant in every age, have felt as great "reverence, love and admiration for the God who made them," as were ever felt by the infidel La Lande or the atheistical La Place,¹ with all their vast astronomical views and scientific acquisitions. We believe that a right apprehension and a heartfelt reception of the doctrine of a *crucified and risen Saviour* will do quite as much towards developing all right affections towards God, as the comprehension of the profoundest scientific analysis contained in the *Mécanique Céleste*.

But we do not profess ourselves to be friends of self-satisfied ignorance. We would gladly know all which can be known, and we fully recognize the duty of diligently improving all the powers and means of knowing, which God has given us, whether in our own reason, in his works, or in his word. But we are at a loss to know what our author means when he seems to charge those who profess to believe in the resurrection of the body and yet acknowledge it to surpass the comprehension of their minds, with being "content to remain in ignorance of a great truth." If the resurrection of the body is "a great truth," they certainly are not content to remain in ignorance of it. If either our author or any body else clearly comprehends all that is involved in that great truth," and can furnish them with any satisfactory explanations so as to render the mode and process of such a resurrection clearly comprehensible to their minds, we presume they will not reject any such assistance. For ourselves, we promise to accept all such helps with profound gratitude.

But, if our author means, in the passage just quoted, that, with such a glorious genius and such vast powers as we possess, what we

¹ If the epithets we have applied to these scientific giants do not belong to them, we shall be most happy to know and to acknowledge it. Our argument will not greatly suffer.

cannot comprehend, we have therefore a right to pronounce impossible; then he has confuted himself; for the very facts he alleges forbid such a conclusion. For, if the genius of man has already "discovered the truth of what those who lived before him thought wholly impossible," what right has *our* ignorance or *our* impotence to dictate to our successors? At all events, if *he* has a right to pronounce impossible what he cannot comprehend, he must allow *us* the same right; and we must confess that, though the whole passage which we have transcribed may be very, very fine writing, we cannot comprehend at all what logical connection it has with the proof or disproof of the resurrection of the body; ergo, it is impossible it should have any such connection.

ARTICLE II.

THE SIN-OFFERING.

Translated from "The Mosaic Offering" of J. H. Kurtz, Second Division, Chapter IV. pp. 155—196, by Rev. David B. Ford, Canton, Mass.

[THE volume from which the following Article is taken, is properly a review of the more extended work of Dr. Baehr: "The Symbology of the Mosaic Cultus." It is much to be lamented that a work of so profound and varied merit, should yet be defective and erroneous in regard to some important points which the evangelical church holds especially dear. It will be seen by the readers of the following pages that Baehr recognizes nothing of a penal or substitutionary character in the Mosaic offerings. In his view, the imposition of hands signified merely the offerer's ownership of the animal and his willingness to give it up to Jehovah in death, and this willingness was yet more strongly expressed by his slaying of the victim. In the offering, the death of the animal was not the essential act, but only incidental to the principal thing—the sprinkling of the blood. The sprinkling of the blood (the principle of life) on the altar symbolizes the giving away of the soul or life of the offerer, and was thus an act emblematical of repentance, faith and self-dedication to God. "As the presentation of the blood of the animal is a giving away of the life of the

animal in death, so should also the natural, selfish life of the offerer be given away, i. e., die; but since this is a giving away to Jehovah, it is no more ceasing to be, but a dying which *eo ipso* becomes life." And this symbolical character merely, he would in like manner attribute to the death and sacrifice of Christ. Some of these false views are combated, and, we may say, confuted, by our author in the following pages. — TR.]

"THE name of this kind of offering (חַטָּאת, properly, sin) points very distinctly and directly to its design. It has to do with sin, i. e., it aims at a removal, an expiation of sin. This, indeed, is the design of offerings generally; for the idea of expiation lies at the foundation of all the various kinds of offerings. If, now, any particular offering bears a name expressly derived from this idea, we may infer that it has reference not to sin generally, but specifically, i. e., to individual and distinct offences, and that to atone for these definite, individual offences is its more especial and exclusive aim." Baehr, Vol. II. p. 386. This view is perfectly accordant with our own previous investigations on this point. The question which now first claims our attention is, whether this expiation is available to every offence and to all sins without exception, or if not, what is the ground of this exception? An answer to these inquiries is found in Num. 15: 27—30, "If any soul sin בִּשְׁגָגָה (i. e., through mistake, oversight, inadvertently) he shall bring a she-goat of a year old for a sin-offering. And the priest shall make an atonement for him with the sin-offering on account of his sin (of inadvertence) before Jehovah, to make atonement for him, that he may obtain forgiveness. But the soul that doeth aught בְּרִמָּה (with upraised hand, i. e., in malice, revolt, wilfully) the same blasphemeth Jehovah; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people." Of the same import is Lev. iv, the proper *locus classicus* of the sin-offering. If any soul sin בִּשְׁגָגָה against any of the commands of Jehovah, the same shall bring a sin-offering, vs. 2, 13, 22, 27. Thus, only those sins which were committed undesignedly, through inadvertence or precipitancy, could be atoned for by the sin-offering, while the sins of premeditation and malice were inexpiable. These last, since they partake of the character of rebellion and high treason against Jehovah, the King of Israel, must be punished with death. So strong were the claims of the theocratic-civil interest in these cases, that the sacrificial atonement and the reception within the theocratic communion consequent, thereto could find no place. The exclusion of such offences from the theocratic expiation was indispensably

necessary to the existence and permanency of the theocratic confederacy, which without this would be exposed to the workings of malice, licentiousness and caprice, and to inevitable failure. The *unpremeditated* transgressions of existing laws are not so destructive and ruinous in their tendency, and hence they appertain rather to the forum of one's conscience than to that of the civil jurisdiction.

Mosaism, however, goes still further, and even here evinces a most tender regard for the interests of morality. It recognizes even in those sins which are committed ignorantly and undesignedly that which is sinful and vile, and which separates from God. In unintentional murder the sin indeed does not consist in the act itself, but in the *חטא* which occasioned it; in the want of attention and vigilance, of foresight and circumspection from which the act proceeded. Even this want is a sin, a breach of the covenant, a violation of the command "Be ye holy for I am holy," and hence it excludes from the theocratic communion. But it is not a wilful, determined and premeditated violation of law, and the less the sword of civil justice is appealed to here, the more room is afforded for the institution of expiatory offerings.

Baehr, however, not satisfied with this view, (Vol. II. p. 387,) wishes to exclude not only intentional offences, but also all violations of the universal, moral law, all *moral* transgressions in the stricter sense, and, accordingly, would limit the atonement simply to theocratic offences, or, in his form of statement, to the "violations of the positive-religious law, which was given to the people of Israel." And this principle he applies not only to the sin-offering but to all the offerings, e. g., p. 405, and many times, especially to the trespass-offering, pp. 402, 403, 405, 409.

We must, however, at the very outset, protest against this division of the Mosaic law into the positive-religious (pertaining to divine service, ceremonial) and the universal, moral law. With such a distinction our catechism has indeed made us familiar, and there, as from the New Testament point of view generally, it may be correct; but from the Old Testament, especially from the Mosaic point of view, nothing can be more erroneous. We ourselves distinguish in Mosaism a permanent and a transient, that which is universally binding, and that which was obligatory only during the then present stage of development; but it is only the fulness of times, history, Christianity, which has taught and authorized us to make this distinction. To the Israelite there was no such distinction whatever; but the one was to him as binding as the other.

The universally moral is in Mosaism so interwoven with the positive-religious ; so organically united with it in one, that it is this unity which constitutes the essential character of Judaism ; and the dissevering or destruction of this unity would be the destruction of Judaism itself. Never and nowhere does the law make such a distinction, or authorize such to be made. Nay, from the fact that the universal moral laws stand in the midst of the purely positive-religious, and conversely, such a distinction is, in a twofold manner forbidden in the same breath. The *whole* law is theocratic and religious ; for the King of Israel was also the God of Israel. Sleeping and waking, eating and drinking, all the occupations of life, the whole life with its manifold ramifications were all ordered under this theocratic-religious point of view. Every sin of an Israelite was a theocratic offence, since the person of the sinner and his obligation to holiness were both theocratic.

On the other hand, the whole law was of a *moral* nature. Even the positive-religious commands fell within the sphere of morality, for morality in its perfect form is holiness, and to this, the whole law had reference, as it many times expressly declares. An injury committed against the property, person or honor of a neighbor was as much a theocratic offence as the violation of any law of the cultus ; for the Israelite stood to his neighbor in a more intimate relation than that of man to man, even in that of a covenant-member to a covenant-member. Hence the relation of one to another was a purely religious one, and a violation of the same was thus a religious, a theocratic offence. The transgression of a moral law was not only an offence against God as the King and Judge of all the earth, but also against Jehovah, the special King of Israel, and accordingly was a theocratic offence. Hence the strictly moral transgressions excluded from the theocratic communion as well as the specially religious, — murder as well as idolatry. And the Israelite regarded as immoralities not only theft and adultery, but also the worship of images and of high places, the profanation of the Sabbath, the neglect of circumcision, the violation of the laws of food, etc. Both these kinds of offences possessed in his view the same features, since the laws relating to both, were to him alike important and sacred.

Even from this general point of view, the theory of Baehr, which limits the sin-offering to theocratic offences in the narrower sense, appears to us untenable. Had this restriction been directly specified in the canon of the sin-offering, or if all the instances in which this offering was required had reference only to such positive-religious

offences, then and only then should we be obliged to acknowledge the correctness of his theory. But neither of these is the case. In *Lev.* iv, where the sin-offering is treated of *ex instituto*, it is stated with great distinctness, whenever the occasion for the sin-offering is mentioned, (vs. 2, 13, 22, 27) that for the undesigned transgressions of all the commands (without exception) an atonement by means of the sin-offering was both available and necessary, (אֲחֻזָּה מִכָּל הַמִּצְוֹת יִרְדָּה.) What now can possibly justify us in limiting "all the commands of Jehovah" to the ceremonial laws? Or are not then the moral laws as much the commands of Jehovah as the laws of the Cultus?

In *Num.* 15: 22—24 the canon of the sin-offering is expressed if possible in still more comprehensive terms: "If ye have inadvertently transgressed any one of the commands which Jehovah spake to Moses, even all that Jehovah has commanded you through Moses, from the day when Jehovah gave commandment and thenceforward to your posterity," etc. Throughout both of these passages mention is made only of *sins* without any particular reference or special limitation. If now Baehr would endeavor in earnest to establish his theory, he must show that the words חֵטְא אוֹ מִצְוָה (and אֲשָׁם) are used exclusively, or at least principally, of those offences which relate to the laws of rites and of worship. But this he cannot do; and thus even the name of our offering bears witness against him. If now in the few cases where the reasons for the sin-offering are specified, (especially in the Levitical purifications,) these reasons are in truth mostly of a positive-religious character, even this opposes nothing to those unequivocal passages which indisputably refer to *all* the commands. And especially is this the case, since the reason why the specification was made in these instances is, that, even according to that general canon for the involuntary states of Levitical impurity, which certainly were not *transgressions* of the laws of Jehovah, an atonement by means of the sin-offering would not be regarded as necessary.

The case of the *trespass-offering*, also, militates against this theory. Here, along with those sins which are of a positive-religious character, express mention is made of such as are manifestly of a purely *moral* nature, e. g., the embezzlement of another's property, the disowning of anything found, etc. From the close relation of the trespass-offerings to the sin-offerings, and from the explicit direction that for both there should be but one law, we are justified in predicating the same thing of the sin-offerings.

Let us, however, attend to the reasons which our distinguished opponent has advanced in support of his restrictive view. (1) First of

all, he urges the circumstance that both the selection of the animal, and the diverse application of the blood, depended on the theocratic standing of the offerer, and not on the magnitude of the sin to be expiated. With the diversity of the *material* of the offering, (for the high priest and the whole people a bullock was appointed; for the ruler, a he-goat; for the private individual, a she-goat or a sheep, and in special cases even doves. Lev. 4: 3, 14, 23, 28, 32. 5: 7,) there was also a similar diversity of expiative acts. In the sin-offering of the high priest or of the congregation, the blood was sprinkled in the holy place seven times towards the curtain before the capporeth (mercy-seat) and also on the horns of the altar of incense. In the offering of the ruler and of the private person, the blood came not into the holy place, but simply upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering. Lev. iv. "From this results," as Baehr supposes, "the important conclusion: If the theocratic standing of an individual was the determining rule for the sin-offering, then also must the sin with which the sin-offering has to do, have a theocratic character, i. e., must be a violation not of the universal, moral laws, but of the positive-religious law which was given to the people of Israel." p. 387. Against this, we remark, in the first place, that the inference is by no means a necessary one. From the same premises we could quite as easily draw the directly opposite conclusion. If the sin itself makes no difference, but only the person sinning, it follows that this offering was of universal application, and available to all sins. Should we, however, concede the justness of Baehr's inference, it then could have no significance only as we limit the theocratic system to the cultus and to the laws of outward observances. If this restriction, however, is, as we have proved, erroneous, the conclusion founded upon it must also be false. That the diversity of the material and of the expiative acts had reference to the theocratic position of the offerer and not to the importance of the offence, or rather, that the degree of the crime was measured by the position of the person sinning, and hence that the sin was regarded under a theocratic point of view, we certainly wish not to deny; but, on the contrary, we maintain that each sin of an Israelite was a theocratic offence, and that this theocratic point of view was taken not from the sin in itself, but from the person who sinned. (2) "The same result, moreover, is in a measure obtainable from the Mosaic idea of offerings in general. Since the Mosaic offerings had respect to the covenant with Jehovah, so also must those special offerings whose design is *κατ' ἑξοχήν* to atone, have respect to those offences which relate to this covenant."

Even Baehr himself has felt this argument to be unsatisfactory and inconclusive, and hence he well qualifies his assertion by the conditional phrase. That the decalogue was the basis of the covenant with Jehovah, Baehr himself would be the last to deny, (Vol. I. p. 90 et passim,) and yet its commands are preëminently of a universal, moral character. Transgressions of these commands, then, were violations of the covenant with Jehovah; and thus from the given premises and by the same method of argument we arrive at a conclusion entirely opposite to that of Baehr, viz., that the sacrificial atonement had reference chiefly to the universal-moral commands.

This argument, however, which in the form stated by Baehr proves nothing, or rather the direct reverse of what it should prove, may be so applied as to constitute what would seem to be a conclusive proof against the universal applicability of the sin-offering which we have maintained. This objection we will anticipate by its statement and refutation. The sin-offering and the trespass-offering were first instituted by Moses, since they confessedly did not exist prior to his time. This extension of the sacrificial rite must be based on an extension of the law, and thus also of the knowledge of sinfulness. The extension of the law, however, consists in the addition of the positive-religious law to the universal, moral law which existed before the legislation of Moses, and hence it would seem to be clearly demonstrated, that the sin and trespass-offerings could refer only to the violations of these positive-religious laws. To this we reply, that the extension of the sacrificial rite is certainly determined by the extension of the law, but this latter is misconceived when regarded as consisting in the simply mechanical addition of the ceremonial law. This was not something absolutely new. Iken, notwithstanding the very limited accounts, has written two extended Dissertations *de institutis et caeremoniis legis Mosaicæ ante Mosen*. And we certainly have to presuppose far more copious developments of the religious principle than the ante-mosaic history has occasionally presented to our notice.¹

The Mosaic legislation, especially the Mosaic cultus, is no *deus ex machina*, but grew organically, though of course under the divine care, out of the religious cast of character possessed by Abraham and his seed, just as the flowers and fruit, under the influence of sunshine and showers, are developed from the seed-corn. Hence, in strict

¹ Much which is true and striking in reference to this subject, together with much that is groundless and false, is found in Bruno Bauer's "Religion of the Old Testament," in the first section of the second book, — The historical presuppositions of the law.

accuracy, the institution of the sin and trespass-offerings cannot be regarded as a wholly new event. They had a previous existence, not indeed as distinct items, but *implicite* in the burnt-offering. On the other hand, even the moral law in Mosaism acquired a new feature. Through its relation to the king Jehovah, and to the fundamental principle of the theocracy, "Be ye holy for I am holy," it also became a theocratic law. (3) "Never do we find, in point of fact, that murder, theft, and the like offences, were expiated by the sin-offering, since for these the law provided punishment alone. Even when such offences were undesignedly committed, they were never expiated by an offering; see especially Num. 35: 11, etc." Passing by the fact that, according to Lev. 6: 1—6, theft is actually expiated by the trespass-offering, which hereafter we shall notice more fully, we would give the following answer: That the crimes of theft, murder, and the like, when they were committed (בְּיָד רָמָה) with a malicious and rebellious spirit, should not be expiated but punished, we have already shown to be necessary. Hence we are concerned only with the proposition, that such offences, even though committed undesignedly (בְּטֵעָה), were excluded from the sacrificial expiation.

Let us *instar omnium* consider the alleged example in Num. 35: 11. Here the subject treated of is the protection which the free cities should afford to "him that killeth unawares." From this Baehr concludes that for the inculcate there was no sin-offering, and that in this and similar cases generally, no offering was made. Even he, however, does not hold to the universal correctness of this inference, and hence the whole objection loses its point and power of demonstration. We, moreover, contend in the first place, that, in view of the whole connection of the passage, this was not the place to speak expressly of the ecclesiastical atonement; and hence to argue the non-existence of a thing from the silence maintained respecting it, is in this case a gross fallacy. In the second place, we affirm that there is a plain indication that such a case, in the *ecclesiastical* economy, does belong to the rubric of offences which may be expiated by the sin-offering. In regard to our first affirmation, it is to be observed, that the chapter in question does not treat *ex professo*, of the undesigned manslayer, for then certainly we should have expected some direction given in regard to the ecclesiastical atonement; but of the free cities and of the manslayer, only so far as he had a claim to the privilege of the free cities. Therefore the reference in this chapter to the undesigned manslayer, is limited simply to some special instructions in regard to the investigation to be instituted; whether the deed was

truly unintentional, and also in regard to the security of the inculcate from the avenger of blood.

The *indication*, spoken of above, is found in the repeated designation of murder by *רצח*, vs. 11, 15. This clearly refers to the canon of the sin-offering in Lev. iv.: "whoever shall transgress *בְּאֶחָד* any one of the commands of Jehovah, the same shall be expiated by the sin-offering." "Thou shalt not kill," is undeniably one of Jehovah's commands. The inculcate has violated this command, but (*בְּשֹׁגְגָה*) inadvertently, and hence he is not delivered up to the sword of justice, but must be atoned for by the sin-offering. Against the justness of this reasoning and inference, no one can have anything to object. Whether this sin-offering was to be brought immediately or only after the death of the high priest, when for the first time his appearance outside of the free city would be unattended with danger, we may not positively decide, though in our opinion the *latter* supposition is correct. Since he durst not leave the free city to come to the sanctuary, his theocratic rights and duties were suspended, and consequently his obligations in regard to the sacrificial atonement.¹

We have now shown, as we believe, that the limitation of the sin-offering to the positive-religious commands is wholly incorrect. We will however cheerfully concede, that as a matter of fact, the sin-offering was mostly concerned with such religious offences. The inadvertent violations of the moral law must in comparison with the like violations of the positive-religious laws be of extremely rare occur-

¹ The same which is here predicated of unintentional murder, holds true also of undesigned theft, as also of all unpremeditated transgressions. More difficult is it, to form a judgment in reference to theft designedly committed. That this was not punished with death, but only with a fine, seems directly to oppose Num. 15: 30. It is here well to remark that the rendering of *רָחַק* by "designedly" is inaccurate and too weak. It means with "hand upraised" against Jehovah, and denotes malice, revolt, a wilful, determined rebellion against Jehovah. Simple theft however can hardly possess a character so aggravated, and is an offence moreover which admits of reparation. Theft belongs generally not to those offences which proceed from a determined rebellion against Jehovah, and hence is not punished with death; it belongs however generally not to those offences which are unintentional and which arose by mistake; it can therefore not be expiated simply by the sin-offering. So far as it is intentional, it is obnoxious to penal justice. So far as it arose from open rebellion, and admits in a measure of reparation, the exclusion from the theocratic communion was not absolute. Since now every exclusion from this communion can be abrogated only by an expiatory offering, it is more than probable, that so soon as civil justice was satisfied, he was received again into the communion of the church and theocracy by means of such an offering, and doubtless, as we shall see more plainly hereafter, by means of a trespass-offering.

rence, since these latter extended in an especial manner over the whole life, to all its various departments and relations.

The preceding investigation has detained us longer than we anticipated. This however we cannot regret, since the result obtained is far more important to us than we might at the first sight suppose. We wish not to conceal the fact, that on the theory of Baehr, were we obliged to acknowledge its correctness, an objection would lie against the juridical view of the offering which it were difficult, if not impossible, to remove. Baehr has merely hinted at it, Vol. II. p. 281. Steudel, on the contrary, has sought to give it force in the words already examined: "If offerings were appointed even for *external* offences, how important, in case substitution were to be thought of, must offerings have been for the far weightier, the strictly *moral* transgressions?" What our learned author has further said, p. 391-393, respecting the kind and method of the expiation, commands, for the most part, our assent, and as we cannot state our views more clearly or happily, we appropriate his own words:

"The expiation must be something different from that of the burnt-offerings and thank-offerings. These had to do only with sin in general, and hence the expiatory act, the sprinkling of blood, had a more general and indeterminate character. The sin-offering has to do with sin exclusively and in its distinct manifestations. Its sole design is to atone. For these reasons the sprinkling of the blood must here be more definite, and generally more prominent. Hence the blood was sprinkled not as in the other kinds of offering, in general only upon the altar (round about), but on distinct and prominent parts of the same. It was also sprinkled on other and diverse vessels of the sanctuary, and on the more or less sacred and important ones, according to the degree of the crime to be expiated, or rather, according to the standing of the person to be atoned for; thus there appear to be different degrees of expiation.

The *first* degree of expiation above that of the other kinds of offerings, was the sprinkling of the horns of the altar in the fore-court. The horns are the insignia of the altar, and in them its meaning is concentrated. . . . Hence the sprinkling of these must in comparison with the sprinkling of the sides of the altar round about, appear the more important. . . . This degree of expiation was appointed for each private individual of the people and also for the ruler; yet with this difference, that in the first case the blood of a female, in the second, the blood of a male animal of the same species, was employed. The *second* degree of expiation was the (seven-fold) sprinkling of the

horns of the altar in the holy place and towards the curtain which hung before the ark of the covenant. This expiation is manifestly to be regarded as belonging to a still more elevated grade. . . . The sprinkling towards the curtain did not have this for its object, but the capporeth, which was here sprinkled, not directly, but only indirectly and symbolically. This second degree of expiation was appointed for the whole congregation or its representative and substitute, the high priest. Lev. 4: 3—7, 13—18. The *third* and highest degree of expiation was the sprinkling of the capporeth in the most holy place. . . . The sprinkling is here expressly designated as sevenfold, and this number, which is the number of the covenant and of expiation, directs us at once to the design and the importance of the sprinkling. . . . This third degree of expiation was in like manner appointed for the whole people and the high priest, yet it had reference, not to a particular offence, but to the aggregate offences of a whole year; and hence this highest expiatory act took place but once a year on the great festival of atonement. Lev. xvi." Thus far are we able to agree with our author. The points of difference have for the present been avoided, by omissions in the passage cited. These refer to the different views respecting the three divisions of the sanctuary. We will state our own view as briefly as possible. The tabernacle (the tent of the congregation, the dwelling) symbolizes the kingdom of God where Jehovah dwells among His people and meets with them. The fore-court is the vestibule to the sanctuary, as Judaism is to Christianity. The former represents the real, the latter, the ideal residence of the people. In that dwell the people, who still say (Ex. 20: 19) "Speak thou with us and let not God speak with us lest we die;" who indeed have a priestly calling, (Ex. 19: 6) for which, however, they are not yet perfectly prepared, but must first be educated to its practice; who still need a human mediator and may not yet approach (קָרַב) directly to Jehovah. Here, therefore, prevails the shadow-service. Here, therefore, bleeds the imperfect animal-offering, which must daily and yearly be repeated. Here, therefore, stood the altar of burnt-offering, the symbol of a people, sinful indeed, but waiting to receive expiation, the first representative form of the kingdom of God.

The *holy place* is the ideal residence of the people, who are a priestly kingdom, a holy nation, a people of possession. Here the sacrificial utensils are wanting; the sacrificial service has ceased, for the expiation is accomplished. The people are no longer laden with sins, which separate them from Jehovah. They are a people of light,

of prayer, and of good works. Therefore, here stand the candlestick, the altar of incense, and the table of show-bread, as symbols of this people. The people in their present stage of development and culture are still excluded from this place; yet in the hope that, when they shall become fitted for their priestly calling and shall have entered upon their priestly rights, then this place also shall become their actual abode. In the meanwhile, however, this place is not empty and desolate. Its vessels rest not idle. The candlestick sends forth its light, the altar its sweet odors, and the table proffers its gifts. For the people were now virtually a priestly kingdom and a holy people; the relative manifestation only was not yet conformed to the absolute idea. Suitably to the lower and still inadequate degree of their culture, admittance was to them denied. Their priestly calling and priestly rights are still ideal, but not, therefore, imaginary. These they already exercise, though only through their priests, whom Jehovah has chosen for this purpose, from the priestly nation. These, the flower of the people, their representatives, and, for a time, their mediators, are the familiars, the קְרוֹיְבִים; these tread this holy place and perform the service.

In the most holy place dwells Jehovah, among the people, and yet separated from them. Here stands the ark of the covenant, which contains the law, the tables of testimony which testify against the people, but which are covered by the mercy-seat (the expiatory cover, the capporeth). On this most holy mystery, the cherubim, the symbols of the most perfect creature-life, the ideal creation, whose idea man is called to realize, look down with bowed face in adoration. And between the wings of the cherubim hovers the cloud, the shekinah, the symbol of the most immediate, yet reconciling, forgiving presence of Jehovah. A curtain separates the holy place from the holy of holies. So long as this partition-wall remains, only the high priest, in whom was centered all the priestly significance of the chosen, sacerdotal race, and even he, only once a year, may approach unto the mercy-throne. But when once that mystic temple (John 2: 19, etc.) shall be demolished and the veil (Heb. 10: 20) shall be rent in twain from the top to the bottom, then shall each one of the priestly nation have free access to the throne of grace (Heb. 4: 16).

The signification of the fore-court is concentrated in its principal vessel, the altar of burnt-offering. Its contents, as we have already seen, represent the church as *contentum*, or the people; the enclosing framework represents the church as *continens*, an institution origi-

nating from God and appointed by Him for salvation.¹ From the altar the horns jut out, in which again its meaning is comprised. "The horn is the image of power, strength and might, which in the animal are centered in the horn, Amos 6: 13. Ps. 148: 14. Hence it serves as a symbol of regal power, Dan. 7: 7, 8. 8: 3—9, etc. With this is connected the signification of honor and renown, as the horn is not only the weapon of the animal but also its ornament, Ps. 112: 9. 89: 17. Job 16: 15, etc. Quite peculiar is the use of the horn as a symbol of fulness, abundance, and so of prosperity and blessing, Ps. 92: 10. Hence the expression, Horn of salvation, Ps. 18: 2. 2 Sam. 22: 3. Luke 1: 69." The church as *continens* is the appointed institution for the bestowment of protection and ornament, blessing and salvation. This power of the church in its acme, is symbolized by the horns of the altar. As now the sprinkling of the blood of the sin-offering is distinguished from the like act in the other offerings, chiefly by the circumstance that the blood was sprinkled, not in an indefinite manner on the sides of the altar round about, but particularly on the *horns* of the altar; so by this is indicated an advance in the character and efficacy of the atonement. This higher expiation was required, since it had to do with a definite, open, and thus an *enhanced* offence, by which the theocratic communion with Jehovah was broken off. This mode of sprinkling was limited to the sin-offering of the private individual and of the ruler. In the sin-offering of the priest, the atonement must be of a still more advanced character, since, from his higher theocratic standing, his offence appeared the more aggravated. The priesthood, to whom was transferred the entire priestly dignity of the people, dwelt as such within the sanctuary. Here, therefore, the whole work of the sacrifice should have been performed, had not this entirely opposed and destroyed the *idea* of the holy place. The offering could only be brought into the fore-court by the altar. There the imposition of hands and the

¹ The altar of burnt-offering, as is stated in Ex. 20: 24, was made of earth. In the symbology of our author, earth is the representative and symbol of the people. The physical man was taken from the earth, and unto the earth will it return. The earth was cursed for man's sake. It thus stands in close relation to man, especially as fallen and sinful, and hence was the fittest material for the altar, the symbol of the people. The earth of the altar taken from this common earth especially represents the Israelites, a people, sinful indeed, yet chosen from among men in order to be made holy. The earth of the altar is embraced within a chest or box, and this represents the church as *continens*, as embracing within itself the elect and holy. Much of this to unimaginative minds may perhaps seem a little fanciful. — Tr.

slaying took place; and there also the blood which remained was poured out at the bottom of the altar. But in order to represent the entire transaction as having special reference to the priest, and thus to satisfy the above claim, the *application*, at least, of the same, the sprinkling of the blood, was made within the sanctuary, the symbolical residence of the priesthood. Here the blood was sprinkled, not on the candlestick nor on the table of show-bread, although these were symbols of the priesthood, but on the altar of incense; both because this was ever the most important and essential vessel, since in it was centered in the highest degree the *idea* of the whole apartment, but especially because this vessel fell under the view of an altar, and therefore in its degree corresponded to the altar in the fore-court. Here also the horns were sprinkled or besmeared. But even this was not enough, and hence the blood was sprinkled seven times towards the curtain, before the capporeth. In the most holy place the expiatory blood could be brought only once a year, on the day of atonement, and not until that day could the priest even be allowed to enter. The priesthood in its essential character, however, was closely related to that which the most holy place contained and symbolized. In order, therefore, that the expiation of the priest should be valid, the *application* of it should have there been made; but to this end it was sufficient that the blood was sprinkled *towards* the curtain, where the capporeth was. The sin-offering of the whole congregation was of equal importance and worth to that of the priest. It had similar rites and a similar expiation, not only because the priest was a member of the congregation, but chiefly because the whole priestly dignity which was transferred to the priesthood, properly belonged to the congregation, though as yet it had not attained such a degree of maturity that each of its individual members could be regarded as a priest.

The third and highest degree of expiation was that where the blood was directly sprinkled on the capporeth. What the horns are to the altar, the capporeth is to the ark of the covenant, the concentration of expiatory power. Upon this, therefore, the blood was sprinkled. Hence, also, we perceive why and through what means the capporeth effects the most perfect expiation. In itself, it is indeed a cover, and is employed as such, but its peculiar, ethical power of expiation is obtained from the blood of the most holy offering with which it is sprinkled and covered; for, "without the shedding of blood is no remission."

Some further particulars respecting the sin-offering are furnished us in Lev. 6: 24, etc. And first of all is the command, v. 27, No one

may touch any of the flesh of the sin-offering excepting only the consecrated priest; and if the garment of any one is accidentally sprinkled with the blood, it shall be washed in a holy place. The strict meaning of this ordinance obviously is this: The flesh is so holy that only the holy person of the priest may touch it; the blood is so holy that not a drop of it must be borne without the sanctuary. "So the passage was explained from ancient times," remarks Baehr, and adduces especially Theodoret, Abenezra, Maimonides, Deyling, and Clericus. "De Wette (*de morte expiat. etc.*, p. 16) first made the observation, 'videtur opinio fuisse victimarum sanguinem, culpa peccatoris in eas translata, impurum esse factum,' and this passage has since been largely employed in support of the theory of imputation and penal death. Scholl, p. 154, and Tholuck, p. 78, quote it in this sense. But even the connection is decisive against this view. If the flesh was so holy that no one except a holy person might touch it, so the blood, as the special means of atonement and sanctification, was still holier. Besides, nothing can be more contradictory to the whole nature of the Mosaic offering than to maintain that anything could be defiled by the blood of the offering, the very means of sanctification. Then the altars and the capporeth itself were defiled, while, on the contrary, they were purified yearly even with blood. Lev. 16: 19. Heb. 9: 21, 22. In fact, a weaker, more distorted argument in support of the theory of penal death in the offering, cannot be given." These remarks are so convincing that no objection can be urged against them. However, futile reasons for a thing prove nothing against the thing itself. But of this, by and by.

The same care lest any of this most holy offering should come without the sanctuary, and thereby be profaned, is manifested in the directions given in regard to the vessels, in which the flesh of the offering was boiled, vs. 21, 28. If they were earthen, they must be broken to pieces, since earthen, unglazed vessels gather moisture. If they were of metal, they must be carefully scoured before they could be applied to their customary use. Here, also, some defenders of the juridical view have fallen into a mistake. "Thus Scholl has strangely been pleased to find therein an argument for the impurity of the flesh of the victim, and thus indirectly for substitution; but he did not consider that in the preceding verse the flesh of the offering is designated as so holy that only the holy priests might touch it; and in the following verse it is commanded that only these priests should eat it, and that, too, in a holy place. The appeal to Lev. 11: 33 is untenable; for from the command to break in pieces those vessels into which a

carcass had fallen, it surely does not follow that the 'most holy' sin-offering which the holy servants of Jehovah ate within the sanctuary, belongs to the category of a carcass." Vol. II. p. 393.¹

Finally, in the chapter specified, vs. 26, 29, it is directed that the priest who performs the expiation shall eat in a holy place the flesh of the sin-offering which comes not upon the altar, (though from this the female members of his family were precluded,) yet those sin-offerings whose blood comes into the holy place, were prohibited from such a use, v. 30. Their flesh must not be eaten, but burnt in a clean place without the sanctuary. "Since the entire combustion of the animal on the altar constituted the distinguishing feature of the burnt-offering, so, in case this peculiarity were continued to the burnt-offering, the like transaction could not here take place. Hence, only the best of the offering as representing the whole, came upon the altar, as in the case of the thank-offering, while that which remained was eaten by the priest, or burnt." Vol. II. p. 394. What parts the priest was to eat, is not specified, since the reason which required such a specification in the thank-offering, viz., the distribution of the flesh of the offering between the priests and the offerers, was here wanting. Since now in case of the larger animals, as sheep, goats and rams, the priest could not eat the entire animal (excluding the fat portions) in *one* day, (for even the thank-offerings, though they were not most holy offerings, must be eaten on the first day, and certainly in case of the most holy sin-offering no longer period was allowed,) so here, the same course was taken, although it is not expressly stated, as was pursued with the remaining flesh of the thank-offering; it was burnt in a clean place without the sanctuary.

If we now consider the eating and compare it with the eating of the thank-offering, "it thus appears as an entirely different thing from this. The character of a repast is entirely wanting to it. Not the offerer even, and much less his family, could have a part therein. Nay, not even the relatives of the priest might partake of it, but simply the priests themselves. It was peculiarly a *priestly* meal, and the joyousness and festivity, which, according to the oriental idea, are inseparable from a repast, are wholly wanting. Here the priests

¹ J. D. Michaelis, with his usual stolid sagacity, explains the ordinance in the following manner: Moses would not recommend the use of earthen vessels since they were so fragile, but would inculcate upon his people in this delicate manner the truth, that the costlier brazen vessels were cheaper than the less expensive but fragile earthen ones. These, indeed, gather a light rust, but for this reason they were appointed to be cleansed. — *Mosaic Laws*, Vol. IV. p. 314.

appear as priests, in the exercise of their peculiar office and dignity." Vol. II. p. 394.

To the question by what association of ideas is the eating of the flesh of the sin-offering connected with the official character of the priest, it is somewhat difficult to reply. Lev. 10: 17 (a passage which Baehr has not considered) would seem to afford some information on this point. Moses here inquires of Aaron, Why have ye not eaten the sin-offering in a holy place? For it is a most holy thing, and it is given you (וְנִתְּנָה לָכֶם) to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before Jehovah. Ingenious, at least, is the explanation of this passage in Deyling, Obs. ss. 1. 65. § 2: nam hoc pacto, cum ederent, incorporabant quasi peccatum, populi que reatum in se recipiebant, ut indicaretur, aliquando sacerdotem et victimam unam fore personam, nempe Messiam, id quod in Jesu Nazareno exacte impletum fuit. Against this view we may not urge the objection, that the phrase וְנִתְּנָה לָכֶם is taken in the sense of *portare peccatum* (to bear sin), while, like the analogous αἰρεῖν ἀμαρτίαν of the New Testament (John 1: 29. 1 John 3: 5) it rather means *peccata auferre* (to remove sins), for Lev. 5: 1 is plainly used in the former sense, but that the eating did not take place until after the expiation was accomplished, when the sin was already covered, expiated and removed. Furthermore the phrase וְנִתְּנָה לָכֶם is here explained more definitely by the subjoined clause לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם. The predominant signification then of וְנִתְּנָה is that of *removal*, yet the other, of *bearing*, is by no means excluded thereby; rather was the bearing in this case, even a removal. The priest as mediator between the sinful people and the Holy God was a representative of both. The *portare* of iniquities appertains to him as representative of the former, the *auferre* of iniquities as representative of the latter. Certainly there could be no bearing and removing which were perfectly adequate, and correspondent to their idea, unless he as a proper mediator should take sin *upon himself* and by himself make expiation. But even in this is found that which rendered the typical sacrifice imperfect and unsatisfying, so that it could only be *σμία* and not the *σῶμα*.

Though we cannot with Deyling regard the eating as a symbolical *incorporatio peccati*, yet we must consider it, an *incorporatio sacrificii*. The relation of the eating to the *priestly* efficacy of the atonement is from the above passage undeniable, and this can be explained only on the supposition that by this act was represented an intimate connection of the priest on the one hand with the offering,

and therefore with the offerer for whom it was presented as a substitute, and on the other hand with Jehovah, to whom the whole offering belonged, but who was satisfied with the fat portions as the most excellent, and gave the remainder to the priest, which should otherwise be given up to the fire. The relation of the sacrificial animal to the offerer was signified by the imposition of hands, as the same to Jehovah was signified by the burning of the best portions, and both these relations were united in the priest, when they were expressed by the eating of the remaining flesh. Baehr to a certain extent recognizes these relations, though in another form and on a different ground. "In the eating of the most holy offering in the holy place, the priests appear in the closest connection and communion both with this offering and also with Him from whom all holiness proceeds, and whose instruments they are, with Jehovah." Vol. II. p. 395. That this connection between the offering and the priest obtained only in the sin (and trespass) offerings, and not in the burnt and thank-offerings, has primarily an external ground. In the burnt offering, the entire combustion of the animal, and in the thank-offering, the so essential sacrificial meal, precluded all opportunity for the representation of this idea. There is also an internal reason why this relation must be found, if anywhere, in the sin-offering. As expiation is the central point of the offering, so is the sin-offering the most important one, *the offering κατ' ἐξοχήν*. It is this offering, therefore, which, as the concentration and highest (Old Testament) expression of the idea of sacrifice, was brought on the great day of atonement, and which of all the offerings most fully imaged forth the sacrificial death of Christ. Hence it was appointed that here should be manifested those necessary relations of the priest to the offerer and to Jehovah, which were realized through the *divine humanity* of Christ.

"Accordingly," to proceed with Baehr, "it lay without doubt in the peculiar character and design of this kind of offering, that neither the offerer nor any one except a priest, could have a part in the eating." And hereby also is explained the ordinance that, of those offerings whose blood came into the holy place, nothing should be eaten, but that the flesh should be burnt without the sanctuary. "It is," he remarks, "well to observe that *such* were the offerings which were brought for the expiation of the whole people, including the priests, or of the high priest as the head and representative of the people. Here, then, the priests, including likewise the high priest, were the persons who were to be expiated and sanctified, and not, as in the other sin-offerings, exclusively the sanctifiers or procurers of

sanctification. They here appear by no means simply in their priestly character, but as offerers and needing expiation. Therefore even they were not permitted to eat of this offering, and that which under other circumstances was eaten, must be disposed of in another manner. In this case, then, the transaction was not of a priestly character, and belonged not to a properly sacrificial act; it was rendered necessary by special circumstances and did not proceed directly from the fundamental idea of this offering. As the animal for a peculiar and extraordinary reason might not be eaten, the only course remaining was, in some suitable way, to remove and destroy it. For this purpose it was brought without the camp, though to "a clean place," and then it was not consigned to decay and corruption, which would seem like a despising and a profanation of the holy offering, but it was immediately consumed by fire and converted to ashes, in a manner entirely similar to the disposition made of the flesh of the *shelamim* (thank-offerings) which on the second or third day might no longer be eaten but must be burnt. That this act of burning possessed more of a religious than a properly priestly character, is shown by the twofold specification, according to which, this was to take place without the sanctuary, and the animal also (which elsewhere never happened, not even in the burnt-offering), was consigned to the fire with its skin and offal. Yet was this always designated as an offering, since this burning took place where the ashes of all the sacrificial animals were generally brought." Vol. II. p. 395, 396.

Even this removal and burning of the animal without the camp have been very incorrectly urged, by Scholl and De Wette, as an argument for the imputation of sin, and the consequent impurity of the sacrificial animal, on the ground that "nothing impure was suffered in the camp." In refutation of this, we very gladly employ Baehr's own words: "These sin-offerings in comparison with those of private individuals were certainly the more important, for their blood came even within the sanctuary. Hence they were the holier, and the expiatory or sanctifying power of their blood was greater. If now the lower class of the private sin-offerings was so little impure that they could be and must be eaten, even by the holy priests; so the burning of the higher class cannot possibly be accounted for by its greater impurity, but must have been occasioned by far different circumstances. Were the cause of the burning to be found in the impurity effected by the imputation of sin, then it surely must have taken place in *all* the sin-offerings, even in those of private persons, since the imputation and hence the impurity were entirely the same

in both classes. If everything impure must be removed out of the camp, it does not follow that everything which was carried from thence was impure. That which was unclean was wont to be brought to an *unclean* place, Lev. 14: 44, 45. In opposition to this, the law commands that the sin-offering shall be brought to a *clean* place, from which circumstance it follows quite as necessarily as naturally that the offering itself was pure. Nothing can be more opposite and contradictory to the whole doctrine of the Mosaic offerings than the affirmation that those offerings which served to atone especially and in a high degree, were in an especial degree impure." Vol. II. p. 397.

As in our explanation of the ritual of the sin-offerings, we have for the most part coincided with Baehr, it is now incumbent upon us to show that the views adopted or modified by ourselves are accordant with the juridical idea of the offering. And to this work are we the more strongly impelled since we are here met by our distinguished opponent with these words of victory and triumph: "While by our theory the management of the sin-offering appears to be based on the fundamental idea of the offering and is consistent throughout, the common juridical view is here especially reduced to straits." Vol. II. p. 396. And in a note, he places before us the hopeless prognostic, "never will the juridical view succeed in getting safely over this point."

Let us then hear what the obstacles are which so impassably block up the way. On page 396 he remarks: "If all guilt and sin were, as is maintained, imputed to the sacrificial animal, and if in consequence of this, it died a penal death and was impure, how, we ask, since even the contact with things unclean caused defilement, could the *eating* of the animal have been commanded, especially, how could this command have been given exclusively to the priests, who, otherwise more than any layman, were required to avoid, as possible, all defilement? Wherefore was the animal, having become unclean, to be eaten in 'the holy place,' while otherwise nothing impure, even in the slightest degree, was suffered to remain, and least of all, within the sanctuary? The law says: 'all the males among the priests shall eat thereof; it is most holy.' According to the juridical view, the opposite command should be given; no one, and least of all, a priest, shall eat thereof, for it is wholly unclean."

This whole argumentation furnishes new evidence, though similar to much which has already fallen under our notice, that the prejudices of our distinguished opponent against the juridical view held by the church, have so completely mastered him that they have darkened

his vision otherwise so clear and penetrating, and have not once allowed him to make himself acquainted with the opposite theory, so as to learn what in it is essential and necessary, and what is accidental and indifferent. He is so firmly fixed to his own point of observation, that he does not once leave it, even for a moment, in order that he may properly reconnoitre and appreciate the territory of an opponent.

To Scholl (from whose notice the contradiction in which he had involved himself did not escape, since he confesses, "this only is inexplicable to me at present, that it was permitted, nay, even commanded, to the priests to eat the flesh of the defiled victim,") to him the above argument is perfectly convincing and triumphant. It, however, affects only the *faulty* development and defence of the juridical theory, for which this theory itself is not and cannot be responsible, unless that view of the impurity of the offering were a necessary consequence from this, so that the former could not be given up without at the same time destroying the latter. But this is by no means the case, though Scholl seems to believe it to be such, and Baehr very willingly follows him in this belief. On the contrary, it is not difficult to show not only that this view in no way necessarily follows from "the penal death theory" but even that it stands in direct opposition to it, that it contradicts its essential nature, and originated only from a distorted view of the same. But thus the whole boasted argument falls to ruins, and the shout of victory is sounded forth much too early.

According to the so-called "penal death theory," sin is (symbolically) imputed to the animal appointed for sacrifice, by the imposition of hands.¹ This has to do with the principle of vitality, the blood. So far now as the blood is infected by the imputation of the sin to be expiated, the whole life of the animal is thereby infected (just as the whole life of the sinner is infected). For since the life or the soul is in the blood, and the blood which sustains the soul permeates the whole physical being of the animal in every direction, to the remotest limits, so the whole animal may be regarded as infected with sin, which is expressed in the strongest manner by this circumstance, that the animal itself is now called חטאת (sin), and hence is regarded as sin, which is, as it were, individualized in the animal.²

¹ During this act the offerer, according to the Rabbinic tradition, made the following confession: Obsecro, domine, peccavi, deliqui, rebellavi, hoc et illud feci, nunc autem poenitentiam ago, sitque haec expiatio mea. Maimonides de rat. sacrif. 3. — Tr.

² Even the names חטאת and עֲוֹן for the offerings in question, form an exam-

The blood as the seat of the soul and of feeling, as the sensitive principle, is also the seat of desire, and hence the birth-place and source of sin. As now the blood is concerned in the imputation, so also in the punishment. The blood as the seat of life is the source of sin; against the blood then as the seat of life is the punishment also directed, and this in consequence takes the form of death. The shedding of the blood is the death. So soon as this is shed, the punishment is suffered; so soon, however, as the punishment is suffered, the sin is annulled, abolished, the *status integer* restored. Until the blood be shed its desire is not annulled by aversion nor its life by death, and hence it was impure; but so soon as this takes place, this impurity is destroyed. The blood was now not only pure but purifying, and as such, as the means of expiation, was holy. If the garment of any one was sprinkled with it, the garment was not defiled thereby, but the blood rather was profaned, for the garment is a profane thing. Still less could the blood of the slain beast be regarded as unclean. It was not in itself properly impure, even before the death and expiation, but was only so in a measure by its connection with the blood. Had the blood been impure it could not have come upon the holy vessels. Had the flesh been unclean, then its better parts, the fat, could not have been given up to Jehovah through the fire, for Jehovah suffered nothing impure to approach Him.

In regard to the *material* of the sin-offering, the want of the meat-offering comes first into consideration. That this want was important and essential is shown by the ordinance (Lev. 5: 11) which appointed in case of extreme poverty a bloodless offering to be brought instead of a bloody one, and which, furthermore, prohibits any addition of oil or frankincense to this substituted, bloodless offering, and expressly adds as the reason for this prohibition, "for it is a sin-offering." Accordingly it was the oil and incense whose presence made the bloodless offering a meat-offering, and whose absence in the substitution of the bloodless for a bloody sin-offering, was essential and necessary. In this then lies the reason why in general no meat-offering was united with the sin-offering. Oil and incense symbolize the spirit of God and the prayer of man. The meat-offering in general is the symbol of good works. These, however, are good works and acceptable to God, only when they proceed from the depths of a godly and sanctified heart, when they are produced and matured by the Holy Spirit, and when, furthermore, they are presented to God as His own

ple in favor of imputation and substitution, which the opposite view will never be able to eliminate.

work in man, and the latter acknowledges with thanksgiving and praise, that the works are not the product of his own goodness, but of the grace of God. The sin-offering, however, was the expiatory sacrifice *κατ' ἑξοχῆν*. The idea of atonement was here so entirely predominant that no room for the other ideas remained. The giving up of all the members and capacities, subsequently to the expiation, to the sanctifying fire, already retires to the background; while the consecration of the good works is here wholly wanting, and can appear only in the succeeding stage of the sacrificial institute, the burnt-offering.

In regard to the material of the *bloody sin-offering*, we perceive that the value of the animal to be chosen stood in a proportionate relation to the higher or lower expiation, and hence also to the rank and position of the offerer within the theocracy: "Most commonly, and certainly in the more general and important cases, the he-goat (*שְׂעִיר עִזִּים*) was appointed. That this selection was not made without design is too manifest to be overlooked, yet the reasons assigned for it are very diverse." We here confess our ignorance, and passing over the most wonderful and even absurd explanations of the same, we shall note only the opinion of Baehr, which, though it be purely conjectural, yet possesses the merit of being a very ingenious and certainly a not improbable conjecture: "The name of this kind of goat will guide us to a correct conclusion. They are called *שְׂעִירִים* on account of their long, shaggy hair. From this the garments of the mourners, and of the preachers of repentance were commonly manufactured (comp. Zech. 13: 4 with 2 Kings 1: 8). Among the mourners such a garment was called *שָׂק*, *σάκκος*, (Isaiah 20: 2). That these garments possessed a significant character needs no proof. With the mourners, they were the direct signs of sorrow. With the prophets, they indicated that he who was thus clad proclaims sin and repentance,—a *sermo propheticus realis*. The *שְׂעִיר עִזִּים*, as the sin-offering, had a similar reference to sin, and the mourning necessary for it (repentance). Very suitable then was the appointment of this animal for those offerings chiefly which had to do *only* with sin; and this was the more appropriate in case offerings, especially burnt-offerings, were brought at the same time. That this selection had not to do with male goats as such, is shown by the simple circumstance that not male goats in general, but only this species of the same, were selected for the sin-offerings, and never the other species, the *שְׂעִירִים* which were employed in the thank-offerings (Num. 7: 17).

Finally, Baehr passes to the case of indulgence, Lev. 5: 11, to

which we have already alluded: "The oil is to the meal what the fat is to the animal. It is the sign of fulness and prosperity, and as such is the ornament and grace of the offering. The frankincense also, like all perfumes, is expensive, and is of the nature of ornament. The absence of both these has reference to the offerer as well as to this particular kind of offering. It was a poor offering, destitute of ornament and grace." (Vol. II. p. 400.)

This interpretation is clearly an unfortunate one, and must have had its origin in utter perplexity. If the oil bore the same relation to the meal as the fat to the animal, then it must have been as indispensable as this. As the fat of the sin-offering was offered to Jehovah, in the fire, so the oil must have been presented to Jehovah, on the altar. And if the oil, as the sign of fulness and prosperity, as the ornament and grace of the offering, was wanting, and if this destitution belonged to the idea of the sin-offering, then there should have been selected for the sin-offering as lean an animal as possible, or at least the fat portions of the same should have been set aside, and not have been laid on the altar. The reason, as we have already seen, is entirely the same as that by which the addition of the meat-offering to the sin-offering was prohibited. In the burning of the fat portions nothing peculiar presents itself. Only this appears remarkable, that the expression occurring so frequently in the burning of the flesh of the burnt-offering אֶפְסָה רִיח־זֶה־לַיהוָה (fire of a sweet savor unto Jehovah), is here never employed. Since the burning of the most excellent part of the flesh had manifestly the same significance as the burning of the whole flesh, so from the absence of the expression we cannot argue the non-existence of the fact. In the burnt-offering, the burning is the essential thing, the properly characteristic function which renders the offering a burnt-offering; and hence the phrase "of a sweet savor for Jehovah," which denotes the effect of the burning, is here chiefly and even exclusively employed. What the burning is in the burnt-offering, the sprinkling of blood is in the sin-offering, the *expiation*; and hence to this sprinkling, the כִּפָּר (to make atonement) is chiefly and almost exclusively ascribed. As in the burnt-offering, the expression כִּפָּר is extremely rare, occurring indeed only once, so that "of sweet savor," in the sin-offering, never occurs. But even if the כִּפָּר had never been affirmed of the burnt-offering, yet, on account of the blood-sprinkling which here took place, expiation could not be denied to it; so also the "sweet savor for Jehovah" cannot be denied to the burning of the sin-offering, although it be not expressly ascribed to the same. The difficult pas-

sage, Lev. 5: 1—13, which we are convinced, appertains to the sin-offerings, yet as it has been placed by many, and especially by Baehr also, in the rubric of trespass-offerings, we can only consider hereafter.

ARTICLE III.

HEBREW CRITICISMS.

By M. Stuart, lately Prof. of Sacred Literature at Andover.

NO. I. A WORD MORE ON PSALM XXII. 17.

WHAT more can be said, or needs to be said? are questions which may very naturally be asked, by any one who knows that a little library of books has already been written, on the controverted clause of the text in question. And after all, the matter has not, as our cousin-Germans express it, *come into the clear*. Doubt and division of opinion remain; and not only as it regards the readers in general of the original Scriptures, but also among the most learned Hebrew scholars now living.

These grounds of doubt and difficulty cannot be felt, or duly appreciated, by the mere English reader. They rest almost wholly on the form of a single Hebrew word, viz. כַּאֲרֵי, as now presented in our commonly received Hebrew text. The English reader finds the verse in question apparently very plain. It runs thus: "For dogs have compassed me; the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me; *they pierced my hands and my feet.*" The word *dogs* will, of course, be tropically understood by every intelligent reader; just as it is in the New Testament, when the Apostle says: "Beware of dogs" (Phil. 3: 2), and again, when the Apocalypticist says: "Without are dogs" (Rev. 22: 15). In all these three cases, degraded, vile, ravenous, and shameless men are tropically designated.

The second clause of Ps. 22: 17 (Eng. version, v. 16) employs a more literal diction, instead of this figurative one. Its words are: *The assembly of the wicked*; which is an equivalent of the preceding word *dogs*, such as is common in Hebrew parallelisms. All then appears to be plain. The meaning thus far seems to be simply,

that many base and mischievous persons have surrounded the complainant, and with an intent to injure him.

The last clause only of the verse might suggest some doubts to the mind of a practised reader of the Bible. To speak of *piercing my hands and my feet*, instead of saying *me*, or *my person*, or *my body*, is at least very unusual, and therefore seems somewhat strange. Indeed, the particularity of it is such, as to excite something of wonder, at first view, if not a suspicion that the original text has somehow been disturbed. Yet a little further investigation will serve to allay this feeling, in a good measure, since we shall find other very striking and unusual particulars, disclosed by the language of the sufferer. For example, v. 19th: "They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture;" and again: "They shake the head, saying: He trusted in the Lord, that he would deliver him; let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him!" vs. 7, 8. This last is uttered in the way of mockery and insult at the sufferer's helplessness. But both passages are peculiar for their *speciality*, and their remoteness from the usual modes of describing persecution. And so with the last clause of v. 17. *The wounding of the hands and the feet* are circumstances not elsewhere to be found, in such descriptions. This may serve to awaken inquiry in respect to the expression as a whole; but the simple meaning of the words by themselves, in English, is entirely plain and obvious to every one. Of course, no one would hesitate about the general meaning of the verse, provided it could be shown that our English version is correct. The difficulty of showing this, is what perplexes the commentators; and not without some reason.

All the real difficulty of the passage is concentrated in the single word *בְּאַרְיֵי*, which is translated *pierced*. But apparently the very same word elsewhere, in four cases, means, and is on all hands translated: *As a lion*, viz., Is. 38: 13. Num. 23: 24. 24: 9, and Ezek. 22: 25. The only discrepancy in these cases, as to the form of the word, is this, viz., that in the last three cases, it is pointed *בְּאַרְיֵי*, that is, it has a *Pattah* under the *ב*, instead of a *Qamets* as in the other two cases. But this is a thing which does not at all affect the real and essential meaning of the word. It is simply *the absence of the article* from the noun, in the last three instances, which occasions its special vowel-point, *Pattah*. But in the first two cases, the article belongs to the noun; and this article being elided by the prefix particle *ב*, its vowel (*Qamets*) is thrown under the *ב*, according to general usage. Hence we have *בְּאַרְיֵי*, instead of *בְּאַרְיֵי*. Of course every

one sees, that it makes no more difference with the main word itself, in Hebrew, than it does in English, whether we say *as the lion*, or *as a lion*. Both are good, in English and in Hebrew. Both mean, or at least may mean, the same identical thing. All the difference is, that in the first case, the article *the* tacitly distinguishes *the lion* from other beasts; and in the second case, the omission of *the* makes the word mean *a lion*, that is, *any lion*. In other words, a shade of distinctiveness appears in the first case, which is omitted in the second; but without the least change in the essential meaning of the word. In the Hebrew, the ׀ of comparison is perhaps more often followed by the article, expressed or implied; but this usage has almost as many exceptions as examples. Of course, both methods are good usage.

Here, then, is ample vindication of the meaning of כַּאֲרִי, if we follow the analogy of the other four cases; for in all four of them there is not a spark of doubt, that the meaning is simply *as the lion*, or *as a lion*. Why not follow this analogy in our text?

The answer is, that 'such a rendering in the clause before us would make no intelligible meaning.' '*As a lion, my hands and my feet* — what sense is there in this? Certainly there is, I concede, no tolerable sense, unless the construction is *elliptical*, and we introduce some verb to govern and make significant the last two nouns.

But here we are met with the allegation, that a verb cannot be brought over, in this instance, from the preceding clause; although every one is forced to concede, that in a great number of instances, where a preceding verb is appropriate, it is thus *mentally* carried forward, instead of being again repeated in the text. Indeed, nothing is more common than this, in Hebrew poetry. But while the general principle is conceded, as here laid down — a principle which breviloquence and energy of diction fully justify — yet the allegation in the present case is, that the verb would be wholly *inappropriate*. The Rev. Mr. Landis, in the preceding number of this Review, has fully and even sarcastically exposed the incongruity of supplying the verb הִקְיִפוּ, if translated (as he insists it must be) by our verb *surrounded*. He asks, and not without reason, how we can conceive, imagine, or paint, *a lion as surrounding* the hands and feet of a man. He tells us that such an expression could come only from a "son of the Emerald Isle;" whom in fact he introduces as using it, or at least the like of it. This is all well enough, at any rate plain enough, provided we must translate the Hebrew verb הִקְיִפוּ as he does, viz. *surround*. But what if this same verb may mean *stab, pierce, transfix*?

Why then all is plain enough. *As a lion* [they pierce] *my hands and my feet*, is surely good sense, and has no *Hibernianism* in it. *Hands and feet* are the instruments of defence or of flight, in case of an attack by a lion. The hands are spontaneously stretched out to defend the body; or, in case of flight, the feet are specially employed. To cripple these is the first effort of the lion; and this he does, by seizing them with his teeth, and piercing them through. The victim is then maimed, so as to be incapable of resistance or escape; and so, the comparison is pregnant with meaning. What hinders our interpreting the passage thus?

Not the verb *נִקְּוָה*, in the preceding clause. This may have, and not improbably here has, the meaning required. The verb *נִקְּוָה*, which is the root, originally means *to pierce, strike through, transfix, to fasten with nails*, etc. This meaning of the verb is fully confirmed by both the Chaldee and the Arabic, where this same verb has such a sense. In Kal, the verb is employed but once in the Hebrew Scriptures. But in Piel, it twice appears, and with the meaning above given intensified, e. g., in Is. 10: 34, and in Job 19: 26, with the meaning (in the latter case) a little generalized, being = *כָּרַה*, and meaning *to destroy*. But in the text before us we have a *Hiphil* form, which generally has a derived or secondary meaning, viz., *to go round, to encircle, to surround*; as may be seen in the lexicon. But it does not follow from this, that *Hiphil* has, or can have, no other shade of meaning than this secondary one. A great multitude of verbs have, in this passage or in that, a meaning *sui generis* in *Hiphil*; as every one familiar with Hebrew must know. It is the *context*, which must dictate the shade of meaning, not only of verbs, but very often also of nouns. Take for example the very plain and simple word *ἐξουσία*, and ask whether any of its evident and familiar meanings will apply to 1 Cor. 11: 10, where the apostle says: "For this cause ought the woman to have *power* (*ἐξουσία*) on her head, because of the angels." What downright nonsense would any of the usual meanings of *ἐξουσία* make here! We are forced to explain it as meaning *symbol of power*; and probably it was the local and current name of the *veil* worn by *married* women; and, viewed in this light, it was moreover a very significant name. Now why do we depart from the usual meaning of *ἐξουσία* here? The answer is: Simply because the *context* demands it. We take it for granted, that the author wrote *sense*; and therefore we feel obliged so to interpret his words as to make sense.

Even so, in the case before us. If the verb in question has most

clearly the sense demanded in order to be carried forward with propriety, and this in all cases of its use out of Hiphil in Hebrew, and also has the same meaning in the cognate languages, what violence is done to the common principles of exegesis, by adopting this appropriate meaning in the present case? Surely none. One needs to consult only a few verbs in the Hebrew Lexicon, in order to satisfy himself that the *Hiphil* form often has the same sense as some one of the meanings in Kal or Piel; see Roed. Heb. Grammar, § 52. 2. If then the context invites us here to give the verb such an interpretation as that named above, why are we not at liberty to do so? I know of nothing which forbids it. The fact that the Hiphil of נָקַף elsewhere means *go round, surround*, etc., is by no means conclusive against the present proposed meaning. Let any one take his lexicon, and search out the Hiphil forms, and he will soon see, that cases enough may be found, where only one single passage exhibits a *sui generis* meaning, while all the other examples of usage differ from it. Specially do Hiphil and Piel often convey the same meaning; e. g. אָבַד, הִאָּבַד, *he destroyed*. This is all we need, in the present case. All the cases of נָקַף in Piel mean to *pierce* or *wound*; why may not some of the examples in Hiphil preserve and exhibit the same meaning? Most clearly no grammatical or lexical difficulty stands in the way of this, provided the context demands it. It would be easy to show this, by a multitude of examples of the like nature, both as to Kal and Hiphil, and as to Piel and Hiphil; e. g. as to the first class, viz. Kal and Hiph., we have אָטַט, Kal and Hiph. *clausit*; אָרַךְ, Kal. and Hiph., *longum fecit*; בָּצָה, Kal and Hiph., *sprevit*; בִּין, Kal and Hiph., *percepit*, (only in *one* case, Is. 28: 19, while a multitude of other examples in Hiph. are of a different shade); בָּקַע, Kal and Hiph., *aperuit*; and so *sexcenties*, and even more. In regard to Piel and Hiphil, the cases are more numerous still; e. g. כִּוֵּן, Piel and Hiph., *statuit*; כִּחַד, Piel and Hiph., *occultavit*; כִּצַּח, Piel and Hiph., *irritavit*; כִּחַר, Piel and Hiph., *cinxit*; מָלַט, Piel and Hiph., *liberavit*; מָרַר, Piel and Hiph., *acerbum fecit*; and the same in cases without number. The only question that remains therefore is, Whether, in the present case, the verb in Hiph. demands the same meaning which it has in Piel?

If now the last clause of the verse were wanting, we might say with confidence, that הִקְיִפוּ should be rendered *surround*, because the preceding clause has apparently a parallel in סָבְבוּ, *encircle* or *surround*. In such a case, the two members of the parallelism are simply *synonymous*. The case would indeed, when thus circumstanced,

be too plain to admit of any doubt. But the addition of the third clause of the verse (on the ground that **לִפְנֵי** means *as the lion*), renders absolutely necessary the supply of some verb; and in a case like this, (which does not exhibit any of the commonly abridged and breviloquent expressions made plain by their frequency), we should of course expect the necessary verb to be supplied by the context. My belief is, that it is supplied in this way, in the present instance. We have seen that no grammatical or lexical principles hinder our giving to the Hiph. form the same meaning which the Piel has. The demand for this indeed is imperious, on the ground that **לִפְנֵי** is taken as a *noun*. The context must give us a clue to the verb, or else we must *guess* at the ellipsis, and supply it at our own will; a principle which is inadmissible, in respect to any writing designed to be intelligible. And if the context does in the present case supply the ellipsis, then the meaning of *pierced, transfixed*, must be given to **וְהִקְיפוּ**, because *surround* would make little short of sheer nonsense.

I venture then on giving to this last verb, the meaning here designated. Piel has it, (*Kal* of this verb is not common in Hebrew use, so far as we know); the kindred dialects exhibit it; usage, in cases without number, permits the employing of a verb in the same sense both in Piel and Hiphil; and the context, (if **לִפְנֵי** be a *noun*), absolutely demands it.

It is no good answer to this, to aver that the first clause of the verse controls the meaning of the second throughout. There are indeed many cases of strictly synonymous parallelism; but these are fewer than those, in which an *advance* is made in the second clause. *Climactic*, in a measure, are unnumbered cases of parallels; indeed this is almost normal. The second has a stronger verb, or noun, than the first. This is in accordance with the natural taste and feeling of every reader; and examples without end could easily be adduced, but they are unnecessary for any well informed reader, since he may find them on every page of Hebrew poetry.

I have already said, that if the third clause of the verse before us were omitted, then I should take the first two clauses as a clear example of the strict *synonymous* parallelism. But since the third clause is added, if **לִפְנֵי** has its normal meaning (i. e. *as the lion*), then must we give to **וְהִקְיפוּ** a *climactic* sense, (of which indeed, as we have seen, it is altogether capable), and translate it *pierced* or *transfixed*. So then, in this way, we have the idea, in the first clause, that the enemies of the sufferer gather in numbers around him, and with a hostile intention; in the second, that these evil men *assault*

and wound him; and in the third, we have a peculiar specification of the manner of the wounding, viz. the piercing of *the hands and the feet*. Of itself this seems to indicate, that the sufferer in question is *peculiar*, or at all events that he is wounded in a peculiar manner; for in general, such descriptions deal not in minute particulars. If now the holy Redeemer was actually wounded in the way here indicated, (as in fact he was), then here is a description of his sufferings both *unique* and *appropriate*. This tells well for the meaning of the passage; for the Psalm is, at least in my view, clearly *Messianic*, and certainly not applicable to David, the writer, in any appropriate sense.

The assertion by Mr. Landis, that a root נקץ must be taken as the ground form of נקצו (p. 812), I must regard as not well grounded, and certainly as unnecessary. Gesenius and Fuerst both consider such a root as merely *fictitious*; and although verbs Pe Yodh, of Class III, may in a few cases take such a form in Hiphil, yet there are no vestiges of such a *root*, either in Hebrew or the kindred languages with such a meaning. Mr. L. calls the derivation of נקצו from a verb Pe Nun, a *far fetched* construction (ib.); why, I know not, for surely this is an ordinary form of such verbs Pe Nun in Hiphil; whereas this form, if from נקץ, is to be reckoned only among the unfrequent and somewhat rare forms.

Mr. L. has twice asserted (pp. 812, 814), that the Athnach under נקצו "shows that it [the verb] has no connection with the following words, and is not to be joined to them." This is a mistake which may be corrected by referring to the first verse of the Hebrew Bible. There the Athnach rests on אלהים; and if his position be true, then the verb ברא which precedes this, terminates its influence with the first clause, and we are of course obliged to translate thus: "In the beginning, one created God." This conclusion is inevitable on the ground which he assumes. The like would often take place, in all parts of the Bible, in cases almost without number. The simple truth is, that none of the Hebrew accents are safe guides always, in the matter of sense or connection. They often regulate merely the *cantillation* of the Scriptures, and are not always *distinctives* as to the sense; as might easily be shown by a cloud of witnesses.

Dr. Nordheimer says, very justly, in his Hebrew Grammar (II. p. 314), that "very often a verb expressed in the first clause of a poetic parallelism, is left to be understood in the second;" of which he gives plain and striking examples. Now in all, or nearly all, of these cases, the Athnach stands on the last word of the first clause; but

this never hinders the continuance of the power of the verb, and its extension to the second clause. Many other examples he gives of the like merely *mental* transfers of words from the first clause to the second, and some even *vice versa*. This is a matter so obvious in Hebrew poetry, that there is scarcely room for a mistake.

It is in this way, that I arrive at a satisfactory view of the meaning of the contested clause. It is true, I arrive at the same goal as Mr. L., and as Dr. Alexander also, in respect to the substance of his opinion. The clause respects the REDEEMER, and designates his peculiar sufferings on the cross. But I arrive at the goal, by travelling in a road somewhat different from that which either of these gentlemen have travelled — in a way which seems to me plain, facile, and offending neither grammar nor lexicon, nor demanding any change in the Hebrew text. And if I am right in my views of this way, it is surely preferable to one, which demands laceration of the text, or even of its vowels, in order to bring about a desired meaning.

That the ancient versions and most of the later commentators have translated *הִקְיִסוּ* by *surround*, can be easily accounted for on the ground of the ready parallelism which this makes with the preceding clause. Having thus translated, and seeing that *surround* would be preposterous as applied to *my hands and my feet*, they of course felt constrained to make *הִקְיִסוּ* into a verb, or into its equivalent, i. e. a participle. But they are not all agreed as to the meaning of the verb, as Mr. L. has himself shown. Had they looked at the third clause, as governed by the second, they would then have been directed to a more easy and obvious solution, than that which they have chosen. But still, no one need be surprised at this. The careful interpreter will often meet with passages, which have come down to us in a traditional garb that does not fit them, and which recent and more exact criticism is obliged to strip off. Nor need we hesitate to do this, when a better and more facile meaning can be brought out in this way. Even the vowel-points are not binding, since they came in nearly a thousand years after the writing of the Old Testament was completed. They are indeed an *elucidation* of the text — one so admirable and appropriate in general, that no one should ever depart from them except for a good and obvious reason. But when such a reason does occur, who can scruple to follow a better sense than they give? Yet this matter is never to be engaged in lightly, or without sober and adequate consideration. But surely it is not every reader, who can judge skilfully, whether the reason for the departure is a good and valid one. It is best here to “make haste slowly.” A

minute knowledge of grammar and idiom are necessary, in order to judge well.

Mr. L. has expressed his wonder at the unwillingness of Dr. A. to adopt the reading of the Qeri here, or rather of the Masora parva on Num. 24: 9; which, instead of the כָּאֲרִי in Ps. 22: 17, suggests in remarks on the former passage, that the *text* in the Psalms reads כָּאֲרִי. This perhaps is to be read כָּאֲרִי; I say *perhaps*, for we are not certain that the Masorites did read thus. They may have read כָּאֲרִי, and thus have made the word a derivate from כָּוִר, 3 plur. Perf. written with a superfluous א after the first vowel; as it is, in like manner, in a very few other cases, e. g., קָאֵז for קָז in Hos. 10: 14, רָאֵמָה for רָמָה in Zech. 14: 10; and thus in a few other cases. The א here, in such a case, is merely a *mater lectionis*, a *fulcrum*, or at most is only intended to give emphasis to the preceding vowel. That in fact the Masorites must have so read the word in question (i. e. read it כָּאֲרִי), seems quite probable if not certain. As to the word כָּאֲרִי, it has no basis. A root כָּאֲר is a nullity, so far as I can discover, a real Hebrew *Unding*; and if so, of course we must suppose the Masorites to have read the word as כָּאֲרִי from כָּוִר.

It becomes interesting to inquire here, whether the Masora has given a consistent testimony, in regard to the controverted word כָּאֲרִי. So far as it respects the ancient text, the Masora is the only *critical* commentary and guide which we have, in regard to nearly all the ancient various readings of the Hebrew manuscripts. All the ancient translators have dealt more or less freely with the text, in giving, every now and then, paraphrastical versions; so that in a case of nicety as to what was a Hebrew reading, they are rarely to be depended on. The Masora has given us a pretty ample list of various readings, which existed at the time when it was written. We, of course, are entitled to choose between them, and are not at all bound to follow the Qeri, which bids us read so and so, in a way different from the received text or Kethibh. But although we have a right to call in question the authority of the Qeri, and half the time, or in some books (e. g. Daniel and Coheleth) more than half, feel obliged to follow the Kethibh as the better reading of the two; yet the Masora is a highly important means of ascertaining what the ancient readings of different Codices were, and some of its readings are of high, if not of essential, value.

Is the Masora consistent, now, in the case before us? On Num. 24: 9, it says, as we have seen, that the Kethibh of Ps. 22: 17 is כָּאֲרִי, probably read כָּאֲרִי). But we must observe, that in the very

same passage of the Masora, the statement is made that כֹּאֲרִי occurs twice with Qamets [viz. Ps. 22: 17. Is. 38: 13], and twice with Pattah [Num. 23: 24. Ezek. 22: 25]. I understand this as meaning so many times, in other passages besides the text in Num. 24: 9, because such is the fact. In other words, כֹּאֲרִי with a כ before it occurs five times in the whole, twice where כ has Qamets (i. e. the vowel of the article), and three times, if we include (as we must) Num. 24: 9, with a Pattah under the כ, which merely show that the *article* is not here employed. The word and its combinations (with כ) are the same in all these cases, as we have seen above, p. 52. Now these are all the instances, in which a word of this form and combination appears in the Old Testament. And as the Masora includes all these under its remark on כֹּאֲרִי in Num. 24: 9; and as these are all the forms of this kind in the Old Testament, in what light can we consider the suggestion of the Masora in this place, that the Kethibh or text has the form of כֹּאֲרִי? The note is plainly contradictory of itself here; yet from other quarters, much later ones, we know that some Codices have read כֹּאֲרִי; see Bib. Sac., p. 820, 1851. Indeed, the last remark of the Masora on Num. 24: 9, viz. כֹּאֲרִי כֹהִיב, evidently bears the stamp of being supposititious, or, in other words, of having been subsequently inserted, when כֹּאֲרִי had crept into some of the Codices.

The *Masora magna* confirms my statement. In the last chapter, which treats of words which are the same as to *form*, but which differ in their *signification*, it enumerates among these כֹּאֲרִי, and assigns this form to Ps. 22: 17 and Is. 38: 13. Here then is full proof against כֹּאֲרִי in the text of Ps. 22: 17. That the Masora magna assigns a different *meaning* to the same word as to *form*, in the two cases, doubtless arose from the perplexity in which the writers were about the meaning and connection of the third clause in the verse before us. In the Masora textual on Ps. 22: 17, the remark is also made, that the two cases of כֹּאֲרִי have a different meaning. Here both the Masoras agree, not only in respect to the *same form*, but also in the opinion that the two cases *differ in meaning*. No one ever doubted the meaning *as the lion* in one of them, viz., in Is. 38: 13; and it follows, therefore, that the Masorites made out a different meaning of כֹּאֲרִי in Ps. 22: 17. But what that meaning is or was, we have no means of ascertaining. Doubtless the difficulty of the passage which would here result from the translation by the words *as the lion*, pressed them with the seeming necessity of another signification; just as it has led most critics to give another, even down to the

present time. But as the Masorites are not *authoritative*, we are at liberty to depart from their opinion, whenever we can find "a more excellent way."

Taking then the whole of the Masoretic testimony together, it is quite clear that it stands for כְּאָרִי as the reading in our text. The one clause in the Masora on Num. 24: 9, viz. כְּאָרִי כְּחַיִּב, i. e. *the text has כְּאָרִי*, is plainly contradictory of all the rest in the Masora, and bears on its face the marks of being a later addition. Hengstenberg (in loc.) says, that only two unsuspected Jewish manuscripts have this reading in the Kethibh.

We have only one other reading, then, which competes with כְּאָרִי. This is כְּרִי, which would be the 3 pl. either of כָּוִר or of כָּרָה. As to this reading, it is found only in one primary, and in a few copied, Jewish manuscripts. And since all the manuscripts, with the insignificant exceptions above noted, are on the side of the received text, as also the Masora, I should say (with Hengstenberg in loc.): "It would be to abandon everything like certainty in criticism, and along with this, criticism itself, were we to reject this reading" for another.

So much for *text-readings*. Our main question remains: How can the meaning, *they pierced*, be made out from כְּאָרִי?

We have seen above, that this word occurs elsewhere only *four times*, viz. in Is. 38: 13. Num. 23: 24. 24: 9. Ezek. 22: 25. It is agreed, on all hands, that in all these cases it means, with the article, *as the lion*, without it, *as a lion*. This constitutes ground for a strong presumption in respect to the case before us, to say the least. To rebut it, we must have some plain and practicable way of making out such a meaning as *they pierced*, from כְּאָרִי. Plain the way is not. If the root, as is usually alleged, be כָּוִר, then the whole matter at once becomes doubtful. Gesenius well says, this root is "*of dubious authority*:" and Fuerst (Concord.) says, that *it is not used*. Then moreover, there seems to be a pretty strong probability against it, since we have already in Hebrew use, כָּרָה, אָכַר, נָקַר, דָּקַר, all of the like signification. But admitting כָּוִר as a root, how then are we to get כְּאָרִי from it? The normal Part. plur. of כָּוִר is כְּוִרִים. In all the Hebrew Scriptures, there are only three cases, so far as I have been enabled to discover, where an א is inserted after the first radical of a verb עָר, viz. קָאֵם in Hos. 10: 14 (a verb); רָאֵמוֹת in Prov. 24: 7, and נִשְׁאָמִים in Ezek. 28: 14, the last two being *participles*. So Altling, in his best of all books on the anomalies and rare forms of the Hebrew, the *Fundamenta Punctat. Heb.* Francof. 1717. If there be more, they could hardly have escaped such an indefatigable

and discerning investigator as he was. But these cases are all so plain in their form and meaning, as to leave no reason for doubting that the \aleph is here a mere *fulcrum* or *mater lectionis*. They have no other anomalies but this, and no doubtful meaning to perplex the interpreter.

Different is the case before us. Here the intruder \aleph has a *vocal composite* *Sheva* under it; in the other cases there is *no* vowel, because the letter is *otiant* or a mere *fulcrum*. The analogy fails us then, in a very important point; so important, that we may truly say, the Hebrew has no where else an analogous pointing for a participle from a verb עָר. The example before us is a perfect ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

But this is not all. We are told that עָרָרִי stands for the plural עָרָרִים, by virtue of an old plur. form in י for ים. But this plural itself is, to say the least, a doubtful one. Hengstenberg (in loc.) asserts, that "it occurs in only one single well-ascertained instance." Gesenius and Roediger (in Gramm. § 86) say, that the plur. ending "in several places [to which appeal is usually made] is doubted by many." Ewald, in the last edition of his Grammar, says that "there are only two cases in which such a plural has any certainty;" and these are עָרָרִי in 2 Sam. 32: 44. Ps. 144: 2, and עָרָרִי in Cant. 8: 2. He adds, that "perhaps עָרָרִי, in Ps. 45: 9, belongs to this category." He expressly excludes עָרָרִי from it. Altling has wholly omitted any such plural. This is a strong array against extending such a plural, when it cannot be clearly and necessarily made out; which surely is the case in the verse before us. It is only when we are forced to receive it in order to make any tolerable sense, that such a plural is admissible. The usual examples of it that are brought forward, besides those mentioned above, are all capable of another and an easier solution.

But we have not yet done with our difficulties. In order to account for \aleph with a *vowel*, in עָרָרִי, we are obliged to resort to the *Chaldee* mode of pointing the participle, in the cases of a root עָר. Here קָרָה, for example, makes Part. קָרָה, and plur. קָרָהִין. But what other instance, in all the Bible, is there of such a Chaldaism? The other examples with inserted \aleph , as produced above, present no case of such an inserted \aleph with a vowel of its own. Of course, then, they have no analogy. The case before us stands *solus cum solo*.

To recapitulate for a moment; we have the following reasons against making the word before us a plur. participle of עָר: (1) Such a root as עָר is altogether doubtful; the probability is much against it. (2) The insertion of \aleph , in such a case, has only two or

three examples to support it. (3) The punctuation of such an א with a vowel of its own, is without any example in Hebrew; and if referred to Chaldaism, there is nothing like it elsewhere in the whole Hebrew Bible. (4) The plur. ending in ׁ is at least highly improbable here, if indeed it is ever admissible; and therefore it should not be admitted without a necessity. Putting now all these things together, and adding to the whole the consideration, that the sense of the last clause may easily and lawfully be made out in another way, without any change of the text, or any violation of the laws of grammar or of the lexicon, and without a change in any word of even a vowel point—the case becomes, at least in my view, all but one of downright and absolute certainty. It is impossible to defend כְּאַרְיִי, either as a verb or a participle, on any grounds of considerate regard to the grammar and the structure of the language. On this point I must sympathize with Dr. Alexander; although I feel much more decided in regard to it, than he has expressed himself to be. But his solution of the whole passage I cannot well adopt. He says: “The sense would then be, ‘they surround my hands and my feet as they would a lion,’ i. e. with the strength and fierceness of a lion.” He admits ingenuously, that there is a *strangeness* in this, and doubtless he has some serious difficulty in his own mind, about receiving such an interpretation. I cannot for a moment hesitate to reject it. It is in vain to contend against the certain and established laws of grammar and idiom.

Dr. Alexander, in his Commentary, has given us but partially the views of Dr. Hengstenberg. He has perhaps chosen the most prudent course, since he has not obligated himself to follow that commentator in everything. But since Dr. Hengstenberg's work has been translated and published in England, and since he has acquired so high a reputation among us, it has become important to our religious public, that they should distinctly see where this able and learned writer now stands, as to his theory of exegesis in regard to Ps. xxii., and also in regard to other Messianic Psalms.

In his *Christology*, Dr. H. has warmly defended the personal and individual application of this Psalm to the Messiah, Vol. I. p. 172 seq. In speaking of such an application (p. 175 of *Christol.* in German) he says, that he “decidedly agrees with it.” He then proceeds (p. 176) to detail all the specialities of description in the Psalm, and repeatedly asserts that they can be applied to no one but to the suffering and crucified Messiah. His language is very strong, and somewhat stringent, in respect to the opinion of his neological opponents.

Among other things, he adopts unhesitatingly the word כְּאֶרִי as a plural form of the participle from כָּרַר; and he appeals to קָאֵחַ and נִצְחִים (cited above on p. 61), as justifying the redundant א. But he never notices the essential difference between the א otiant here, and the א with a vowel in כְּאֶרִי, which is fatal to his solution. Thus much, however, for the tone and tenor of the Christology; and these are such as meet my hearty approbation, and (the grammatical *faux pas* excepted) I could heartily subscribe to all the distinctive and important parts of his original comment on Ps. 22: 17.

In his recent and formal Commentary on the Psalms, Dr. H. has departed far enough from his prior views; and in speaking of them apologetically he says, that he did the best he could at the time; for then "he had as yet advanced but a little way on an independent footing into the depths of the Old Testament," p. 362 Eng. translation. At the present time, he says, that "if we consider the Psalm as referring to the *ideal person of the Righteous One* . . . nothing but ignorance (sic!) can object to this interpretation," p. 364. He says, moreover, that "this character is introduced throughout the Psalms more frequently than any other." It would seem, then, that the *ignorance* in question has scarcely any apology for itself, if such be indeed the case.

It may be so; but after devoting a somewhat long life to the study of the Scriptures, I have never yet been able to form in my mind any definite conception, as to who or what sort of a person this *ideal person of the Righteous One* is, separate from the character and person of Christ. Dr. H. says, that "*every particular righteous man* might appropriate to himself the consolations of this Psalm, . . . so far as he embodied in his own person *the ideal righteous man*," p. 364. Of course, as he argues, every such man may appropriate to himself the sufferings depicted in it. The inference, he says, is clear, that the Messiah, as a righteous person, must be a sufferer. And inasmuch as *suffering* and *righteousness* have a consummation in him, we in this way may come at last to see how it is applicable to the Messiah; (not, as it would seem, to him as a *unum PRO omnibus*, but merely as a *unum INTER omnes*).

On v. 16 (Heb. 17) he says, in reference to a *special* application to Christ, that "the grounds adduced in his introduction [to this chapter], make it evident, that the Psalm has reference to him [Christ] only as embodying the perfect idea of the *righteous man*," p. 386 seq.

The Psalmist, then, has merely drawn a picture of an *ideal good man*, first as suffering, then as rewarded. The description in Psalm

xiii. is true, and applies to the Saviour, only *par excellence*, as being a more distinguished good man ; and all the special and peculiar traits of suffering here described become, in his view, only specialities which intensify the light and shade of the general picture. *Quantum mutatus ab illo !*

I shall enter into no defence here of the views diverse from these, entertained by evangelical interpreters ; although this were an easy task. I would only say, that such a claro-obscure picture of the predicted Messiah has no point of attraction for me. What could the Jewish people at large understand, about a mythical or philosophical *ideal* or *abstraction* of a good man, such as this is ? Some living and real exemplar they might contemplate, and learn to copy. But it required more of transcendental philosophy to realize such a generalization, and to connect it specially with the Messiah, than any Hebrew of that day ever learned.

Doubtless, if Dr. H. is consistent with himself, we shall next hear, that he has applied Is. liii. to the *abstract genus* of righteous sufferers, and not to the Messiah in particular. Knobel himself (Comm. s. 365) is not unwilling to admit such a qualified Messianic exegesis as this ; and De Wette would doubtless have acceded to it.

But in truth, the so called *Messianic Psalms* would be of little worth or force to us, when looked at through such a medium. We can easily understand simple predictions, that the righteous will suffer, and will be rewarded. But in what way a *mere ideal* is to suffer and be rewarded, and how all righteous men are made to participate in him, and so far suffer and enjoy as they are parts of this *ideal*, and what special bearing any or all of this can have on the true Messiah, we wot not. We cannot see objects distinctly, when surrounded with such a silver fog. It may be *Dummheit* or *Unkundigkeit* (as Dr. H. suggests), which prevents our seeing. But after all, it does need unusually sharp optics to see palpably a mere abstraction.

With unfeigned regret we make these remarks. Dr. H. has stood long before the world, as the dauntless champion of evangelical views in Germany. Dr. Alexander has (perhaps wisely) forborne to bring these things out in his Commentary. Our views of duty to the church constrain us to give, to our religious public, an account of these matters as they really are. Our young men especially, who are most exposed to be led away by distinguished names, should have the paths laid open before them, in which such visionary exegesis bids us to go.

After so much of this nature, it will cease to create surprise, when we learn, that Dr. H. has given up the definite Messianic interpreta-

tion of the Psalms usually deemed Messianic, nearly throughout the whole book. Ps. viii. belongs to the *ideal man*. So does Ps. xvi, Ps. xxii. (as we have seen), and also Ps. xl. On this last Dr. H. makes a remark worth quoting: "The views given by the author himself [viz. the author of this Comm.], in the beginning of his course, have *lost all significance*, since he has attained to a deeper insight of the way and manner of the New Testament, and specially of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in handling the declarations of the Old Testament," (Introd. to Ps. xl.). Formerly, he had stringently urged the consideration, that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had made a plain and palpable application of this Psalm to the Messiah, "which is decisive as to all who believe in the divine authority of this Epistle." But now his *deeper insight* into the nature and extent of the *abstract, ideal, good man*, has shown him that there is no weight to be attached to this argument. Ps. ii. and Ps. xlv, however, are so difficult to manage, by way of application to the *ideal man*, (since divinity and supremacy are here assigned to the subject of these Psalms), that he allows them to pass as Messianic; yet with less of strenuousness than formerly.

But to other Psalms, generally deemed by most to be Messianic, he has applied again that universal solvent—the *ideal good man*. Upon the whole he has given us much reason to exclaim, with responding Mary at the sepulchre: "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him!" John 22: 13. To stop with Ps. ii. and xlv, and represent all the rest as transcendental speculation on the *abstract and ideal good man*, is a stride in exegesis, which I would hope in God our countrymen may never be prepared to make.

All this, by the way, helps to show that it is far from being desirable to be cast on German commentary alone, for the elucidation of the true spirit of the Scriptures. All that pertains to mere philology and criticism of a literary kind, the Germans have done more effectually, in general, than any other writers whatever. But on this point of all points, the real *Christology* of the Bible, it seems to me very unsafe to follow them. Even such learned and excellent men as Drs. Nitzsch, Neander, Tholuck, and Müller, in their new *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, deliberately and designedly call in question the *inspiration* of the Bible, as we hold it. They acknowledge errors of fact, of science, and of other minor things; they admit discrepancy and contradiction among the various writers of the Scriptures, and attribute these last to individual writers, in respect to their own works. If any

one wishes for the proof, let him read Tholuck's Essay on *Inspiration*, in the said *Zeitschrift*, and Dr. Neander's Letter to the translators of his *Leben Jesu*, given in the Preface of the Translators. Is it not time for American theologians to be on the look out for such things? And above all, should we not provide for raising up our own critics and interpreters? Is there not talent enough in our American youth, if duly called out, to equal, yea surpass, the Germans themselves in such matters? I cannot doubt it, for a moment. But alas! how are our churches to be roused up to a proper sense of their present duty and their danger? How are they to be persuaded, that we should not be dependent on foreign countries for our sacred literature? And when will adequate provision be made to secure a corps of life-guards for the church and the Bible, by an arrangement which shall establish and make permanent at least a small body of them, who are competent to meet and repel every invading foe?

No person, who has an adequate and enlightened view of the present state and dangers of the Christian church in this country, when we are becoming flooded with foreign books of all kinds, in respect to sacred philology, doctrinal theology, dogmatic and church history, (not to speak of Rationalism and atheistic philosophy),—I say no one can refrain from the most sincere and ardent wish, that some wealthy and noble-hearted Christians would make themselves immortal in the churches of God, by founding and establishing a Seminary, on an adequate pecuniary basis, the sole object of which should be to teach, to explain, and to defend the Bible. There should be in it at least four Professors, one for the elementary studies in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic; one for the higher exegesis of the Old Testament on critical grounds; one for Hellenistic Greek, including the Septuagint, the New Testament, the Apocrypha, and the apostolic and early Fathers, with the early New Testament apocryphal writers; and one for New Testament critical exegesis.

An *appendage* of this critical Bible School, (into which last, laymen, if they desire it, as well as theological students should be admitted,) should be another department, with at least two competent teachers to fit youth, male and female, *for the great business of Sabbath Schools*. A residence at this department should be at the election of the pupil as to length of time, beyond a half year's course; but none should be admitted for less time than six months. Both Institutions should be so endowed, and furnished, that a residence there would cost but quite a small sum; and thus they would be thrown open to all ranks, on condition of satisfactory character and attainments.

Such an Institution would interfere with no other in the land. In the higher branches, a *three years' curriculum* should be the normal demand. Then the pupils who choose, can go into the Seminaries where doctrine, church-history, and homiletics are taught, and go through the ordinary course, languages excepted. With such prescriptions, only younger students would be likely to attend the Bible College, and the number who would frequent our already established Seminaries, would not probably be diminished sensibly, in the end, by such an Institution.

Are these *airy* visions? I am afraid they may prove to be so. But how easy it would be for some half a dozen men in Boston or New York, to do all that such a plan requires, even without sensibly diminishing their wealth, and certainly with great augmentation of their happiness. Our Statesmen soon find out how their country can be best and most effectually defended. They provide for manning the militia, when called out, with officers trained up in all military science at West Point. Two wars have effectually demonstrated the cleverness of these tactics. Why should "the children of light" be less wary and wise than Statesmen? *Our all is at stake in the Bible.* As surely as its *inspiration* is set aside, and our people are taught that enlightened views demand them to give it up, so surely is there an end to all evangelical religion among the mass; and all the *authoritative* power of the Bible will cease thenceforth to be recognized. Then we shall be where France is; or (which is not much better in respect to piety among the mass of men) where the Germans are, having, on the Sabbath, some twenty, or it may be thirty, but rarely fifty, persons to attend a brief public worship, in their large towns and villages, and most of that brief time of worship occupied with music. If we are not to come to this, then may God put it into the hearts of wealthy and enlightened men among us to raise up, here and there at least, Bible Colleges, *Sacred West-Points*, where officers will be trained up, who are able and willing to defend, to the last extremity and triumphantly, that holy citadel of Christianity, THE SCRIPTURES GIVEN BY INSPIRATION OF GOD.

Having, in a preceding paragraph, ventured to speak plainly concerning the views of some men greatly respected and honored, I must not do myself, or the distinguished writers above named, the injustice of an exposure to be misunderstood. I would say therefore explicitly, that I do not think there is any good reason to doubt the personal piety of any of the gentlemen whom I have thus named, certainly none to doubt their highly distinguished talents and learning. I have,

as I think, very good reason to believe, that each of them regards *the whole soul and essence of Christianity as centering in the person of Christ*, and that without him is neither true religion nor Christian salvation. They receive and regard him as their Saviour, in an appropriate sense. But their education and modes of reasoning have led them to think less of what they would name the costume or non-essentials of the Scriptures, than we are accustomed to do. They separate facts, and incidents, and what they regard as Jewish opinions and views, from what they would name *the moral and spiritual essence of the religion set forth in the Bible*; and while they are in a measure indifferent to the exactness of the truth and consistency of the former, they believe and receive the latter. Their refined education, and their great powers of discrimination, enable them, in some measure, to separate between costume and person; and while they are not solicitous about the first, they seem readily to admit for substance the last. Endowed with such powers and such learning, *they* may, perhaps, do all this, without hazard to their own personal salvation. Who can doubt of the late Neander's personal piety? And so one might speak of Tholuck, of Müller, and of Nitzsch. But while they may make such discriminations as the above, perhaps *salva fide* in a personal sense, could their positions in regard to the Scriptures be received by the indiscriminating multitude of men, both learned and unlearned, without the most absolute hazard of all belief in the Bible as divinely authoritative; of all belief in its doctrines, its precepts, and its facts? Impossible, altogether impossible. The ground once abandoned, which Paul has taken, that ALL SCRIPTURE IS GIVEN BY INSPIRATION OF GOD, every man of common attainments will feel at liberty to say whatever his own subjective feelings may dictate; to say: 'This is unimportant, that is unessential; this is a doubtful narration, that is a contradictory one; this is in opposition to science, and that to reason; this may be pruned, and that lopped off, while the tree may still remain as good as ever.' In a word, every one is left, wholly and without any check, to be his own judge in the case, how much of the Bible is consonant with his own reason and subjective feelings, and how much is not; and these feelings are of course the high court of appeal. What now has become of the book of God, true, authoritative, decisive of all duty and all matters of faith? Gone, absolutely gone, irretrievably gone, as to the mass of men who are not philosophizers in casuistry and in the theory of religion. And if any doubt remains, as to the effect of such doctrine, I appeal again to the religious state of the

great German community — to their Sabbaths, to their lonely sanctuaries, to their lack of missionary spirit, and to their general indifference as to revivals of religion, such as produce and foster warm-hearted piety. The *Pietists*, (as in the way of scorn they name all warm-hearted and practical religious men), are merely “a smoke in the nostrils” of their scholars and their statesmen. No man can rebut the force of this appeal; for the truth of it is too palpable. The worst of all is, that the mass of the Germans look, with secret scorn, on a man who claims that a practically godly, prayerful, humble life, is essential to religion. One question sums up the account. Where is the *family altar* for prayer and praise in the German community? Even in the so-called *religious* community? If what I have often heard be true, such altars are not more numerous among them, than were the righteous, whom Abraham was requested to find in a devoted city of old. I do not say there can be no piety, where this is the case. There may be some sevens of thousands, I hope there are, who do not “bow the knee to Baal;” and doubtless the Redeemer has sincere followers and friends there. But that active spirit of piety, which fills the church and the conference-room with humble and anxious inquirers after the way of salvation; which sanctifies the Sabbath; which builds up religious Schools; which sends the Gospel to the destitute in one’s own country, and raises up missionaries and causes them to go forth unto the ends of the earth, that “the dead may hear the voice of the Son of God and live” — such a spirit cannot breathe strongly and freely, where there are no family altars, and no Sabbath.

To the same position or state, or one much like it, must we also come, ere long, unless this tide can be averted from us. But this must be done, if it can be accomplished. On the present generation in our country it rests, to decide the question whether we shall follow in the footsteps of Germany. The spirit of every Christian pastor in the land, and of every private Christian too, ought to be roused up to meet this great exigency; and the churches should at once concert and adopt measures to establish such an Institution as has been described above, or something equivalent to it. NEW TIMES AND NEW DANGERS CALL FOR NEW AND ADEQUATE DEFENCES. We should train our own men; so that they may rush with skill and power into the thickest of the battle, so often as the portentous contest arises. Alas! How will our churches rue the day, (when they have become prostrate in energy and insignificant in numbers), in which they have neglected to furnish a *corps of holy*

officers, who are adequate to guide in every contest and on every occasion !

But I sat out to descant on a short Hebrew text, and have made a long, a very long, excursus ; and yet I would hope, not one that will be useless ; for I am sure that it is not uncalled for. A few words more, in returning to our text, and I have done.

It is clear from what I have said above, that Dr. Alexander, Mr. Landis, and myself, perfectly agree as to the applicability of that text in Ps. 22: 17, to a *crucified Saviour*. We differ only in the mode of arriving at the conclusion. I must confess that I see nothing to take alarm at in Dr. A.'s opinion about it. Mr. L., too, is clearly and entirely orthodox as to principle ; and besides all this, he has managed his discussion with much acuteness and ability. If he has made some small slips in regard to the grammatical nature and power of Hebrew forms and accents, he can appeal to a long line of critics who have done the same thing before him, in respect to the passage now in view. He has the consolation at least of being found in very respectable company. He will doubtless do me the justice to say, that I have shown him no disrespect ; at least, if I have, I am unconscious of it, and it certainly was not intended. A man who can write as he does, need not anticipate disrespect from any sensible reader.

To conclude ; I have not advanced my own solution of the controverted passage in question, with any intended assumption of certainty on my part, or made any efforts to cast on other opinions differing from mine any contumely, or to hold them up to disrespect. I have merely proposed a way of interpreting the controverted verse before us, in a manner simple, normal, without offence to grammatical or lexical usage, and without changing any one either of the letters or of the vowels of the text. I am no stickler for the *Kethibh* or for the *Qeri*, but I adopt either, when the sense seems to me to demand it. And as to the *vowel-points*, since they are notoriously no older than the sixth century of our era, we are clearly not bound by them. Yet no good Hebrew scholar can say, that they are not a masterly, and almost always a true, exposition of the meaning of the Hebrew text. It follows, of course, that when we depart from them, there should be an *exegetical necessity*, or at least an *evident advantage*, in doing so, as to the meaning of the text. That we *may* depart from them, is with me one of the orthodox critical canons ; that we *should* depart from them, except for reasons such as have been suggested, I deem little short of downright heresy in criticism.

Since the preceding pages were in type, a copy of Lengerke's recent Commentary on the Psalms has come into my hands. He has made some remarks that are worthy of attention, on the passage which has been before us, and which go far toward showing the possibility of retaining *הִקְיִסוּ* in its usual *Hiphil* sense, with only some little modification.

That the original meaning of *הִקְיִסוּ* is to *smite*, *beat*, (*schlagen*), both Gesenius and Lengerke assert; and this is fully borne out by the kindred languages. But there is an *accessory* idea attached to it, in most, if not all cases. This is that of *smiting around a thing*, and sometimes so as to *enclose*, *clasp*, *clasp*, or *clinch* it. So in Is. 17: 6. 24: 13, *הִקְיִסוּ* means *the beating around*, i. e. of a fig-tree, in order to knock off its fruit. From this is easily deduced the secondary and common meaning in *Hiph.*, viz. to *surround*, *enclose*; as in 1 Kings 7: 24. Is. 15: 8. 2 Kings 6: 14. 11: 8. Ps. 17: 9. 78: 18. It is not confined to *persons*; it may extend to *things*, as in Job 19: 6, "*He has thrown around (הִקְיִסוּ) me his net.*" So tropically, in Lam. 3: 5. The idea is, that the net *grasps* or *surrounds* him, so that he is helpless. Easily deduced from this shade of meaning, is that of *going round in a continuous circle*; like the revolution of the stated feasts, Is. 29: 1. Job 1: 5.

Yet the verb has clearly another shade of meaning, which attaches itself mostly to the simple idea of *smiting* or *beating*; e. g., Is. 10: 34 (*Piel*), where it is applied to *smiting down* a forest, viz., with the blows of the axe. So in Job 19: 26; where (in *Piel*) it is used for *smiting* the skin of Job with grievous ulcers so as to *destroy* it; (comp. Job 2: 7, "And Satan . . . smote (*וַיִּכּוּ*) Job with sore boils," etc.). A *destructive smiting* is implied in both these cases, by the tenor of the sense. On this may be easily grafted the *smiting* or *wounding of the hands and the feet*; as I have interpreted the passage above. But Lengerke chooses the other shade of sentiment, and renders thus: ["*They have clasped or clinched*"], *lion-like, my hands and my feet.*" This he refers to the clinching of the hands and feet by the claws of the lion, who thus prevents his prey from defending himself or escaping. The meaning is, that the claws surround the limbs, so as to constrict them; and thus the victim has no means of escape. Of course, he carries forward *הִקְיִסוּ* of the second clause, to the third, as shown above in the version, and takes *בְּאִרְיָ* in the same sense as that which I have endeavored to defend.

Certainly this is an ingenious and not unnatural interpretation.

Conceding it, all the absurdity which Mr. Landis and others find in *surround*, as applied to *hands* and *feet*, falls away; and the image seems to be taken from nature. Yet I have a doubt remaining; and this is, whether the lion does not always employ his *teeth* first, in assaulting his victim, and his *claws* merely in holding him fast, and helping to tear him in pieces. If so, then *piercing* or *wounding* is the more probable sense of הִקְיִסוּ, because the most appropriate. In either way, this verb suits well the last clause, and doubtless ought to be transferred to it.

[NOTE. I add a word, in respect to the *English Translation* of Hengstenberg's Commentary. I have, in reading some of it, not unfrequently found myself obliged to resort to the *original*, in order to be sure of the meaning. For example, we have a version of the Hebrew (II. p. 39 German) by Dr. H., which runs thus: "Sie umgeben mich Löwengleich nach Händen und Füßen;" Eng. Translation: "They beset me, lion-like, on my hands and my feet." If I rightly understand the German, it means: "They surround me, lion-like, as to my hands and my feet," the two latter nouns in Hebrew being the *Acc. of manner*. To beset any one, is plain and good English; but to beset on, sounds strange to us in these western ends of the earth. To set on, is familiar enough; but to beset on, I cannot get at, without going to the German. I would by no means characterize the Translation in general as unfaithful; but it needs revision and more pains-taking in passages of critical nicety.]

NO. II. SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING THE MUCH CONTROVERTED הָתָן OF PSALM VIII. 2.

This word still remains an *offendiculum criticorum*. Hengstenberg insists, that it is the *Inf. const.* form of the verb הָתַן, to give, put, place, etc., although he takes the liberty, in his version of it in the Commentary, to translate it *gekrönt*, [hast] crowned. Hoffmann, in his striking work on *Prophecy and its Fulfilment*, makes it an *Imper.* of הָתַן; on which no comment is needed. De Wette renders the clause thus: "Who exaltest thy praise to heaven." Ewald (Psalmen) renders thus: "Thou whose glory is exalted above the heavens." All of these translations are rather *metaphrases* of the word הָתָן, than a literal version. The sense which they give is a good one in itself; but our question now is: Whether it is *true* to the original?

Most of the expositors and grammarians have assigned הָתָן, as Hengstenberg does, to the const. Inf. of הָתַן. The latter strenuously maintains, that it can be made nowhere else. My question, and the first one, is: Whether it can, with any probability, be made here?

(1) All analogy in the alleged verb (הָתַן) is against it. Examples of the Inf. forms of this verb are very numerous. Two of them are

normal, like *תָּהָן*. All the rest, excepting the case before us, are either *תָּהָה* (a usual Inf. fem. form in verbs פִּעַל), or else a contraction of this form, viz. *תָּהָה*. The examples of these amount to some 140. As to the Inf. form of *תָּהָה*, if it is one, it stands alone.

(2) No other verbs Pe Nun form such an Inf. All that are not normal, follow the model of *תָּהָה* (*תָּהָה*).

(3) Verbs Pe Yodh, like those Pe Nun, do many of them drop their first radical in the Inf.; e. g. *יָלַד*, Inf. *יָלִיד*. In a very few cases here, there are forms like *יָלִידָה*, i. e. with a *long* vowel on the first syllable; but only one has a *Sheva* under the first letter (like *תָּהָה*); and this is in Gen. 46: 3. The word in question is *מִרְדָּה*, which is said to be *רָדָה* with a *מ* prefix preposition. But this formation I doubt, because there is not another like it in all the fem. Infinitives of verbs Pe Yodh. It is said, that the verb which precedes this word, viz. *תִּירָא*, requires *מ* prep. to follow it. But this is not so always. This verb does indeed admit a *מ* prep. after it; but by far the greater number of nouns which follow it, are in the simple Acc. without the *מ*. Then it is easy to suppose a *noun-form* in *מִרְדָּה* (*descent*), such as is formed in the second class of verbs Pe Yodh, e. g. such as *מִיָּטַב* from *יָטַב*, only that in the case before us, the Yodh *quiescent* is omitted in the writing, which is very common everywhere. The sense of the passage is the same by using the noun, as if we employ the supposed Infinitive.

Where can we find, then, in the hundreds of cases in verbs Pe Nun and Pe Yodh, an established fem. Inf. form, which is like *תָּהָה*? Not even one can be found. It is therefore very hard to believe, against such united and universal testimony as all this. It must be the most extreme necessity, which would justify us in admitting *תָּהָה* under the category of Infinitives.

Is there such a necessity in the present case? Plainly not. In fact the clause *וְאָמַר תָּהָה ה' וְהָיָה עֲלֵי-רִשְׁמֹתָיִם*, in v. 2, seems to forbid an Inf. here. Dr. H. translates thus, in his Notes: "Thou, in respect to whom the giving thy glory over the heaven." Is there not something strange and seemingly lame in this? *וְאָמַר* is rendered *thou in respect to whom*. Literally the Hebrew runs thus: *Thou in respect to whom to give thy glory*, etc. This is enigmatic enough; and I must believe this to be a connection and position of an Inf. without any parallel.

To me it seems quite probable, almost certain indeed, that the *תָּהָה* here is either a *verb* Praeter from the root *תָּהָה*, and should be so pointed; or else (which appears more probable), it is the Pres. Part.

of the same verb, and to be pointed הָנִיחַ . Nothing is easier, in either of these cases, than the grammatical construction. The relative pronoun הַיֵּשׁוּבָה can be combined in sense with the הָ in הָיִיחַ , i. e. it can be combined with the second, or even the first pers. of a pronoun; just as we can say: "*He who, thou who, I who*"; Heb. Gramm. § 121. 1. n. 1. But the last two combinations are somewhat rare; yet not so much so as to be doubtful. Naturally the pronoun הַיֵּשׁוּבָה relates more often to the third pers., and to make a different reference without necessity, is undesirable. But if it be taken as the third pers. here, it would disagree with the suffix הָ .

But what now is the meaning of the proposed construction above? I answer, that the verb הָנִיחַ is no stranger in Hebrew. It occurs in Hos. 8: 9, 10, in the sense of *distributing* or *diffusing*. Its original meaning is *to extend* or *stretch out*. Abundant pledges of this are given in its correlates. In Greek we have *τείνω*, *to extend, stretch out*. In the Indo-Germanic, *tan* is of the same meaning. In Ethiopic, *tin* = *expanse*. In our English word *ex-tend*, we have the same etymon at the basis. Indeed this sense is quite plain, and well established, in the original root.

Besides this, if there be any meaning in the root נָתַן , *to give*, which is here necessary, the same is also to be found in נָתַן ; for one of its meanings is, *to give, to distribute*, as it evidently stands related to נָתַן . But clearly the former sense of *diffusing* or *expanding* is altogether appropriate in the verse before us, which speaks of *glory expanded abroad over the whole heavens*. What that *glory* is, the fourth verse has disclosed, viz., *the moon and the stars*, which, as a combined whole, are spread over the entire face of the sky.

We seem, then, to have arrived near our goal. We can now translate: *Thou who diffusest abroad thy glory over the heavens*; thus taking הַיֵּשׁוּבָה as related to the second person, in connection with the pronoun הָ . We point the controverted word, in this case, *participially*, viz. הָנִיחַ . Participles have no distinction of *person*, but only of gender and number; and they may therefore be used, with equal propriety, with either the first, second, or third person. All on this ground is plain, proper, and appropriately significant. We merely supply the appropriate vowel-points; and the liberty to do this, when the exigency of the passage demands it, has already been vindicated in the preceding No. I. That there is an *exigency* here, seems to me plain; for we cannot, against the universal testimony of all verbs Pe Nun and Pe Yodh, make an Inf. form out of הָנִיחַ from נָתַן . If it is not a monstrosity, it is at least in opposition to all normal forms of

abridged fem. Infinitives. We obtain as good a sense, even a better one, out of *תִּנְהַר*, than out of *תִּנְהַר*.

But there is another way of resolving the difficulty, viz., by taking the word *תִּנְהַר* as a verb in the Praet., and pointing it *תִּנְהַר*. It would then have *הוּא* for its subject, and we must translate thus: *Thou whose glory extends abroad over the heavens.* This is favored by Ewald; and for substance it gives the same sense as the other method of pointing, although the structure is not so facile, when we point it as a verb. The noun *הוּא* is masc. and therefore requires the masc. verb; and such is *תִּנְהַר*.

Thus we save all the grammatical difficulty of an Infin. form, which is against usage and without a single parallel in the language. Thus too we obtain even a better sense than *תִּנְהַר* gives. And as the verb, when pointed as above (i. e. either *תִּנְהַר* or *תִּנְהַר*), is no stranger in the older Hebrew, and has extensive off-shoots in other languages, I can see no valid objection to admitting it here. The objection, that such a verb is not *frequent* in the Hebrew, if urged against any particular word in this passage or in that, would, if admitted, exclude a great many well established words. E. g. *בָּרַךְ* (*son*) in Ps. 2: 12, stands quite alone in Hebrew, if we except the three examples of it in the brief composition of Lemuel, contained in Prov. xxxi. But who doubts the reality of the reading? So *אִשָּׁה* (*wife*) in Ecc. 2: 8, stands entirely alone in all the Bible; yet that is no good reason for rejecting the word. And so of a multitude of other words. It is quite as probable that David should use the verb *תִּנְהַר*, elsewhere also employed, as that he should use *בָּרַךְ* in Ps. 2: 12. The only fair question is: Whether the verb is usable and appropriate? We reply by affirming both; and we have given our reasons for such a reply.

My object was merely a special one in the preceding remarks, viz. to investigate the apparently strange form of the word *תִּנְהַר*, as coming from *תִּנְהַר*. We have found an easy and obvious solution, in supposing a different root in actual use. In this case, we change only the vowel-points; and if we can thus avoid trespassing the laws of grammar as to the fem. Inf. forms of verbs Pe Nun, and make even a more appropriate sense by adopting another root, I do not see why any serious objection should be made against the view of the subject which has been taken above.

I merely remark, at the close, that in my apprehension, Ps. viii. needs, and ought to receive, a very different exposition from that which Dr. H. has made out. The *abstract ideal man* accomplishes

very little here, in the way of satisfying the demands of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2: 6—9, and several other passages. It seems to me quite certain, that the author of that epistle verily believed that the Messiah is to be found in Ps. viii. My views of his authority are such, that in my mind this settles the question, whether Christ is to be found there, in the affirmative. But time and space forbid entering on a discussion of the Psalm, although one is much needed.

ARTICLE IV.

THE FOUR GOSPELS AS WE NOW HAVE THEM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, AND THE HEGELIAN ASSAULTS UPON THEM.

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[Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 529.]

V. COMPARISON OF THE CANONICAL GOSPELS WITH THE APOC- RYPHAL GOSPELS STILL EXTANT.

THE impugnors of the New Testament gospels appeal to the fact, that there are gospels acknowledged to be apocryphal, as a proof of their theory that our recognized gospels are also myths or forgeries. Any one who candidly examines these spurious gospels, and compares them with the New Testament, will find in them, not a refutation of our sacred writers, but a most convincing testimony to their intelligence, honesty and supernatural inspiration. So totally diverse are they from the genuine gospels, in conception, in spirit, in execution, in their whole impression—in all respects so entirely unlike, so immeasurably inferior, that the New Testament only shines the brighter by the contrast. They have scarcely so much resemblance to the genuine gospels, as the monkey has to a man.

An elaborate history and collection of these writings was first published by Fabricius near the beginning of the last century. The first volume of a new and critical edition was issued at Halle by Thilo in 1832. Prof. Norton has given an account of them in the third volume of his work on the Genuineness of the Gospels, but with an incredulity in regard to the testimony of the ancients which amounts

almost to credulousness; yet it is very useful to be studied in connection with other and more credulous authorities. Ullmann gives a very good abstract of them in his treatise entitled *Historisch oder Mythisch*, and Guerike in his Introduction to the New Testament makes a brief and intelligible catalogue of them. Quite recently Dr. Hoffmann of Leipzig has compiled a Life of Jesus according to the Apocrypha, accompanied with learned annotations. English translations of the principal apocryphal writings of the New Testament have been collected and published both in England and the United States. If this has been done with any purpose of bringing discredit on our genuine New Testament, the design has most signally failed, for on every fair minded and intelligent reader, they must produce directly the opposite effect.

Fabricius gave the titles of about fifty of such spurious writings, and the industry of subsequent investigation has added to the number; but scarcely one-tenth part of these are now extant, and probably there were never more than ten or a dozen distinct works of the kind, the others being different recensions of the same narrative, or different titles of the same work, or mere repetitions of each other.

The Apocryphal Gospels.

Not more than seven of these now remain, which are worthy of notice, three of them in the Greek language, two in the Latin, and two in the Arabic. They are the following:

1. *The Protevangelium of James the Brother of the Lord*, of which the full Greek title is this: *Ἀγγέλως καὶ ἱστορία πῶς ἐγενήθη ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος εἰς ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν*, that is, *Declaration and history how the most holy mother of God was born for our salvation*. This seems to be the most ancient and valuable of these books; it was first made known in Europe by W. Postel about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was published by Fabricius in his *Codex Apoc. Nov. Test.* The principal part of it is occupied (cap. 1—20) with the history of the birth and childhood of Mary, and the circumstances attending the birth of Christ. Then follows briefly and much in the manner of our gospels (cap. 21, 22) the visit of the Magi and the flight into Egypt; and it concludes (cap. 23, 24) with an extended description of the murder of Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist. The style of this gospel is far more simple and pure than that of any other of these apocryphal narratives, though in this respect, as in all others, it is immeasurably below the canonical books. Some

things mentioned in it are alluded to by Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus, and the book is expressly quoted by Origen. It was in existence, at least a part of it, as early as the third century, though it was much later than that, before it was ascribed to the *brother of our Lord*, or took the title of *Protevangelium*. It gives some indications of a Gnostic origin. It was for a long time held in high estimation by the Greek church, and publicly read at their festivals, especially those which pertained to Mary. Very probably many of the early church traditions respecting Mary are preserved in it; and in this respect it may gratify a curiosity for which the canonical gospels make very little provision.

2. *The Greek Gospel of Thomas*. This is one of the most extravagant of the apocryphal books, and professes to give a minute account of Jesus from the twelfth year of his age. It is filled with miracles which are wholly ridiculous, and some of them decidedly immoral and malevolent. The beginning and close of the book are very fragmentary. Irenaeus (adv. Haer. I. 17) refers to some things contained in the book, and Origen (Hom. in Luc. I.) expressly mentions it. There is not the shadow of probability that it was written by Thomas the apostle. It is evidently of heretical origin, and was highly esteemed and in great use among the Manichaeans. It is probably of considerably later date than the preceding one, and its Greek style is very impure.

3. *The Greek Gospel of Nicodemus*. This, next to the *Protevangelium*, is the most important and respectable, as well as the most widely circulated of the apocryphal gospels. It is divided into two unequal parts, which seem originally to have been separate works. The first part (cap. 1—16) contains a minute description of the examination of Jesus before Pilate, and of his crucifixion and resurrection, and appears to be a remodelling and amplification of certain *epistles and acts of Pilate*, which are very early mentioned, but have not come down to us in a reliable shape. (See Justin Martyr, Apol. I. 76, 84. Tertull. Apol. 21. Oros. Hist. VII. 4. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. II. 2.) It is probably of Jewish-Christian origin, and written for the purpose of affecting unbelieving Jews by the example of Annas and Caiaphas, who, it alleges, were converted by the testimony of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea.

The second part (cap. 19—27) describes Christ's descent into Hades and the wonderful things he accomplished there. This is apparently more modern than the first part. Some Latin MSS. have an additional chapter, in which Annas and Caiaphas make oath before Pilate,

that they are convinced, from all the testimony, that the Jesus condemned and executed at their instigation, is truly the Son of God. There are also printed with it, by Thilo, letters of Pilate to the emperors Claudius and Tiberius.

The book, in its present form, cannot have been earlier than the fifth century, and was probably much later. It is not expressly mentioned until the thirteenth century. The prologue, which states that it was written in the Hebrew language by Nicodemus in the time of Christ, and translated into Greek by a Jewish Christian, named Annanias, during the reign of the emperor Theodosius, is evidently a mere fiction. The book was held in high esteem during the middle ages, and before the invention of the art of printing, it had been translated into Latin, Gaelic, Anglo-Saxon, German and French.

4. *The Latin Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.* This probably belongs to the sixth century. The prologue, which states that it was written by Matthew, and translated into Latin by Jerome, deserves no regard. It goes over the same ground as the *Protevangelium*; but is more minute as to the birth of Mary, and more condensed on the other points.

5. *The Latin History of the Nativity of Mary and of the Infancy of the Saviour.* The first part (cap. 1—17) from the annunciation of Mary to the Bethlehem massacre, follows mainly the *Protevangelium*, though with considerable variations and amplifications; while the latter part, the childhood of the Saviour, is more like the apocryphal books which we find in the Arabic language.

6. *The Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter.* In this book, Christ is introduced as discoursing with his disciples, and giving them a long and marvellous account of the life, death and burial of Joseph. Its Arabic style has an air of antiquity about it, though it is somewhat bombastic. It seems to be the product of a Jewish-Christian, and a translation from the Hebrew. It may possibly, in its present form, be as early as the third or fourth century.

7. *The Arabic Gospel of the Childhood of the Redeemer.* This book was in high esteem among the Nestorians, and may have been the product of some Nestorian Christian of the fourth or fifth century, and originally written in Syriac. Cap. 1—9 relate minutely the birth of Christ; 10—26 the flight into Egypt, and the wonderful miracles wrought by his presence, his clothes, the water in which he had been washed, etc.; 27—35 another course of miracles through the instigation of Mary; 36—49 miracles wrought by the boy of his

own accord, all of them childish, some of them obscene ; and cap. 50 relates a visit made to the temple at Jerusalem.

Abstract of the Apocryphal Gospels.

Having thus given an account of these books, it remains that we present an outline of their contents, in order to afford opportunity for a comparison between them and the genuine. To avoid repetition, it will be most convenient to do this in the form which Ullmann has adopted in the work above referred to, namely, by grouping into one view what is said in the different books respecting the same person or subject. Each subject, however, has some one book particularly devoted to it, so that an analysis of a subject is generally the analysis of a book. We begin with

JOSEPH. According to the Arabic *History of Joseph* (No. 6), Christ, seated in the midst of his disciples on the mount of Olives, relates for substance the following story : " Joseph, well acquainted with the arts and sciences, was a priest in the temple of the Lord ; but he pursued his carpenter's trade, and lived, even in Egypt, by the labor of his hands, that, according to the law, he might not, for his support, be chargeable to any one. He was highly distinguished, not only by his intellectual qualities, but also by the physical ; he never suffered from weakness, his sight never failed, he never lost a tooth nor had the toothache, he never lost his presence of mind, he always walked erect, he never had a pain in his limbs, and was always fresh and cheerful for labor. He lived to be a hundred and twelve years old, and it was not till near the close of his life that he felt any diminution of the liveliness and vigor of his mind or body, or lost in any degree his interest in his handicraft. An angel announced to him his approaching death, and he fell into great fear and distress, and earnestly entreated God for help and relief. He prayed God not to permit frightful looking demons to come in his way, nor the gate-keepers of paradise to obstruct the entering in of his soul, nor the lions to rush upon him, nor the waves of the fiery sea, through which his soul must pass, to overwhelm him, before he had seen the glory of God. In the anguish of death Joseph cursed himself, his life, the day of his birth, the breasts he had sucked ; he heaped up all kinds of accusations against himself, besides original sin, all kinds of actual sin, untruthfulness, hypocrisy, reproachfulness, fraud, and many others. In this distress he calls upon Jesus, the Nazarene, as his Saviour and deliverer, his Lord and God, begs his

pardon that he, through ignorance, had sinned against the mystery of his miraculous birth by an unworthy suspicion, and then concludes, 'O my Lord and God, be not angry, and condemn me not on account of that hour; I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid, and thou art my Lord, my God and Saviour, the Son of God in truth.' This earnest prayer of Joseph not to be forsaken, being satisfactory, Jesus laid his hand upon the bosom of the dying man, and perceived that his soul was about to flee out of his mouth; and from the south he sees death and hell approaching with their fiery troop; and then, at his prayer, the archangels Michael and Gabriel appear, receive the soul of Joseph, enfold it in a lustrous garment, and protect it from the demons of darkness, which are found on the way. At the lamentations of the family, Nazareth and Galilee come together and take part in the mourning. Jesus utters a prayer which he had composed before he was born of Mary, and as soon as he says 'Amen,' a multitude of the heavenly host draws near; he commands one of them to spread out a resplendent shroud, and therein enwrap the body of Joseph. Then he blessed the dead; no smell of death should proceed from him, no worm should touch him, no limb should be decomposed, no hair should fall from his head; but he should remain entire and uninjured till the millennial feast. Afterwards the most distinguished men in the city come to array Joseph in his grave-clothes, but they cannot remove from him the linen garment; so closely and immovably does it adhere to his body, that they cannot find a single fold by which they can seize hold of it."

The apostles, to whom Jesus relates all this, only wonder that Joseph, the just one, whom Jesus calls his father, whose festival by the command of Jesus all the world must annually celebrate, was not, by the miraculous power of Jesus, made immortal, like Enoch and Elijah. To this Jesus replies, that by Adam all men without exception, who descend from him, are made mortal — that this is the fate which even Enoch and Elijah, who as yet retain their bodies, will experience at the final consummation, when four will be slain by anti-christ, namely, Enoch and Elijah, Shilo and Tabitha.

Towards the close of the book the celebration of Joseph's festival is most earnestly enjoined, as also the copying and circulating of this history of Joseph. Whoever, on the festival of Joseph, distributes alms, or offers gifts and prayers, shall be rewarded thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold; whoever copies the history of his life, him will Christ commend to the special protection of God for perfect absolution; the poor, who have nothing to give, must at least give the name of Joseph

to a new born son, and thus protect him from poverty and sudden death; and finally, as Christ in the canonical gospels says, "Go and teach all nations," so here he says, "Proclaim to them the death of my father Joseph, celebrate his birth with a yearly festival; and he who adds to this word or takes from it, is guilty of sin."

In reading such a gospel as this, what a totally different atmosphere we breathe from that of the canonical gospels! We are transported at once to another age, to a different planet, to a totally diverse world of ideas. It is as different from the New Testament gospels as Jack the Giant-killer is from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. Yet it was written in or near the same country as the canonical gospels, and probably not many generations later.

MARY. Here we derive our information mainly from the book already quoted (No. 6), from the *Protevangelium* (No. 1), from the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (No. 4), and from the *History of the Nativity of Mary* (No. 5). In the *History of Joseph* (No. 6), Jesus makes the following statements respecting his mother, namely, that when she was three years old she was brought into the temple and remained there nine years, till she was twelve. At the close of this period, on consultation with the priests, that the change of constitution might not occur to her in the temple, and thereby God be incensed, it was resolved to give her to a just and pious man. Twelve venerable men from the tribe of Judah were called together, and the lot cast, by which she was given to Joseph, who took her away. With Joseph Mary found children of a former marriage, among them James, whom she brought up, and thence she was called the mother of James. In the fourteenth year of Mary's age, Christ, with the approbation of the Father, and the concurrence of the Holy Ghost, accomplished through her his incarnation, being born in a mysterious way which no created being can understand. The birth, on account of which Joseph went with Mary to Bethlehem, occurred in that prophetic city in a cave near the grave of Rachel. Satan informed Herod of it, and this occasioned the persecution and the flight into Egypt. Says Jesus: "Then Joseph arose and took my mother, and I rested in her bosom, and Salome accompanied us on our journey to Egypt." The family remained in Egypt a year, and Jesus relates all the circumstances, as if he had the most perfect recollection of them.

The account of Mary in the *Protevangelium* is far more minute and circumstantial. In this narrative she is in a miraculous manner promised to her parents, Joachim and Anna, who had long been child-

less, and mourned and suffered much on that account. When Mary was six months old her mother put her on the floor to see whether she could stand, and she walked seven steps and then came back to the arms of her mother. In her third year she was brought into the temple attended by a company of pure virgins, and was received by the high priest with the eulogistic words: "Mary, the Lord hath exalted thy name among all generations, and in the last days God will reveal to thee the treasures of his redemption for the sons of Israel." Then the high priest placed her on the third step of the altar, and she sprang upon her feet and the whole house of Israel loved her. Mary was now brought up like a dove in the temple of the Lord, and received her food from the hand of an angel. By a revelation made to the high priest, at twelve years of age she must be betrothed to an Israelite for her protection, and this her protector must be pointed out by a divine token. All the widowers of the people were to come together with their staves; and he on whose staff the sign appeared, was to take her away. A dove flew out from the staff of Joseph, the last one, and rested upon his head; and then, notwithstanding his reluctance, Mary was given to him.

When Mary first went out to draw water, she heard a voice: "Hail, thou favored one, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women." She looked about her to the right and left to see whence the voice proceeded; and when she returned to the house the angel of the Lord met her, and announced to her that she would be the mother of the Son of God. Joseph, when he sometime after returned from his work, was exceedingly shocked at the appearance of Mary, and broke out into the most bitter complaints against her, both on her account and on his own. She resolutely asserted her purity. The affair came to the ears of the high priest, who called them before him and loaded them with reproaches. Mary affirmed that she was pure, and Joseph that he was innocent; and they both passed the ordeal by drinking the water of proof, and with a result so clear that the high priest acquitted them. Soon after, on account of the enrolment, they took their journey to Bethlehem; and on the way Joseph perceiving that Mary is sometimes sad and sometimes laughing, inquires of her the cause. She answers: "I see two nations before mine eyes, the one sighing and weeping, the other exulting and laughing." When the time of her delivery drew near, Joseph placed her in a cave and went out to seek a nurse. And here for a few sentences we will give the narrative literally as it is contained in this gospel.

“As I was going (said Joseph) I looked up into the air and I saw the clouds astonished, and the fowls of the air stopping in the midst of their flight. And I looked down towards the earth, and I saw a table spread, and working people sitting around it, but their heads were upon the table and they did not move to eat. They who had meat in their mouths did not eat, they who lifted their hands to the table did not draw them back, and they who lifted them up to their mouths, did not put anything in, but all their faces were fixed upwards. And I beheld there sheep dispersed, and yet the sheep stood still, and the shepherd lifted up his hand to smite them, and his hand continued up. And I looked unto a river, and saw the kids with their mouths close to the water, and truching it, but they did nōt drink. Then I beheld a woman coming down from the mountains, and she said to me, ‘Whither art thou going, O man?’ And I said to her, ‘I go to inquire for a Hebrew midwife.’ She replied to me, ‘Where is the woman that is to be delivered?’ And I answered, ‘In the cave, and she is betrothed to me.’ Then said the midwife, ‘Is she not thy wife?’ Joseph answered, ‘It is Mary, who was educated in the holy of holies, in the house of the Lord, and she fell to me by lot, and is not my wife, but hath conceived by the Holy Ghost.’ The midwife said, ‘Is this true?’ He answered, ‘Come and see.’ And the midwife went along with him and stood in the cave. Then a bright cloud overshadowed the cave, and the midwife said, ‘This day my soul is magnified, for mine eyes have seen surprising things, and salvation is brought forth to Israel.’ But on a sudden the cloud became a great light in the cave, so that their eyes could not bear it. But the light gradually decreased, until the infant appeared and sucked the breast of his mother Mary. Then the midwife cried out and said, ‘How glorious a day is this, wherein mine eyes have seen this extraordinary sight!’ And the midwife went out of the cave, and Salome met her. And the midwife said to her, ‘Salome, Salome, I will tell you a most surprising thing which I saw. A virgin hath brought forth, which is a thing contrary to nature.’ To which Salome replied, ‘As the Lord my God liveth, unless I receive particular proof of this matter, I will not believe that a virgin hath brought forth.’”

The narrative proceeds to inform us that Salome entered the cave, and proceeding to examine that she might have demonstration of this wonderful fact, her hand was seized with a blazing fire and excruciating pain; and it was only by earnest prayer and the interposition of a miracle, an angel directing her to take the child in her arms, that she was rescued.

The Latin *Gospel of the Birth of Mary* (No. 4) is similar to the preceding, but has some things peculiar to itself. According to this, as many of the greatest and most holy persons were born of mothers before unfruitful, such was the case also with Mary. She was promised to her mother Anna as a special gift of God, by an angel, who also predicted her course of life. In her third year, having been taken by her parents to the temple, without a leader she walked up the steps like an adult; and hereby the Lord indicated her future destination. During her residence in the temple, she was daily visited by angels and enjoyed the visions of God, whereby she was protected from all evil and filled with all good. In her fourteenth year, by the direction of the priest, she with her companions, was to be betrothed. They consented, but Mary resisted because she had vowed perpetual virginity. The priest in perplexity asked for a divine oracle, and was pointed to Isaiah 11: 1. In order now to espouse her to some one, he called together all the unmarried men of the house of David. They were to appear with their staves; and he whose staff should blossom, or upon which the spirit of the Lord should rest in the form of a dove, should be affianced to the virgin and take her under his protection. The decision was in favor of Joseph, for a dove came from heaven and seated itself upon his staff. During her residence in the house of Joseph, the angel of the annunciation appeared to her and she at once recognized him as a heavenly messenger, for she had already become familiar with such appearances. The angel promised to her a son, whom she would conceive and bring into the world without sin and with virginity intact. Mary wished to know how this were possible; and the angel informed her that it would be without the aid of man, solely by the Holy Ghost and the power of the Most High.

The same general features pervade the other *History of the Nativity of Mary* (No. 5), though with enlargements and additions, and still greater extravagances. According to this, Mary, when three years old, was like an adult; her face glistened like the snow, so that one could scarcely look at it; she busied herself with all the labors appropriate to woman, but especially with prayer, in which she continued from early dawn till the third hour of the day, and then again from the ninth hour onward, till there appeared to her the angel of the Lord, from whose hand she received her food, in order that she might daily grow in the love of God. Never was virgin more pious, more pure, more virtuous, more lovely, better instructed in the wisdom of the divine law; she was firm, always equable, immovable,

constantly increasing in goodness. She took care for her companions, that none of them should fail in word, or laugh aloud, or do any thing wrong. She lived only on angelic food; the provisions which she received from the priests in the temple she distributed among the poor. When a sick person touched her, he returned well to his house. Frequently angels were seen waiting upon her and talking with her.

In the choice of a husband for her, three thousand men came together and deposited their staves with the high priest. Joseph, who was highly esteemed as an elder, would not take his staff again; but the high priest Abiathar called after him with a loud voice, and when he received his staff, out of the top of it there came a dove, whiter than snow, and of great beauty, which flew a long time about the pinnacles of the temple, and then soared away to heaven. Joseph took Mary, and also five other virgins to whom the high priest had assigned work, namely, Rebecca, Scephiphora, Susanna, Abigail, and Zabel. Mary obtained by lot the most honorable work, namely, the sewing of purple for curtains of the temple; and on this account, the other virgins called her the queen. On the third day, while about her usual employment, an angel of wonderful beauty appeared to her, and made to her the annunciation, etc. etc.

Contrast all this fanfaronade of childishness, superstition, and foolery, with the few brief, simple, and rigidly common-sense notices of Mary, which we find in the four canonical gospels. Can any two kinds of writing be more utterly unlike?

CHRIST. We next turn our attention to the account which these books give of Christ himself. Here the contrast between them and the canonical gospels appears, if possible, in still stronger colors. There is nothing of the Christ whom we find in the New Testament. All is puerile, bizarre, extravagant. The real dignity, the steady benevolence, the unvarying good sense of the New Testament Christ, are wholly unknown. The periods of life selected, and the topics treated, are wholly different from those of the New Testament.

Infancy and Childhood of Christ. These topics occur in but two of the canonical gospels, and are there treated very briefly; but they make the great staple of the apocryphal gospels, and are drawn out to a most wearisome length. The most minute and characteristic of these narratives is the *Arabic Gospel of the Childhood of the Redeemer*. According to this book, while the child Jesus was lying in his cradle he said to his mother, "I, whom thou hast brought forth, am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, as the angel Gabriel announced

to thee ; and I am sent by my Father for the salvation of the world." At his birth his parents are in a cave, amid the splendor of lights which shine more brightly than the light of the sun. The woman called in by Joseph, as soon as she saw that Mary was the mother, exclaimed, "Thou art not like the daughters of Eve ;" to which Mary replied : "As none among the children is like my child, so his mother has not her like among women." Mary allows the nurse to lay her hands on the child, and thus are they made clean. The child is circumcised in the cave, and the Hebrew women preserve the foreskin in a vessel of spikenard, the same vessel from which afterwards Mary the sinner anointed the head and feet of the Lord. To the Magi, who came in consequence of a prophecy of Zoroaster, Mary gave one of the swaddling cloths in which the child had been wrapped, and they received it as the choicest treasure. On their return home, they held a festival, and, according to their custom in religious worship, kindled a fire, and into it they threw the bandage, which, however, remained unscorched, as if the fire had not touched it. They kissed it, spread it over their head and eyes, and said, "This is an undoubted truth, verily it is a great thing that the fire cannot destroy it." And they took the bandage, and with great reverence preserved it in their treasury.

Next comes the narrative of the journey into Egypt, and a loose, disconnected story of the strangest and most trivial miracles. The holy family come to a city which is the abode of the most distinguished god in the land ; and the moment they take lodgings in a public house, there is great excitement among the citizens, and they flock to their god to learn the cause. He replies, "An unknown God has arrived here, and he is God in truth ; and besides him there is no one worthy to be worshipped, for he is indeed the Son of God." In that same hour the idol fell to pieces, and at his fall came all the inhabitants of Egypt with the other citizens running together ; and a son of the priest, three years old, who was possessed with many devils, being seized with his frenzy, ran to the public house, where Mary was washing and drying her child's linen, one piece of which the demoniac boy caught down and placed upon his head, when immediately the devils came out of his mouth and fled away in the form of rams and snakes.

The holy family, proceeding on their journey, came to a den of robbers ; and the robbers hearing a noise, and supposing the king to be approaching with an army, took to flight, leaving behind them their booty and their prisoners. The prisoners stood up and began

to break off each others fetters, and were about to depart with their property, when, seeing the holy family drawing near them, they asked Joseph what king it was whose perceived approach had put the robbers to flight. Joseph replied, "He is coming behind us." In the city to which they came next, there met them a demoniac woman, who could neither live in a house nor endure clothing; but the very sight of Mary so completely pacified her, that the devil fled from her in the form of a young man. In another city there was a nuptial ceremony, but by the influence of Satan and the magicians, the bride was dumb. She took the Christ-child in her arms, folded him to her bosom and kissed him, when immediately the band of her tongue was loosed. They spent a night in another city, where was a woman whom Satan, in the form of a serpent, was accustomed to overpower and embrace; but she took the child in her arms and kissed him, and was thus delivered from Satan's power. This same woman the next day washed the child Jesus in perfumed water, which she kept. A girl whose body was white with leprosy, being sprinkled with the water, became entirely well. The people said, "Doubtless Joseph and Mary and their child are gods, for they do not seem to be mortals." The maiden who was healed, now attended them, and by the wash-water which had cured her, she now performed many miracles; as, for example, she cured the young son of a prince who had been leprous from his birth. They came to another city to spend the night, and put up at the house of a man recently married, but, in consequence of some poison in his system, he was unable to consummate his marriage. The presence of the child Jesus entirely cured him of his infirmity, and he constrained them to stop the next day and feast with him.

The holy family then met three ladies in distress for their brother, who by magic had been transformed into a mule, and they were taking care of him very tenderly in this form. Mary placed the child on this mule and said, "O my son, by thy great power restore this mule, and make him what he was before, a rational being;" whereupon the mule immediately became a beautiful young man, and afterwards married the maiden before referred to, who had been dispossessed of the devil and was then attending them. The following night they came upon an encampment of robbers under two leaders, Titus and Dumachus. The first by a gift restrained the others from attacking the holy family, for which Mary blessed him, and Jesus said, "Thirty years from now the Jews in Jerusalem will crucify me and the two robbers with me, Titus on my right hand and Dumachus

on my left; and on that day Titus will go before me into paradise." In the neighborhood of Matarea, Jesus called forth a fountain in which his mother washed his clothes; and from the perspiration which there fell from Jesus, there sprang up an abundance of balsam. They journeyed to Memphis and visited Pharaoh. They abode in Egypt three years, and Jesus wrought many miracles, which are recorded neither in this Gospel of the Childhood, nor in the *Evangelio perfecto*.

To the above narrative we add some incidents from the Latin *History of the Nativity of Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour* (No. 5). According to this, during the flight to Egypt, the holy family rested near a cave, out of which many dragons suddenly emerged, whereupon Jesus descended from the lap of his mother, and placed himself before the monsters, when they fled, and then turned and worshipped him. Likewise lions and leopards honored him, and even acted as his guides. Lions mingled with the oxen and other beasts of burden which they had with them; wolves associated with the sheep, and they were all equally peaceful and harmless. A tall palm tree, whose fruit was beyond reach, at the command of the child Jesus, bowed itself down to Mary and allowed her to pluck its fruit; and at a second command it restored itself to its original position. From the roots of this palm Jesus caused to flow a spring of the freshest and purest water. A branch of the same palm, at the command of Jesus, was carried into paradise by the angels, there to be a sign of victory to the soldiers of the Christian warfare. When the wanderers were oppressed by heat, Jesus by his word enabled them in one day to perform a journey of thirty days. It is also related here that when Jesus entered a temple, the idols all tumbled down.

We now return to the *Arabic Gospel of the Childhood* (No. 7), which proceeds to give an account of the return to Bethlehem, and of many miracles wrought by the water in which Jesus had been washed. This sprinkled upon a child enabled it to remain unhurt in a burning oven. A sick child also was healed by being put into the bed of Jesus and covered with his clothes. Mary often distributed his washing-water as a miraculous tincture, and pieces of his clothing as amulets against all kinds of harm. A demoniac boy named Judas, was accustomed in his frenzy to bite at those who were near him; and when he was brought near to Jesus he began to snap and strike at him, but Satan soon came out of him in the shape of a mad dog. This was Judas Iscariot, and the same right side on which he struck at Jesus, the Jews afterwards pierced with the lance.

Then follow miracles which belong to his later childhood, and which are distinguished from the preceding in this respect, that they are not only performed by the power which dwelt in Jesus, but with a more definite consciousness and will of his own. Once, in his seventh year, he was playing with other boys, and they were making, with clay, images of oxen, asses, birds, etc., and while each was endeavoring to excel the others, the child Jesus said, "The figures which I have made I will command to walk." He did so; and to the astonishment of the other children, the clay images walked off, and returned at his command; he then made sparrows which flew about, obeyed his word, and received food at his hand. At another time, Jesus came into the house of Salem the dyer, and there were clothes there which were to receive different colors. All these Jesus threw into one dye-pot, whereupon the dyer coming in was exceedingly angry; but Jesus said to him, "I will give to each piece of cloth the color you desire;" and taking them out, each was dyed as the dyer wished. Then the Jews, who saw this sign and wonder, praised God.

Joseph, in his travels to his work, was accustomed to take the boy Jesus with him, and when anything was made too long or too short, too wide or too narrow (for he was but a bungling carpenter), the child stretched his hands over it and brought it all right. Once he had a throne to make for the king in Jerusalem, and worked upon it two years. When it was finished, he found it too small for the place where it must be put, and being much cast down about it, the child Jesus bade him be of good cheer, and each taking hold of an end of the throne, they pulled upon it till it came to the right size. The throne was made of the figured wood which was in use in the time of Solomon. At another time, the boys who were playing with him he turned into little goats, and they hopped about him and honored him as their shepherd. The women seeing this, cried out, "O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, thou art indeed the good shepherd of Israel, have mercy on thy handmaidens." Then, at the entreaty of these women, he restored the boys to their proper shape. In the month Adar, Jesus collected the boys together, as their king. With their clothes they spread for him a seat, they made him a crown of flowers, placed themselves around him as his guards, and compelled all who passed by to do him honor. Then came men bearing on a bier a boy who had been bitten by a serpent in the woods. They were compelled to come up and do homage to the little king. Jesus commanded them to take the wounded boy back to the place where he

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had received the bite, to force the snake from his hole, and compel him to suck out the poison, which was promptly done, and immediately the snake burst asunder. This boy was the Simon Zelotes afterwards mentioned in the gospels.

Once as the boys were playing, one fell from a roof and was killed. The others fled, but Jesus stood by. The relatives coming up accused Jesus of throwing the child down, but he ordered the boy to arise and give testimony, which he did, and affirmed that it was another who threw him down. Another time Mary sent him for water, but the pitcher, after he had filled it, broke in his hands; so he caught the water in his apron and brought it to his mother. One Sabbath day he was playing with other boys by a brook, and he made sparrows which he placed around a little artificial pool; but a son of the Jew Hannas, enraged at this profanation of the Sabbath, ran and destroyed the pool. Jesus let the sparrows fly, and then said to the boy, "As the water has disappeared from this pool, so will thy life disappear;" and from that moment the child sickened, and soon after died. One evening as Jesus was going home with Joseph, a rough, careless boy ran against him, and he said: "As thou hast overthrown me, so shalt thou be overthrown and not rise again," and immediately the boy fell down and died. Other revengeful acts of the boy Jesus may be found in the *Gospel of Thomas* (No. 2). Joseph at length gives Jesus to understand that they could no longer be tolerated among parents whose children had been slain by his mischievous power, and Jesus answered: "I know those are not my words, but thine; nevertheless for thy sake I will be silent, but those who have complained of me shall receive their punishment;" and the complainers were soon struck blind. Jesus subsequently restored them to sight, but no one after that dared provoke him to anger.

The *Gospel of the Childhood* and of *Thomas* have many anecdotes of the school-days of Jesus and of his being taught to read. A school-master in Jerusalem by the name of Zacheus offered to teach the child, and when his parents brought him, the teacher wrote the alphabet, and told the new scholar to pronounce first *Aleph* and then *Beth*. Jesus said, "Tell me the meaning of *Aleph*, and then I will pronounce *Beth*." The master threatened to punish him for his impudence; but Jesus unfolded the meaning of the letters *Aleph* and *Beth*, and described their different forms and positions in a way the master had never heard of nor read in books; and then he pronounced the whole alphabet. The master then said, "I believe this boy was born before Noah;" and sent him back to his parents because

he was more learned than all teachers, and had no need of instruction. It fared worse with another more able teacher, who on a like occasion struck the boy Jesus, and at once his hand was withered and he died, so that Mary said, "We will not any more let him go out of the house, for all who resist him are punished with death." A third teacher, who hoped to gain the boy's affections, was so astonished at his learning and the knowledge of the law which he manifested to all the bystanders, that he entreated Joseph to take him away. Jesus smiled and praised this teacher, and said he had spoken well; and on his account he healed the others. When at the age of twelve he was in the temple at Jerusalem, he asked questions on the different sciences; he explained the law and the mysteries in the prophetic books, the depths of which no created mind can sound; he explained to an astronomer all the relations and movements of the heavenly bodies, and the rules of astrology which are thence derived; he showed knowledge of all parts of the human body, the fluids and solids, the bones, nerves and veins — all the faculties of the soul and their relation to each other and to the body; in short, all kinds of knowledge were entirely familiar to him; as the narrative expresses it, *the physical and the metaphysical, the hyperphysical and the hypophysical*, so that a learned philosopher present arose and said, "O Lord, from this time onward, I am thy scholar and thy servant."

From this time Jesus began to withhold the manifestations of his knowledge and his power till his thirtieth year.

The Death of Christ and his Descent to Hades. The account of these we find in the Greek *Gospel of Nicodemus* (No. 3). Pilate commands an officer to bring Jesus before him, but with gentleness. The officer spreads a cloth before Jesus for him to walk upon. The Jews complain of this; and Pilate, asking him why he had done it, he replies, that he had witnessed the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem, and noticed how he was honored. Jesus was made to advance without the cloth, but as he stepped between the soldiers who held the standards, these eagles themselves bowed down to do him honor. The Jews, observing this, raised their voices in anger against the standard-bearers. Pilate called them before him, and inquired why they had done this; and they assured him that they, as pagans, knew no reason for honoring Jesus, but the standards had done it of themselves. Then Pilate leaves it to the chief of the Jews to make trial for their own satisfaction, and they select twelve of their strongest and bravest men, and commit the two standards, each to a company of six, to hold them before Pilate. They are threatened with death if

they allow the standards to bow. But when the officers bring in Jesus, again the standards bow and worship him. Now the Jews complain of Jesus that he is a magician ; that his birth was attended with infamy ; that he was born in Bethlehem, and was the cause of the massacre there ; that his parents fled to Egypt because they dared not confide in the people ; that he had profaned the Sabbath, etc., etc. During this strife, Pilate asked Jesus, "What is truth?" Jesus answered, "Truth is from heaven." Pilate again: "Is there not truth on earth also?" And Jesus answered, "Mark how those who have the truth on earth, are judged by those who have the power on earth."

Then follows the narrative of the crucifixion and resurrection. After this, Joseph of Arimathea had a vision of Jesus, who appeared to him in a splendid light. Joseph sank down and knelt not Jesus, but Jesus raised him up and said, "Fear not, Joseph, see me, who I am." Joseph cried out, "Rabboni, Elias." He replied, "I am not Elias, but Jesus of Nazareth, buried by you." For proof, Jesus led Joseph to the tomb in which his body had lain, and showed him the clothes in which the corpse had been wrapped, and then led him back to his house, and blessing him, separated from him. Joseph of Arimathea afterwards related to Annas and Caiaphas, that Jesus had not risen from the dead alone, but had called several others to life, who had appeared in Jerusalem, among them two sons of the high priest Simeon, who had taken Jesus in his arms when he was a child. They were then living in Arimathea, but were silent as the dead, and engaged wholly in prayer. Joseph, Nicodemus, Annas and Caiaphas went immediately to Arimathea, and found them praying, and brought them reverently into the synagogue at Jerusalem, where, with closed doors, they adjured them to disclose the particulars of their resurrection. Charinus and Lenthius (these were their names), when they heard this, trembled and groaned, and they looked towards heaven and made the sign of the cross on their tongues. They then demanded writing materials, and when these were brought, they wrote in substance the following narrative:

They were with the fathers in the dark abyss, when suddenly a golden sunlight entered and shone around them. Father Adam, the patriarchs and prophets, arose and announced the arrival of the Deliverer ; and their father Simeon, who had taken the infant Jesus in his arms, joined in the announcement. The whole multitude of the saints rejoiced ; John the Baptist also stepped up and declared what had happened at the baptism, and that he had come there before

Jesus to announce his arrival. Then Adam through Seth informed the patriarchs and prophets what he had heard from the archangel Michael, when in his weakness he had sent him to the gates of paradise to get for him some oil from the tree of mercy. Seth related that he was then referred to the coming of Christ on earth; he should bring to believers the oil of mercy, and should also lead father Adam into paradise to the tree of mercy. Satan now commanded hell to arm against Jesus, who had boasted that he was the Son of God, though still a man who was afraid of death; he had himself tempted him while on earth, and excited against him his ancient people the Jews. Yet hell was afraid, for she had felt the power of Jesus, and could not retain Lazarus against his will. Finally the Lord of glory arrived in the shape of a man, enlightened the eternal darkness and loosed the perpetual bonds. Death and hell acknowledged themselves conquered, and against their will celebrated the glory of Jesus. Jesus smote death by his majesty, gave over Satan to the power of hell, and took Adam with him into his glory. He called to him all the saints who bore his image and likeness, he took Adam by the right hand and blessed him with his righteous descendants. Adam returned thanks, and all with him bowed the knee to Jesus. Then he marked them with the sign of the cross, and led them out of hell with Adam at their head. David uttered a song of praise, so did Habakkuk, Micah, and the other prophets, all the saints joining in. The Lord then delivered Adam and the saints to the archangel Michael, who led them into paradise. Here they were met by two very old men, who, on being asked who they were, replied that they were Enoch and Elijah; they had not yet tasted death, and were to be kept alive till the coming of anti-christ, with whom they were to fight, and to be slain by him, and then, after three days and a half, they would be taken up into the clouds alive. During this conversation there came along a poor, wretched looking man, bearing on his shoulder the sign of the cross, and resembling in appearance a robber. On being questioned he acknowledged that he was the thief whom the Jews had crucified with Christ, that Jesus had sent him into paradise, that the angel of paradise had admitted him on account of the sign of the cross; and had informed him that Adam with his righteous and holy sons would soon arrive.

“These are the divine mysteries which we, even I, Charinus and Lenthius, saw and heard; more we dare not tell, according to the commandment of the archangel Michael. But repent, and make acknowledgment and give honor to God, that he may have mercy upon you.”

Charinus gave what he had written to Annas, Caiaphas and Gamaliel, and Lenthius gave his manuscript to Nicodemus and Joseph, when suddenly they were transfigured in glory and were no more seen. The two writings, on being compared, were found to correspond exactly, without the difference of a single letter.

Remarks on the Apocryphal Gospels, as compared with the Canonical.

The above is a full and faithful narrative of all that these apocryphal gospels contain; more full perhaps than some may think necessary or will have patience to read. But as the idea has been seriously advanced by Strauss and enlarged upon by others, that these apocryphal books are of very much the same kind, and got up in very much the same way as the canonical, it is time that the friends of evangelical truth fully understood the matter; and it can be understood only by examination. The books are as yet in but few hands; some of them are published only in foreign and difficult languages, and it is desirable that the abstract, which we give, should be sufficiently full to make a fair and complete representation of what they actually contain. Such a representation we claim to have made, in the preceding pages.

Now let any candid man, with a reasonable share of common sense, carefully read the narratives above given, and compare them with our four gospels, contained in the New Testament, and what will he say to the allegation of Strauss, and those like him? Is there anything to be said, except this, that the clumsiest counterfeit of a bank note which was ever issued, a counterfeit so gross that the most juvenile clerk of a country store can detect it as well as the most experienced banker, cannot be more unlike the genuine note than these apocryphal gospels are unlike the canonical? In the great mass, there are some very few touches which seem to indicate a tradition above the ordinary level; but as a whole, in every aspect of the case, they present a perfect contrast. So far from possessing any of the excellences of the canonical gospels, there is not resemblance sufficient to make them even caricatures. Instead of simplicity, we have bombast; instead of strong, good sense, silliness; instead of purity, filthiness; instead of manliness, puerility; instead of dignity, meanness; instead of self-forgetfulness, self-exaltation; instead of generosity, spitefulness; instead of elevated, sublime sentiment, poor, degrading nonsense. Indeed, while the genuine gospels are fully equal to and even above the delicacy and true refinement and intel-

lectual and moral elevation of the most cultivated nations and ages, the apocryphal generally fall below almost the lowest, and could scarcely find anywhere a public, mean enough to receive and relish them, except in the dark corners of the declining Roman empire, where they first originated, or the equally dark corners of the modern papacy and Mormonism, *et ejus generis omnis*.

Moreover, if the genuine gospels were of the same character as the apocryphal, how could the philosophic historian, from such a beginning, account for the development of such an institution as the Christian church?

The Christian church exists; Hegel himself could not deny that, nor reason the fact into non-existence. The Christian church has existed for a long time; it has had a history, it has exerted influences, it has had a character; and here are results to be accounted for, events which have had a cause; and is the cause to be sought in such stuff as these apocryphal gospels are made of? Are these results to be accounted for by ascribing them to such persons as are described in these books, or such minds as produced these writings? With even more reason might you attribute the planning and rearing of such edifices as Westminster abbey and St. Paul's church, and the new parliament house, to such characters as Mr. Pickwick and Mr. Jingle, the Artful Dodger and Fagin the Jew. There is reason in all things that are really things; and that which has no reason in it, is nothing (an *Unding*), and neither deserves nor needs an answer.

VI. COMPARISON OF THE CANONICAL GOSPELS WITH THE FRAGMENTS OF GOSPELS SUPPOSED TO BE LOST.

Besides these apocryphal gospels, which a mere inspection and comparison with the genuine show to be worthless and of late origin, there are preserved in ancient writers the names and certain passages of others, which seem nearer the apostolic period and more worthy of notice. That there were written memorials of our Saviour's ministry anterior to some of our canonical gospels, is plain from the declaration of Luke in the prologue to his gospel; and that these memorials were imperfect and unsatisfactory is equally evident from the same authority. To be fully satisfied on this head one need only carefully read the verses referred to, Luke 1: 1—4.

It is not probable that Luke had here in mind Matthew and Mark, for *two* could not with propriety be called *many* (πολλοί); and had he referred to these divinely authorized historians, he could hardly have



assigned it as his reason for writing, that Theophilus might know the *certainty* (ἀσφάλεια) of the things wherein he had been instructed; for so far as the certainty is concerned, it could be as well ascertained from Matthew or Mark as from Luke. Luke, when he wrote, might not have known that Matthew and Mark had written before him; and it would seem from his introductory remarks, that Theophilus, his friend, had not yet found access to any written account of Christ, except such imperfect and fragmentary notices as had been penned by different men without divine authority. That such notices should have been written is in itself in the highest degree probable; and existing as they must only in manuscript and in private hands, it is also certain that after the authentic gospels were published, they would generally cease to be transcribed and would finally perish. Yet portions of them would probably remain extant for a considerable period; in certain places and by some persons, they would most likely be preferred to the true gospels; and combined, augmented, and variously fashioned, they might hold their position several generations, before they would finally perish.

The earlier Christian writers, as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, make allusions and even quotations, which seem to establish the fact of the existence of such narratives in their time; and when we come down to the time of Origen and Jerome, we find gospels mentioned by name which differ both from the canonical and the apocryphal as we now have them. In the first homily on Luke, published with the works of Origen and ascribed to that author, there is the following statement: "Many undertook to write gospels, but all were not received . . . so that you may know that not four gospels only but many, were written, from which those which we have, were chosen and delivered to the churches. . . . The church has four gospels, the heretics many; one of which is inscribed *according to the Egyptians*, another, *according to the twelve apostles*. . . . I know a certain gospel which is called *according to Thomas*, and *according to Matthias*." The last two of these may properly be called apocryphal, but the first two seem not with strict justice to come under that designation, inasmuch as it seems probable that the first was mainly an Egyptian edition of the gospel of Mark, and the second nearly identical with the Hebrew gospel of Matthew. In his preface to Matthew, Jerome says: "There were many who wrote gospels, . . . which, being edited by different authors, became the sources of diverse heresies, as that *according to the Egyptians*, and *Thomas*, and *Bartholomew*, and also *the twelve apostles*." In his work

De Vir. Illust. (c. 2), he makes mention of a "gospel which is called according to the Hebrews, which was lately translated by me into both the Greek and the Latin languages." This gospel according to the Hebrews seems to have been a Hebrew edition, or the Hebrew original, of Matthew's gospel, and also called the *gospel of the twelve apostles*. Eusebius, speaking of the Ebionites (*Hist. Ecc.* III. 29) says: "They use only the gospel which is according to the Hebrews."

Of those writings, which may be supposed to have some connection with the "many" alluded to by Luke, we will present a translation of some fragments still preserved from that according to the Hebrews, from the one according to the Egyptians, and the *memorabilia* (ἀπομνημονεύματα) quoted by Justin Martyr. We shall add a brief notice of the Diatessaron of Tatian and of the gospel of Marcion, which last, being for substance an abridged edition of Luke, has been learnedly and laboriously restored and edited by Aug. Hahn, and published entire by Thilo in his *Codex Apoc. Nov. Test.* I. 401—486. It is the only one of these gospels which is yet extant.

Gospel according to the Hebrews. Papias, Irenaeus, Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome, Eusebius, and most of the ancients, affirm that Matthew originally wrote a gospel for the Hebrews in the Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic language, that is, the Hebrew of common life in the time of Christ, now generally called the Aramaean. Papias: "Matthew set forth his oracles in the Hebrew dialect, which every one interpreted as he was able." (*Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* III. 39.) Irenaeus: "Matthew put forth the writing of the gospel among the Hebrews in their dialect." (*Adv. Haer.* III. *Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* V. 8.) Origen: "The first (gospel) was written by Matthew, and, as he published it for those who were converted from Judaism, it was written in Hebrew letters." (*Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* VI. 25.) Jerome: "Matthew, first in Judea, on account of those from the circumcision who believed, composed the gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters and words." (*Catal.* c. 4.) "Matthew published a gospel in Judea in the Hebrew language." (*Proleg. in Matth.*) Eusebius: "Matthew, having first proclaimed his gospel to the Hebrews . . . committed it to writing in his native tongue." (*Ecc. Hist.* III. 23). Epiphanius: "They indeed (the Ebionites) receive the gospel according to Matthew; for this both they use and also the Cerinthians. They call it indeed the *gospel according to the Hebrews*; as it is true to say, that Matthew alone in the New Testament made the declaration and preaching of the gospel in Hebrew and with Hebrew letters." (*Haeres.* XXX. 3.)

The very nature of the case, and this abundant and uncontradicted

testimony of antiquity, would seem sufficient to establish the fact, that Matthew did write a gospel in Hebrew, in the language spoken by the Jews of Palestine in the time of Christ. This was not the pure, ancient Hebrew, though generally called Hebrew in the New Testament, as in Acts 21: 40. 22: 2. Specimens of the language are given in Matth. 27: 46. Mark 5: 41. 7: 34. 15: 34; which last passage, being compared with the original of Ps. 22: 1, will show the very great similarity of this dialect to the ancient Hebrew. Any person acquainted with the one, could very easily and fully understand the other; they were quite as nearly related to each other as the English of Henry VIII's time is to the English of the present day. The Jews of Palestine tenaciously held on to this their national tongue, and never used the Greek if they could possibly avoid it. Josephus declares respecting himself, that though he received the best education, both Hebrew and Greek, which could then be obtained by a Jew, yet he never had been able to pronounce the Greek language correctly, he not having been accustomed to it, on account of the aversion of his countrymen to the learning or teaching or using of foreign languages. (Antiq. XX. 11.)

There is every reason to believe, therefore, that Matthew did write a gospel in the then existing language of Palestine, for the use of Jewish converts; but it being designed only for a local and temporary use, it was soon superseded in the Christian church generally, by the Greek gospel subsequently written by the same apostle. This original Hebrew gospel by Matthew was probably, as will hereafter be apparent, the ground-work of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, so often referred to by ancient Christian writers. Eusebius often mentions it, but seems not to have read it; for in referring to a passage quoted by Ignatius, he says he "knows not whence the words were taken" (Hist. Ecc. III. 30), while Jerome, when referring to the same text (De Vir. Ill.), says it comes from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*." Jerome had not only seen this gospel, but he himself actually translated it into Latin and Greek; he says it is the one which some referred to the *twelve apostles*, but most supposed it to be the original gospel of Matthew. He says (Adv. Pel. III.), "In the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which is written in the Syro-Chaldaic language, but with Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes use to this day, as *according to the twelve apostles*, or, as most suppose, *according to Matthew*." Again (De Vir. Ill. 2. 2), "The gospel also which is called *according to the Hebrews*, and which was lately translated by me into the Greek and Latin languages, which

also Origen often uses," etc. Once more, says Jerome (De Vir. Ill. c. 3), "Moreover, this very Hebrew (gospel) is kept to this day in the Caesarean library, which Pamphilus the martyr so diligently collected. The opportunity of copying it came also to me from the Nazarenes who use this volume in Beroea, a city of Syria." He also observes that in this gospel the quotations from the Old Testament follow the Hebrew and not the Septuagint; and gives as examples: *out of Egypt have I called my son*; and, *he shall be called a Nazarene*; both which passages are cited by our Matthew and by no other of the evangelists in the New Testament.

These remarks may be sufficient as an introduction to certain specimens of this *gospel according to the Hebrews*, which are found in various ancient writers. Neither the gospel itself, nor Jerome's translations of it, have for many centuries been seen; and all the knowledge which we can now obtain of its contents, must be derived from incidental quotations, like those which we herewith translate.

CLEMENS ALEX. (L. II. Strom. p. 380): "In the gospel according to the Hebrews, it is written, *He that hath admired, shall reign; and he that hath reigned, shall have rest.*"

ORIGEN (in Johan. Vol. IV. p. 63): "But if any one will go to the gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself saith: *Now my mother, the Holy Ghost, took me by one of my hairs, and brought me to the great mountain even Tabor.*"

In Matth. XIX. 19 (Vol. III. p. 691): "It is written in a certain gospel, which is called according to the Hebrews (if yet it may please any one to take it, not as authority, but as an illustration of the question proposed), and it says: One of the rich men said to him, Master, doing what good thing shall I live? He said to him, Man, fulfil the law and the prophets. He replied to him, I have done it. He said to him, Go, sell all which thou possessest, and divide among the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him, How canst thou say I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, when it is written in the law, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; and behold many of thy brethren, the sons of Abraham, are covered with filth, dying with famine, and thy house is filled with many good things, and nothing almost goes out of it to them? And turning to Simon his disciple, who sat by him, he said, Simon, son of John, it is easier that a camel go through the eye of a needle, than a rich man into the kingdom of heaven."

EPIPHANIUS (Haeres. XXX. 13): "In the gospel with them (the

Ebionites) called according to Matthew, yet not entire and pure, but adulterated and . . . they call it the Hebrew (gospel) . . . it is contained thus: There was a certain man, Jesus by name, and he was about thirty years old, who chose us. And going into Capernaum he went into the house of Simon, who is called Peter, and opening his mouth he said: Passing along by the sea of Tiberias, I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot; and thee, O Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, I called, and thou didst follow me. Wherefore I will that ye be twelve apostles for a testimony unto Israel. And John was baptizing, and the pharisees went out to him and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins. And his food, it says, was wild honey, whose taste was that of manna, as honey-cakes with oil; that thence they may change the word of truth to a lie, and instead of *locusts* (*ἀκρίδων*) they may make it *cakes* (*ἐγκρίδας*) with honey. But the beginning of the gospel with them is this: It came to pass in the days of Herod, the king of Judea, John came baptizing the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who was said to be of the race of Aaron the priest, the son of Zachariah and Elisabeth; and all came to him. And after saying many things it goes on, The people being baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized. And when he went up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God in the form of a dove descending and coming to him. And there was a voice from heaven saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased. And again, I this day have begotten thee. And immediately a great light illumined the place. Which seeing, it says, John said unto him, Who art thou, Lord? And again there was a voice from heaven to him, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And then it says, John falling down before him, says, I pray thee, O Lord, baptize thou me. But he forbade him, saying, Suffer it, for thus it is becoming that all things be fulfilled."

XXX. 14: "Cutting off the genealogies in Matthew, they begin: To make the beginning, as I said before, saying, It came to pass, it says, in the days of Herod king of Judea, in the high priesthood of Caiaphas, a certain man, John by name, came baptizing the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, and so on."

XXX. 16: "That which is called the gospel with them, contains this: I have come to destroy the sacrifices, and if ye will not cease to sacrifice, wrath will not cease from you."

JEROME (Contra Pel. III. 2): "In the gospel according to the

Hebrews the history narrates, Behold the mother of the Lord and his brethren said to him, John Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, What have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized by him?"

Comm. in Isa. XI. 1: "According to the gospel which the Nazareans read, the fount of every Holy Spirit shall be upon him. Moreover we find these things written: And it came to pass when the Lord ascended from the water, the fount of every Holy Spirit descended and rested upon him and said to him, My Son, in all the prophets I was expecting thee, that thou shouldst come, and I should rest upon thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first born Son, who shalt reign forever."

Comm. in Mich. VII. 6: "In which (gospel according to the Hebrews) it is said in the person of the Saviour, My mother, the Holy Spirit, took me lately by one of my hairs."

Comm. in Ephes. V. 3: "Also in the Hebrew gospel we read, that the Lord, speaking to the disciples, said, You may never rejoice except when you see your brother in charity."

De Vir. Ill. c. 2: "The gospel according to the Hebrews, after the resurrection of the Saviour, reports: But the Lord, when he had given the linen cloth to a servant of the priest, went to James and appeared to him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drank the cup of the Lord, until he had seen him arise from them that sleep. And again, a little after, The Lord said, Bring a table and bread. And immediately it adds, He took the bread and blessed and brake and gave to James the just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man has risen from them that sleep."

Comm. Pel. III. 2: "And in the same volume (gospel of the Hebrews), he says, If thy brother sin against thee in word, and make satisfaction to thee seven times in a day, receive him. Simon, his disciple, said to him, Seven times in a day? The Lord answered and said unto him, Yes, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven! For even in the prophets, after they are anointed with the Holy Ghost, is found matter of sin."

Comm. in Matth. VI. 11: "In the (Hebrew) gospel, the man who had the withered hand, is said to be a brick-layer (*caementarius*), and he prayed for help in this manner: I was a brick-layer, earning my living by my hands; I pray thee, O Jesus, that thou wouldst restore health to me, that I may not basely beg my bread."

Ep. 120, ad Hedib.: "In the (Hebrew) gospel we read, not that

the veil of the temple was rent, but that the lintel of the temple, of wonderful magnitude, was broken down."

From the above extracts, it is manifest that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was vastly superior to the later apocryphal gospels, of which an abstract has already been given; and greatly inferior to the canonical gospels of our New Testament. The ground-work of it would seem to have been the Hebrew gospel of Matthew, in some places mutilated, and in others enlarged by augmentations from a tradition not then remote. There were probably several different recensions of it; and it seems to have been substantially the same with that which was sometimes called the *gospel according to the twelve apostles*.

The gospel according to the Egyptians. EPIPHANIUS, in speaking of the Sabellians, has the following passage (Haer. L. XXII. 2): "Their whole error, and the power of their error, they derive from certain apocryphal books, especially from one called the *Egyptian gospel*, to which some give this name. For in it are contained many such things, as it were mysteriously in a jumble, from the person of the Saviour, as that he declared to his disciples that he was the Father, and he the Son, and he the Holy Ghost."

CLEMENS ALEX. (Strom. III. 6. etc. p. 445, 52, 53.): "To Salome, inquiring how long death should have power, the Lord said, As long as you women bear children. . . . Moreover, she saying, I have done well in not bearing children, the Lord answered, saying, Eat every herb, but that which is bitter thou mayest not eat; by which words he signifies, that celibacy or marriage is a matter within our own choice, neither being enforced by any prohibition of the other. This, I suppose, is contained in the *gospel according to the Egyptians*."

CLEMENS ROMANUS. In the second epistle, ascribed to this author (6: 12), there are two quotations from a certain gospel, which, when compared with what is said of the *Egyptian gospel* by Clemens Alexandrinus, learned men have inferred to be from that work. The first is as follows: "For the Lord saith, ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. Peter answered and said, What if the wolves shall tear the lambs in pieces? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the lambs, after they are dead, be afraid of the wolves. And ye also, fear not them that kill you, and are then able to do nothing to you; but fear him who hath power, after that ye are dead, to cast both soul and body into hell-fire." The second passage is this: "Wherefore also he saith thus: Keep the flesh pure and the soul unspotted, that ye may receive eternal life."

The above is nearly all that remains of the *gospel according to the Egyptians*; and it is not absolutely certain that all even of these passages are from that work, for Clemens Alexandrinus only *supposes*, and the source of the quotations of Romanus is wholly conjectural. So far as we are able to judge, this Egyptian gospel was still more faulty than that of the Hebrews.

Besides these, there are mentioned by ancient writers a *gospel of Peter* (Theodoret. Haeret. Fab. II. 2), and a *gospel of Cerinthus* (Epiphan. XXVII. 5. XXX. 14.); but no extracts are given from them, and from what is said about them, it would seem that the latter was closely connected with the gospel of the Hebrews, and the former with that of the Egyptians. According to this, the *gospel of Cerinthus* would have some connection with our canonical Matthew, and the *gospel of Peter* with our canonical Mark. (Guerike, Einleit. N. T. 198, 199).

Memorabilia of Justin Martyr.

This father, in his writings, frequently refers to the deeds and words of Christ, and cites passages from certain apostolic writings, which he calls *memorabilia* or *memoirs*, and also *gospels*. These writings he affirms were the work of apostles and of the companions of apostles. Two passages from his second Apology may be sufficient to illustrate the manner in which he refers to these authorities. Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια οὕτως παρέδωκαν, *For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called gospels, have thus handed down, etc.* Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι, *For in the memoirs which I say were composed by the apostles or by those who accompanied them, etc.*

Some of the passages which Justin quotes, are literal transcripts from our canonical Matthew; many are quotations, with slight verbal differences, from Matthew and Luke; some combine the sense of passages found in two or more of the gospels; and others merely give the meaning of a text without attempting to give the words. There are still others which differ very much from our present gospels, and some few, of which no trace can be found in our canon. Of the two kinds last mentioned we will give a full selection, and specimens of the others.

By comparing all the quotations, it would seem that Justin used

mainly our Matthew, and was quite familiar with Luke; while he makes very little direct use of Mark, and still less of John. He seems also to have had traditionary reports of some passages in the life of Christ not contained in our gospels, and access to some writings not now extant, as perhaps the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew, and some of the "many" referred to by Luke in the introduction to his gospel. All this is very easily accounted for by the fact that Justin was a native and resident of Palestine, where these traditions and the writings from which he draws, originated and were longest preserved; while, of the two gospels which he passes over almost without notice, the one (Mark) was written and published for the use of the Latins, the other (John) was originally designed for the Greeks of Asia Minor.

We begin our extracts with the sentences which differ most widely from our canonical gospels.

Dial. c. Tryph. : "And then the child, having been born in Bethlehem, since Joseph had not in that village a place to lodge, was lodged in a certain cave near the village. They being there, Mary brought forth the Christ, and laid him in a manger (*φάτνη*), where the Magi, coming from Arabia, found him."

"Then Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, and when he went down to the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan; and while he was ascending from the water, his apostles write, the Holy Ghost like a dove flew upon him . . . and at the same time a voice came out of the heavens, *Thou art my Son, I this day have begotten thee.*"

(Jesus) "being among men, did carpenter's work, making ploughs, and yokes, by these things even teaching the symbols of righteousness and an industrious life."

"And they, seeing these things take place, said it was a magical fantasy, for they dared to call him a magician and a deceiver of the people."

"Christ said, In what things I apprehend you, in those also I shall judge you."

The matters in the above statements, to which there is nothing corresponding in our canonical gospels, are evidently traditionary notices; and some of them very closely resemble what the fathers quote from the gospel according to the Hebrews.

We proceed to give extracts, of which the sense is found in the canonical gospels, though not always in one passage nor in the same words.

Apol. II. : "Be not anxious as to what ye shall eat, or wherewith ye shall be clothed. Are ye not better than birds and beasts? yet God feedeth them. Be not anxious, then, as to what ye shall eat or wherewith ye shall be clothed; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things; but seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you; for where the treasure is, there is also the mind of the man."

"Many will say to me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drank in thy name, and wrought miracles? and then I will say to them, Depart from me ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine like the sun, and the wicked shall be sent into eternal fire. For many shall come in my name, being clothed outwardly with the skins of sheep, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their works ye shall know them. Every tree not bearing good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

"Be not afraid of those who destroy you, and after that are not able to do anything; but fear him who after death, is able to cast both soul and body into hell."

These extracts all have the appearance of being quoted from memory out of different parts of the canonical Matthew and Luke, without reference to the particular place, or any attempt at verbal accuracy.

Apol. II. : "Whosoever is angry, shall be obnoxious to the fire."

"For whosoever heareth me and doeth what I say, heareth him that sent me."

"Woe to you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye tythe seasoning and rue; but consider not the love of God and the judgment."

"Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise, and shall lead astray many of the faithful."

"For Christ also said, Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. But it is plain to all, that it is impossible for those who have once been born, to enter again into the womb of those that bare them."

Dial. c. Tryph. : "A certain one saying to him Good Master, he answered, Why callest thou me good? there is one good, my Father who is in heaven."

These are the quotations by Justin which differ most widely from the text of our canon. He quotes very often, generally without any variation in sense, and frequently with literal exactness. Very many verses of the New Testament are found complete in his writings. It is evident, on comparison of the whole, that his *memorabilia* or

memoirs were the same gospels which we now have, with perhaps the addition of a Hebrew Matthew; and when he gives what is not in our gospels, he copies from the traditions of his own times, either oral or written, or both.

Diatessaron of Tatian.

Tatian is described by Eusebius (Hist. Ecc. IV. 29) as once a hearer of Justin Martyr, in good repute among Christians; but after the death of Justin, he became an ascetic Encratite, abstaining from flesh and wine, and denying the lawfulness of marriage. He wrote against the gentiles a book which Eusebius commends, the object of which was to prove the superior antiquity of Moses and the prophets to the sages of Greece and Rome. He also wrote the *Diatessaron* (διὰ τεσσάρων), an abridgment and harmony of the four gospels; and of this Eusebius speaks disparagingly.

Theodoret (Haer. Fab. I. 20) informs us that Tatian cut off the genealogies of Jesus and the account of his birth; and Bar-Salibi, an oriental writer (Asseman. Bibl. Or. I. 57), says his *Diatessaron* began with the first words of John's gospel, *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*.

Epiphanius (Haer. XLVI. 1.) says, that some called his *τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον* the gospel according to the Hebrews.

This, I believe, is all the reliable information we have respecting this work of Tatian, which some modern critics, as Eichhorn and Schmidt, would have to be a biography of Jesus, independent of our canon. There is not the least evidence of any such thing, but of the exact reverse. The most probable supposition is, that it was a harmony of our four canonical gospels, somewhat mutilated and modified to suit his Encratite views, and based mainly on the Hebrew Matthew; as Tatian, it seems, was taught Christianity in Palestine, and by Justin Martyr. In any event, certainly, nothing can be made out of it to the disparagement of our canonical gospels.

Gospel of Marcion.

Marcion, an anti-Judaizing Gnostic, according to the uncontradicted testimony of antiquity, published for his followers a gospel, which was simply the gospel of Luke, mutilated and changed to suit his own views. This is the testimony of both Tertullian and Epiphanius (adv. Marc. IV. 2, 6. Haer. XLII. 11.). Some of the important parts omitted are Cap. I. II. and III. 1—9. 29—35. XV. 11—32.

XIX. 29—46. XX. 9—18, 37, 38. XXII. 35—38, 42—44. Gue-
rike, Einleit. N. T. 206.

The beginning of Marcion's gospel, according to the edition of Hahn, is as follows: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, God came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching on the Sabbath days. And they were astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power. And there was in the synagogue a man, having a spirit of an unclean devil, and he cried out with a loud voice, saying:—" and so on, word for word, according to Luke 3: 1. 4: 31—33, etc. In accordance with the above representation of the first appearance of Christ in Galilee, an ancient writer informs us that "the Marcionites frequently affirm, that the good God suddenly appeared and came down immediately from heaven into the synagogue." (Pseudo-Orig. Dial. p. 823. Thilo, Codex. Apoc. N. T. I. 403.)

The extract given above may be considered a fair specimen of the book, and of the manner in which it compares with the canonical Luke. It is perfectly plain from the testimony of the ancients, and from an inspection of the work itself, that it is in no sense a rival of our canonical gospels, nor derived from any sources independent of them.

Of the other early gospels, sometimes alluded to, that of Bartholomew, according to the testimony of Eusebius (Hist. Ecc. V. 10.) and Jerome (De Vir. Ill. c. 36.), was nothing else than the Hebrew gospel of Matthew. Of those ascribed to Matthias and Thomas, no authentic trace remains; and there is not the shadow of evidence that either of those apostles ever wrote a gospel. Those ascribed to Apelles and Basilides were nothing more than extracts from the canonical gospels, variously mutilated and interpolated. None of these, certainly, are fit to hold any rivalry with our four which are contained in the New Testament.

Arabia has been prolific in the apocryphal literature of the New Testament; several of the apocryphal gospels have been preserved to us through the Arabic language; and Mohammed was much indebted to this source for his materials in the construction of the Koran. Chapters III. and XIX. of that strange book are well worthy the perusal of every Christian, for they contain a minute account of the families of Christ and John, and all the wonderful circumstances attending their birth, in the true Arabic fashion.

In drawing up the preceding account of the gospel fragments of the early age, we have been largely indebted to De Wette's learned
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and vigorous Introduction to the New Testament. The German unbelief cannot now be successfully encountered without the help of the German learning. The antidote is scarcely to be found except where the poison grows. The climes which yield the most noxious plants, are the very climes which produce the most effective medicines, the sweetest fruits, the most luxurious vegetation.

[To be concluded.]

ARTICLE V.

THE KINGDOM OF CONGO AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES.

By Rev. John Leighton Wilson, Missionary in Western Africa.

No part of Western Africa is so well known to history as the kingdom of Congo. For this distinction, however, it is not so much indebted to any importance which it ever possessed itself, as to other causes of an incidental nature. It borders upon, and has given its name to, one of the finest rivers on the continent of Africa, and is therefore somewhat known merely from its geographical position. And the circumstance that has contributed to its notoriety, but not to its honor as a nation, is the fact, that from the earliest period of its discovery by the Portuguese up to the present moment, it has always borne the lead in the foreign slave trade, and in all probability, has furnished a larger number of victims for the markets of the new world than any other region of Africa whatever. Congos or their descendants may still be identified in many parts of the United States, throughout the West India islands, and in large numbers in Brazil, where they have not yet laid aside their vernacular tongue.

But the circumstance which, above all others, has contributed to give it interest in the eyes of the civilized world, is the fact that it has been the stage upon which has been achieved one of the most successful experiments ever made by the church of Rome, to reclaim a pagan people from idolatry. For more than two centuries, the kingdom of Congo, according to the showing of the missionaries them-

selves, was as completely under the influence of Rome, as any sister kingdom in Europe; so that if the inhabitants of that country are not now, in point of civilization and Christianity, what Rome would have them to be, or all that a pagan people are capable of being made under her training, the fault lies at her own door. In relation to the missions which she planted about the same time in India, China and other parts of the world, it has been alleged with some degree of justice, that her designs were thwarted in consequence of political changes in Europe, which placed protestant nations in the ascendant, and gave them a preponderant influence in those countries where her missions had been established. With no less justice it has been urged, that the failure of her efforts among the Indian tribes, both of North and South America, ought to be ascribed to the fact that these tribes have been overshadowed and borne down by the presence of more powerful races, without allowing sufficient time for the full development of her peculiar principles. But whether these things can be regarded as satisfactory explanations of the causes of failure in other parts of the world or not, nothing of the kind can be urged in relation to her missions in Congo. Here she has always had the field to herself; and for more than two centuries, enjoyed facilities and advantages for propagating her religion among this people, which she can scarcely ever expect to have again in any future efforts of the kind that she may make.

It is our intention in the present article to examine the character and results of this mission. But in order to render our views intelligible, we must give a hasty sketch of the civil as well as the religious history of the country, before entering upon the proposed investigation.

The kingdom of Congo, as also the great river of the same name, was discovered by the Portuguese about the year 1485.¹ It was not a new or isolated discovery, but an extension of those they had made some years previously higher up the coast. At the time, however, it was regarded as immensely valuable, and it awakened an interest in Portugal, in behalf of this people and country, that has not entirely subsided after the lapse of more than three centuries.

The kingdom of Congo lies entirely on the south side of the river, which forms its northern boundary; while on the south it is bounded by the Portuguese province of Angola, on the west by the Atlantic, and on the east by the mountains of Matamba, which separate it from

¹ By the natives of the country the river is called the *Zaire*, a name that is adopted also by most modern geographers.

the country of the savage and warlike Giaghia. It is of an oblong figure, extending along the sea-coast about 250 miles and interiorwards about 350. At the time of its discovery, or very soon afterwards, it was divided into six provinces, viz. Sogno, Bamba, Pemba, Batta, Pango and Sundi, to the chiefs of which the Portuguese gave the names of dukes, counts and marquises, which they ever after retained. Of these provinces, Sogno and Bamba were the largest and altogether the most important. Bamba was said to have been about as large as Sicily or Naples, and bordered on the province of Angola. Sogno was still larger, and not only formed the frontier of the whole kingdom, but commanded the entrance of the river, and therefore acquired importance proportioned to the amount of commerce carried on with the civilized world. San Salvador, the capital and metropolis of the whole kingdom, was situated in the province of Pemba, about 50 Italian miles south-east of the mouth of the Congo, and about 140 north-east of Loando St. Paul, the capital of Angola. It was situated upon the summit of a high mountain, and not only enjoyed a magnificent prospect of the surrounding country, but was reputed healthful even for Europeans. It was not only the residence of the king, but was the head quarters of the missionaries, as also for a large number of Portuguese merchants, who resorted thither on account of the facilities it offered for trade. At the time of its greatest prosperity, which was probably the early part of the seventeenth century, it is said to have contained about 40,000 inhabitants. The palace was a large wooden building, surrounded in part by a stone wall, and was constructed no doubt under the direction of the Portuguese residents, and probably at the expense of the king of Portugal. For many years, a bishop and his chapter, a college of Jesuits and a monastery of Capuchins, were supported in San Salvador at the expense of the Portuguese government. Besides a cathedral of large dimensions, there were ten smaller churches, to which the ordinary names of St. John, St. James, St. Michael, St. Anthony, etc. were given, all of which contributed materially to beautify this otherwise barbaric city. It was accessible to the whites by the way of the river, but the more common route to the sea-coast was through the province of Bamba to Loando St. Paul. There were several fortified posts along this route, but none of them were places of strength or importance. The only other towns of any considerable importance were the capitals of Sogno and Bamba; neither of which, however, is supposed to have contained more than six or eight hundred houses. In both of these there were monasteries of Capuchins, and in Sony, the capital

of Sogno, there were six churches, the largest of which could contain five or six hundred people. Sony was situated upon a small creek, that emptied into the Congo a few miles from its mouth, and was the great seaport of the kingdom.

The history of Congo, civil as well as religious, commences with its discovery by the Portuguese, as little or nothing is known about it previously.

Diego Cam, the original discoverer, having entered the river and learned by signs from natives whom he found upon its banks, that there was a great kingdom in the interior by the name of Congo, was so much elated by the discovery, that he took very little time to verify these equivocal proofs, but made all speed back to Portugal to report his success. The interest which this discovery awakened in the mind of the king and people of Portugal, was scarcely less than that felt by Diego Cam himself; and he was sent back almost immediately with three Dominican friars. On his second arrival he had an interview with the king, and was treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy. Two of the friars that accompanied him, died soon after their arrival, probably of the effects of the climate; and the third was killed some years after by the Giaghis, while acting as chaplain to the Congolan army.

On his third voyage to Congo, Diego Cam took with him twelve missionaries more, of the Franciscan order, who are regarded as the founders of the Christian religion in the kingdom of Congo. The count of Sogno and the king of Congo, his nephew, were among the first converts to Christianity. For a time the latter showed great zeal in promoting the new religion among his subjects; but as soon as he found that he was required to give up the multitude of wives and concubines with which he was surrounded, and be married to a single wife, he renounced it and returned to the religion of his fathers. His son and successor, Don Alphonso the First, felt no such difficulty. He not only embraced Christianity himself, but did all he could to promote its interests throughout his realms. His brother Pasanguitama was a man of a very different spirit, and finding there was quite a popular dislike to the new religion, availed himself of it to raise a rebellion against his brother. The armies of the two brothers had scarcely engaged in battle, when St. James was distinctly seen fighting on the side of the king; and victory, of course, soon turned in his favor. Pasanguitama was not only beaten, but was made a prisoner. He refused to ransom his life by embracing Christianity, and was accordingly executed. It fared differently with

his general, who was pardoned on the condition of becoming a Christian, but had to do penance in the way of bringing water for all who were baptized in the capital. Soon after this signal victory in behalf of Christianity, a large reinforcement of missionaries was sent out by the Society *de Propaganda Fide*, most of whom were from the Italian States; and in the course of fifteen or twenty years the entire population of Congo was gathered into the pale of the Roman Catholic church.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the labors of the missionaries met with a serious interruption in consequence of an invasion of the country by hordes of the warlike Giaghis. The Congolan army, though large and well disciplined, was scattered like chaff before these savage invaders. San Salvador was burnt to the ground, and the king and his people had to betake themselves to the "isle of horses," on the Zaire, for safety. In this extremity, the king of Congo appealed to Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, for help, which was promptly granted. Don Francis Gouvea was despatched with six or eight hundred Portuguese troops, and after having been reinforced by two or three hundred more, from Angola, he gave battle to the invaders in the heart of the kingdom. After several engagements, in which the Giaghis showed great bravery, he succeeded in driving them from the country, and restored the king to his throne. Don Alvaro the First, the king at the time, out of gratitude, engaged to make the king of Portugal an annual present of slaves, and offered to acknowledge him as his sovereign. This latter proposition the king of Portugal generously declined, preferring to regard Don Alvaro as a brother king. Don Francis remained in the country with a part of his troops three or four years, for the purpose of restoring order, and to prevent another invasion of the Giaghis.

The missionaries, who it is supposed retired to Angola during these strifes, returned to their labors, and having been reinforced by new recruits from Europe, not only reëstablished the Catholic worship in all the provinces of Congo, but extended their labors into neighboring districts over which the king of Congo had no jurisdiction. They crossed the Zaire, and were nearly as successful in making converts in Loango and Kakongo as they had been in Congo. In the mean time San Salvador was rebuilt, commerce was resumed on a more extended scale, and the country soon attained to a degree of prosperity and power quite beyond anything it had previously known. This period of peace and prosperity, however, was not of more than forty or fifty years' continuance.

In the year 1636, a civil war broke out between the king of Congo and the count of Sogno. The occasion of this war arose from an unjustifiable attempt on the part of the king to transfer the province of Sogno to the crown of Portugal. Having had need of the aid of the Portuguese of Angola to effect his coronation, he engaged to give them for their assistance two gold mines and the country of Sogno. For some time previously, the Portuguese had entertained the belief that there were valuable and extensive gold mines in the country back of San Salvador. The natives of the country, either from motives of policy or from that inherent love of the marvellous which characterizes the race, had studiously encouraged this belief, without, however, furnishing any information by which the Portuguese could identify the particular region in which they were to be found. At the same time it was quite obvious that these mines could be of no special value to the Portuguese, unless they could get possession of Sogno, which commands the entrance of the river, and prevent other foreigners from participating in the advantages of their discovery. To couple these two things, therefore, for the purpose of securing the assistance and coöperation of the Portuguese, showed great shrewdness on the part of the king; but so far as it concerned the welfare of the country generally and the stability of his own throne, it showed great weakness, as well as want of foresight. The proposition, as might have been foreseen, roused the indignation of the people as well as the count, to the highest pitch, and they soon placed themselves in an attitude of defiance. The count denied the sovereignty of the king of Congo, and not only charged the Portuguese with fraud in accepting what he had no right to give, but reproached them bitterly with ingratitude, inasmuch as only a few years before, when they were driven out of Loando St. Paul by the Dutch, he had given them shelter in his country and extended to them pardon that had never been required.

The king of Congo raised a large army, and having been joined by about eighty Portuguese, he determined to force the count into submission. In the first engagement the Sognoese army was beaten and the count himself was slain. His son and successor, who was a man of equal energy and bravery, resumed the war, and in the first engagement the royal army was not only defeated, but the king himself and a large number of his Portuguese allies were made prisoners. The latter had the alternative of death or slavery submitted to them, and preferring the former they were immediately executed. The king, Don Alvaro the Second, obtained his own liberation by acknowledging the independence of the count and ceding to him an additional

district of the country. It was not long, however, before this treaty was denounced and hostilities were recommenced by the king, but with no better success. Finding it impossible to reduce the count to subjection, the king despatched an embassy with valuable presents to Prince Maurice, who at that time was acting as agent for the Dutch in Brazil, to ask his aid. The count sent another at the same time and probably by the same vessel, and with presents equally valuable, to beg his non-interference. The prince determined not to interfere, and wrote to the governor of Angola to take no part in the quarrel, as he would prefer to regard both parties in the light of friends. For a time hostilities were suspended, but the country of Sogno was never afterwards united to the crown of Congo. The part which the Portuguese had taken at the commencement of these troubles, made them ever afterwards intolerably odious to the Sognoese. The count indulged his resentment by persecuting the missionaries in his country. Several of them were ignominiously dragged out of his dominions and thrown among the savages on the opposite side of the river, where it was thought they would be put to death. It was not long, however, according to the statements of the missionaries, before this deed of violence recoiled with redoubled force upon the count's own head. The love which the people bore to their religious teachers, and the apprehension of some dreadful calamity from heaven, roused them to a state of phrenzy, and the count in turn was seized and drowned in the Zaire, near the spot where he had perpetrated this deed of cruelty against the missionaries. A more devout successor ascended his throne, and the missionaries were recalled to exercise more absolute authority than they had ever done before.

About the same time, Don Alvaro the Second, sent to Pope Urban the Eighth, for a new recruit of missionaries. In compliance with this request, twelve Capuchins were sent; but having been detained on account of the war with Spain, they did not reach Congo until after this king's death. A part of this company remained with the count of Sogno, and the others found their way to San Salvador, where they were kindly received by Don Garcia the Second, the son and successor of Don Alvaro. The reign of Don Garcia was short, and he was succeeded by Don Antonio the First, who by his unparalleled wickedness and brutality, not only threw his whole kingdom into disorder and anarchy, but had nearly extirpated every trace of Christianity from the land. He not only behaved in the most despotic and brutal manner to his own subjects, but treated the Portuguese residents and the missionaries with so much indignity that they

were compelled to fly from his realms. It was not long, however, before the Portuguese of Angola determined to resent these indignities. An army of one or two thousand natives and four hundred Portuguese soldiers was raised, and they determined to give this impudent king battle in the heart of his own country. On this occasion, it is confidently stated by the missionaries, that Don Antonio raised the incredibly large army of 900,000 men. They say very little, however, for the bravery or discipline of this immense army, when they add that the main division of it was entirely routed by four hundred Portuguese musketeers. Don Antonio himself was killed, and his crown was taken to Loando St. Paul. Had the Portuguese been so disposed, they might have turned this victory to good account by subjecting the whole kingdom to the Portuguese crown. But this seems never to have been desired. The existence of gold mines was then known to have been a mere fabrication, and as they enjoyed a monopoly of the trade of the country, there was no object in making it a dependency of the crown of Portugal. There was also, it is probable, a religious motive which prevented the Portuguese from seizing upon the country. Congo had received the Catholic religion at a very early period after its discovery, and its sovereigns, with one or two exceptions, had always shown as much deference for the authority of Rome, as those of Portugal itself. All of her kings had been crowned according to the Catholic ceremonial, and the crown itself had been bestowed by the pope as a testimony of their loyalty.

After the signal defeat just mentioned, the country was left to recover from its disorders as best it could. It was not long, however, before order was restored and another king placed on the throne of Don Antonio, but who he was we are not informed. He signalized his reign by an unsuccessful effort to reunite the province of Sogno to the crown of Congo. Father Carli, in 1667, saw the great duke of Bamba, who was always the leader of the royal forces, just after he had disbanded an army of 150,000, with which he had in vain attempted the subjugation of the count of Sogno. Twenty years later, and the great Duke himself had renounced his allegiance to the king, and cut off all intercourse between the capital and Loando St. Paul. The close of the seventeenth century may therefore be regarded as the termination of the national existence of the kingdom of Congo. From the moment that the Count of Sogno and the grand Duke of Bamba, through whose territories alone the inhabitants of San Salvador could have any intercourse with the civilized world, renounced their allegiance to the king, the capital lost all of its com-

mercial importance, and the king himself must have sunk down to an equality with the merest petty chief in the country. As far back as 1668, San Salvador had become a wilderness, and a pretender to the crown of the ancient realm, as a last resort, had applied once more to the Portuguese for assistance to place him upon his throne and reduce his revolted provinces to subjection. At that time, however, Portugal had enough to do to attend to her own affairs, and we hear no more of the kingdom of Congo.

The missionaries continued their labors in some parts of the country, especially in the province of Sogno, some time after the dissolution of the government. During the earlier part of the eighteenth century their authority in Sogno was nearly as great as it had ever been; so much so, that English vessels could not buy slaves in the port of Sony without first conciliating their good will. At what time precisely, or from what causes, they finally abandoned the country altogether, we are not certainly informed, and can therefore only conjecture.

Before the close of the eighteenth century, indeed, for anything we know to the contrary, before the middle of it, not only all their former civilization, but almost every trace of Christianity had disappeared from the land, and the whole country had fallen back into the deepest ignorance and heathenism, and into greater weakness and poverty than had ever been experienced even before its discovery.

According to Malte Brun, a company of missionaries left Nantes in 1768, and endeavored to reëstablish the Catholic religion north of the Zaire, but on account of sickness, or some other untoward cause, they failed to accomplish anything. The effort was renewed by another set of missionaries from the same place five years afterwards, but with no better success. In 1777, according to Grandpere, four Italian priests embarked at Rochelle for the purpose of reëstablishing the Catholic faith in Sogno. They took with them large presents for the chiefs, and adopted every precaution to render their mission successful; but they found that the inhabitants had sunk down to the lowest grade of paganism, and were so savage withal, that they could not travel in safety among them. Two of the four died soon after their arrival, as it was supposed by the survivors, from the effects of poison. The other two, finding their lives in great peril, had recourse to stratagem to extricate themselves from the country. Capt. Tuckey, who was sent by the English government, in 1816, to explore the Congo river, states that three years previously, some missionaries had been murdered in Sogno, and that a Portuguese pinnace had

been cut off by the natives at the same time. Who these missionaries were, or how many there were, we do not know, but they were no doubt agents of the *de Propaganda Fide*. During his sojourn in the country, he found no traces of Catholicism, except a few crucifixes and relics strangely mixed up with the charms and *feteiches* of the country, and were no doubt distributed by Portuguese slave traders, who still frequented the river. One man introduced himself on board as a priest, and said he had a diploma from the college of Capuchins at Angola, but was without education, and so ignorant of the usages of the church which he represented, that he unblushingly acknowledged that he had a wife and five concubines. At the present time, not even these fragments of Romanism can be found, except it be the crucifixes and pictures which the Portuguese and Spanish slave traders still continue to distribute; and so far as civilization, order and industry are concerned, we scarcely know another community on the whole coast of Africa, that will not compare to advantage with the poor, miserable and degraded inhabitants to be found along the banks of the Congo at the present day.

It is not easy to say how much civilization there was in Congo in the days of its greatest prosperity. The statements of the missionaries, upon which we are in a great measure dependent for all the information we can get, are so deeply tinged with the marvellous, and are so grossly exaggerated withal, that they cannot be received without great abatement. They use language that would indicate great commercial prosperity and an amount of civilization of no ordinary grade for that age of the world. Father Carli states that when he arrived in Bamba about the year 1667, the great duke had just disbanded an army of 150,000, with which he had in vain tried to effect the subjugation of the count of Sogno. Professor Ritter, who had advantages for examining all that was written by the missionaries in relation to the kingdom of Congo, states upon their authority, that the great duke of Bamba could at any time raise in his own province alone 400,000 troops. The statement is not only made, but endorsed by several of the most intelligent and respectable missionaries, that one of the kings of Congo, who was no doubt Antonio the First, had raised an army of 900,000. But there is not one of the statements that does not strike us as utterly incredible. We seriously doubt whether the king of Congo ever did raise, or ever could have raised, an army of more than 20,000. To raise, equip, provision and direct an army of 900,000, implies an amount of population and a degree of civilization, of which there are no traces whatever at the present time,

and which is at variance with innumerable other statements incidentally scattered over the pages of the missionary journals. The system of government organization, too, which seems to have been a sort of an elective monarchy, to which the provincial chiefs were tributaries, bears strong marks of having been formed by the missionaries or Portuguese residents, and had but little stability of its own. And as the result proved, it stuck together and was rendered effective only so long as foreigners exercised a controlling influence in the administration of its affairs. The missionaries and the Portuguese residents no doubt did something to change the general aspect of the country. Wherever they went, they planted gardens, cultivated fruit trees, and built substantial houses both for private dwellings and places of public worship. The king and some of the chiefs followed their example; but the great mass of the people continued to live in the same kind of bamboo huts as their fathers had done; they cultivated only the indigenous vegetables of the country and were always clad with the scantiest apparel, while there were vast hordes of the poorer people who had no clothing whatever. They had no roads except the merest footpaths. The highway from the capital to Loando St. Paul was of this description, and so infested with wild beasts that it could not be travelled in safety without an escort of fifty or sixty armed men. They had no beasts of burden, no carriages of any kind; and their commerce, exclusive of the slave trade, which was somewhat considerable, was confined to a small quantity of ivory, copper ore and civet cats — less in amount perhaps than it is at the present day, which we suppose scarcely exceeds \$100,000.

It will no doubt occasion surprise, that the natives of Congo showed so little disposition to conform to the specimens of civilization that were set before them. But this is only another of the innumerable proofs that might be adduced to show that something more is necessary to secure the civilization of a heathen country than merely to set before them specimens of civilized life. The idea, that such would be the case, is natural enough, but is wholly unphilosophical. It implies the belief that the only hinderance to the improvement of a heathen people is ignorance; whereas the very essence of heathenism consists in indolence and an aversion to the exercise of those energies, which alone can secure the prosperity of any people. We look in vain for any upward tendencies in a pagan community, until their moral and intellectual natures are awakened; and as Roman Catholicism has no power to do this, we are not surprised to find that there are so few traces of civilization among the people of Congo.

But whatever may have been the character of the civilization of Congo, there is no doubt but Roman Catholicism was, for a period of at least two centuries, the ostensible, acknowledged religion of the realm. Paganism was interdicted by law; and the severest penalties were inflicted upon those who were known to participate in the observances of any of its rites. There were periods, too, in the history of the country, when it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to find one adult in the whole kingdom, who had not in infancy or afterwards, been introduced by baptism into the church. It is impossible to say how many missionaries at different times were sent to Congo. Father Merolla incidentally mentions at least one hundred, among whom were Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, St. Augustins, Bernardians, Carmelites, and those of almost every other order in the church. The number of churches and other places of public worship was very considerable. In San Salvador there were eleven; in Sony, the capital of Sogno, there were six; and in the whole province eighteen. In the entire kingdom, it is probable, there were not less than one hundred consecrated churches, and perhaps two or three times as many other places where the priests were in the habit of performing baptism and celebrating the mass. The king and his chiefs always vied with each other in their attendance upon mass, and there was scarcely a single outward ceremony of the church, which they did not scrupulously perform. Wherever the priests went, it was the duty of the chief to send a messenger around the village to notify the people of his arrival, and direct them to come and have their spiritual wants attended to. If he failed to perform this duty, he was displaced from office, or compelled to do penance. Nor were the common people behind their chiefs in outward zeal for their adopted religion. They might be seen in long trains bearing logs of wood to the convents, or scourging themselves with unrelenting severity in the churches, as acts of penance. One of the missionaries states that the women, in one of the villages he entered, rushed upon him "like mad women" to have their children baptized. Another expressed great surprise when an adult woman presented herself for baptism, that there was one in the country who had neglected the ordinance so long; and at the same time he complained that he could find no children to baptize, because he had been preceded by a fellow missionary, who had done the work up so effectually that nothing was left for him to do. The authority of the priests, too, in matters political as well as ecclesiastical, was established on the firmest basis. There were no acts of penance or humiliation inflicted

upon the sovereigns of Europe, when Rome was at the zenith of her power, that these missionaries had not the satisfaction of seeing the humbler chiefs of Congo subjected to. And one can readily imagine with what awe it must have struck the simple minded Africans, to see the count of Sogno, the most powerful chief of the kingdom, prostrated at the church door, clothed in sackcloth, with a crown of thorns on his head, a crucifix in his hand, and a rope about his neck, while his courtiers were looking on, clothed in their most brilliant robes.

Nor was papacy established in Congo in a hasty or superficial manner. It was a work at which successive companies of missionaries labored with untiring assiduity for two centuries. Among these were some of the most learned and able men that Rome ever sent forth to the pagan world. It was a cause, too, that always lay near the heart of the kings of Portugal, when that nation was at the climax of power and wealth. The royal sword was ever ready to be unsheathed for its defence, and her treasures were poured out for its support without stint.

But what has become of this church, with all its resources and power? Where are the results of this spiritual conquest that cost so much, and of which Rome had boasted in such unmeasured terms of exultation? To answer these questions impartially, the friends of Rome must acknowledge, that they constructed a spiritual edifice in the heart of this pagan empire that could not stand in its own strength; the moment the hand which reared and for a time upheld it, was taken away, it fell to pieces. Nay more, to acknowledge the whole truth, not only has this great spiritual edifice crumbled to the dust, but it has left the unfortunate inhabitants of that country in as deep ignorance and superstition, and perhaps in greater poverty and degradation, than they would have been if Roman Catholicism had never been proclaimed among them. One thing at least may be affirmed without the fear of contradiction, that in point of industry, intelligence and outward comfort, the people of Congo, at the present day, cannot compare with thousands and millions of other natives along the coast of Africa, whose forefathers never heard even the name of the Christian religion.

But how is all this to be accounted for? Has Romanism too little spirituality to bear transplanting to a pagan soil? Or is the African race incapable of being Christianized or raised to any considerable degree of civilization? These are questions in which others besides

Roman Catholics are interested. The friends of Protestant missions may well despair of the evangelization of the world, if their labors are to be as protracted and to be attended with as few permanent good results.

In accounting for this failure there is no necessity to suppose that it arose either from the want of vitality in Romanism itself, or from the want of religious susceptibilities on the part of the negro race. To maintain the latter assumption, would not only be at variance with abundant proofs to the contrary, but would be a serious impeachment of the power and sovereignty of Divine grace itself. It would be equally preposterous to say that Romanism has no vitality whatever. However much it may be encumbered with error and superstition, it has, nevertheless, vitality enough to maintain its own existence, as its own past history abundantly proves. Whether it has power to propagate itself among the pagan nations of the earth in the present age of the world, is a question that admits of serious doubt, and will become a subject of discussion in a subsequent part of this article.

In accounting for the downfall of Romanism in Congo, something no doubt is to be ascribed to the decline of Portuguese power. It was under her fostering hand that the church of Congo first rose to power and importance. She had been called upon in every emergency, and she was never called upon in vain. The time came, however, when Portugal had no more treasures to bestow upon the church, and as little power to control the political affairs of the State. Her sympathies were still with the church and the people; but something more substantial than mere sympathies, was necessary to keep up an interest in the church or to enforce order in political matters. Besides which it may be justly said, that if the church and government could not sustain themselves after two centuries of faithful and indulgent guardianship, there was no probability that they ever would; and it would be but a foolish waste of time and money to try to prop them up by artificial supports.

The insalubrity of the climate has sometimes been alleged as one of the chief causes which led to the suspension and overthrow of this mission. But we hear no complaints on this score by the missionaries themselves, and the fact that the mission was maintained in vigorous operation for two centuries, proves conclusively, that this was never regarded as an insurmountable obstacle to the establishment of Christianity in the country. The missionaries undoubtedly suffered from the effects of the climate, and not a few of them made their

graves in that land, because they chose to die in the scene of their labors. The sufferings which they endured, however, did not arise so much from the virulence of the acclimating fever, as the injudicious and extravagant mode in which it was treated. Their theory of acclimation was, that there could be no permanent health until all the blood which they brought with them from Europe, was taken away and replaced by other blood, formed from the indigenous products of the country. The lancet was almost the only prescription, and the freedom with which it was used would make a modern practitioner stand aghast. Father Angello died after fifteen bleedings. His associate, who was not a physician, fearing that he had overdone the matter, reported the case to a doctor in Angola, who replied, that if he had been bled thirty times, he would probably have recovered. Father Carlie, during his first attack of fever, was bled twice a day for twenty days in succession. He was taken to Angola in a state of great exhaustion, and was bled twenty-four times more by way of *revulsion*. During three years' residence in the country, he was bled ninety-three times, besides copious effusions of blood from his nose, mouth and ears.

But whatever blame may be attached to the unhealthiness of climate, there is one fact of an opposite character, which cannot be thrown aside by those who bring the argument forward. It is, that the number of foreigners who have continued to reside on the borders of Congo, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the missionaries, even up to the present day, is much greater than the number of missionaries that were employed there at any one time. And it may be said in relation to this, as has just been said in relation to the patronage of the government of Portugal, if the church of Congo could not live after having been nursed for two hundred years, there was no probability that it ever would.

One of the real causes, as we believe, which contributed to the extinction of the Roman Catholic religion in Congo, was the countenance which it always extended to the foreign slave-trade. We offer no discussion of the general subject of slaveholding — whether it be compatible or not with the practice of enlightened Christianity; in Africa, where men are seized for the first time and converted into property for the purpose of gratifying the avarice of their fellow-men, it assumes a character of aggravation, which it does in no other part of the world; and no enlightened man of the present day, who has had an opportunity to witness its degrading and disorganizing influence, will hazard his

reputation for common sense or humanity so far as to attempt its justification, on any principles whatever. In the earlier stages of this traffic, its victims were procured in wholesale numbers by war and violence; villages were surprised and the entire population seized and sold into slavery by their more powerful neighbors. But this system, in the very nature of the case, could not last long; and it soon gave place to another, which, though not attended with the same outward violence and bloodshed, has nevertheless proved more injurious to the country, in the course of time, than the one it supplanted. Few are now taken to the markets kept open along the coast, except those charged with some crime; and the most prolific source of accusation is the charge of witchcraft, a thing so subtle and indefinite that it may always be substantiated on the most precarious evidence, and so pliable, at the same time, that it may be made to cover the most barefaced acts of injustice and cruelty. The writer has more than once known a company of men, on the mere suspicion of witchcraft, to seize upon one of their own number, sell him to a slave-dealer, and divide the proceeds among themselves, when it was not only obvious to others, but acknowledged by themselves, that there was a strong probability that they would all within a short period be disposed of in the same way. And yet such is the insensibility engendered by this cruel traffic, that men can acknowledge and think of such a liability without emotion. He has known two friends (professedly so at least) come to a slave-factory, on a mere pleasure excursion, and while one was secretly negotiating for the sale of his companion, the intended victim has had the adroitness to escape with the money and leave the other to atone for his duplicity by a life of foreign servitude. These are not rare cases, but common occurrences in the vicinity of every slave-factory on the coast of Africa; and it must be seen, at once, that where such deeds of injustice are perpetrated with impunity, there can be no order, no morality, and no sound religion whatever. And yet these or similar deeds of villany must have passed under the notice of the missionaries of Congo almost every day of their lives; and as the whole nation was included in the pale of the Catholic church, these deeds were perpetrated by those over whom they claimed to exercise spiritual jurisdiction; and we have often wondered what kind of morality they must have inculcated, or what system of church discipline they must have enforced, to allow such enormities.

But the missionaries are chargeable with more than the mere toleration of these things. They participated in this traffic themselves;

and if not from the same motives of avarice which influenced the mass of the people around them, they at least gave the full force of their example to countenance all the enormities which are inseparably connected with it. By an arrangement with the civil authorities, all persons convicted of celebrating the rites of the ancient religion, were delivered up to the missionaries, and by them sold to the first slave vessel which entered the river, and the proceeds were distributed to the poor. The number of individuals thus convicted was very considerable; so that vessels engaged in transporting slaves to Brazil, could always depend upon the missionaries to give them material aid in making up their complement of slaves. The missionaries, too, seemed to have no scruples in occasionally presenting a few of their domestic slaves to such captains or supercargos as had done them favors. Father Merolla mentions that he had once given a slave to a Portuguese captain in consideration of a flask of wine that he had given him to celebrate the sacrament. Indeed, the missionaries seem to have felt that there was no serious harm in consigning any number of the inhabitants of the country to foreign servitude, provided only that they were baptized and were not permitted to fall into the hands of heretics. Allowances are to be made, of course, for the age in which these missionaries lived. The whole Christian world, protestant as well as papal, stands implicated in the charge of having countenanced this trade which is now so universally denounced. Still, however, it may be said in extenuation of the conduct of the great mass of the Christian world, that they never saw the worst side of the picture. They have contemplated the evils of the slave system only in countries comparatively enlightened, and where it has always been regulated, less or more by Christian principle. Of its baneful and desolating influence upon society in Africa, they have known little or nothing, except as a matter of conjecture, or what they have learned from the reports of others. But the missionaries were eye-witnesses of the worst results of this traffic, and we are more than surprised that they did not interpose all their influence to save the inhabitants of Congo from its destructive tendencies. They ought, from the circumstances of the case, to have been in advance of the rest of the Christian world in denouncing it, whereas they were greatly behind their own church when public sentiment began to set in an opposite direction. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Cardinal Cibo, on the part of the sacred college, wrote to the missionaries, complaining that the "pernicious and abominable abuse of selling slaves was still continued," and exhorted them to use all

their influence to put it down. The missionaries assembled to consider this letter, but concluded that the advice was impracticable, inasmuch as the people of Congo had little or no trade, except in slaves and ivory. They resolved, however, to do all they could to prevent them from selling slaves to the heretics, by whom were meant the Dutch and English, but more particularly the latter. This one-sided morality did more harm than good. The people had too little discernment to see any essential difference in the case; and as the English always gave better prices, and furnished them with guns and ammunition, which the Portuguese from motives of policy would not, they always preferred the English trade. The attempt on the part of the missionaries to enforce this resolution, brought them on several occasions in conflict with the authority of the count of Sogno, and more than once they had nearly secured their own expulsion from the country. They ultimately succeeded, however, in securing to the Portuguese traders a sort of monopoly of the trade, and much the greatest proportion of slaves shipped from Congo were taken to Brazil; so that if any praise is due for keeping them out of the hands of heretics, the missionaries are entitled to the whole; but in the same proportion are they responsible for the ruin of that country, to whose welfare they had consecrated their lives.

There were other causes, however, which contributed still more efficiently to the overthrow of Christianity in Congo than the foreign slave trade. Had this been left to itself, and allowed sufficient time to work out its own natural results, it would, with the utmost certainty, have obliterated every trace of civilization and Christianity. But there were other causes that intervened and did the work more summarily. We allude to the character of the religion the missionaries introduced into Congo; the manner in which that religion was propagated; and the unjustifiable measures that were adopted to uphold it after it became the established religion of the country.

One would naturally suppose, that going among a people so deeply debased, and so utterly ignorant, of course, of everything pertaining to Christianity, as the inhabitants of Congo must have been when they were first discovered by the Portuguese, the missionaries would have taken special pains to instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion before introducing them into the church. It is but natural to suppose that they would have translated the word of God into their language, established schools for the instruction of the youth, and employed all the ordinary means for diffusing Christian knowledge among the people, in connection with the preaching of the

Gospel. But the world knows that such a course is no part of the policy of Rome. In all parts of the world where they have attempted to establish their religion, whether in earlier or later times, the baptismal seal has been looked upon as the only thing necessary to convert any heathen into a *bona fide* member of the Romish church. They pretended, it is true, to catechize their candidates for baptism, but the ordinance, according to their own statements, was administered with so much rapidity and in such wholesale style, as utterly to preclude the idea of anything like thorough catechetical instruction. None but those who have had some experience in training the heathen mind, can understand how slow it is to receive religious instruction. The Divinely appointed mode of "giving line upon line, and precept upon precept," and this persevered in for a long period, is indispensably necessary to impart to their minds the first and the simplest principles of revealed religion. But the Congo missionaries made no allowances whatever for the sluggishness of the heathen mind. They either misapprehended its true character, or regarded religious knowledge as a matter of only secondary importance. Their chief ambition seems to have been, to drag as many into the church as possible, and if their merit is to be measured by the number of their converts, they are the most meritorious and praiseworthy men that ever lived. Father Carli states that during his residence in the capital of Bamba, he seldom baptized less than eight or ten children a day, and not unfrequently fifteen or twenty. During a residence of two years he baptized 2,700. One missionary in Chiovachianza is reported to have baptized 5000 children in a few days. Another missionary baptized 12,000 persons in Sogno in less than a year. Father Merolla states that he had baptized as many as 272 in one day, and in less than five years, he had baptized more than 13,000. He mentions the case of a brother missionary who had baptized 50,000; and of another who during a residence of twenty years had baptized more than 100,000.

The missionaries however did not confine themselves to the single ordinance of baptism. They introduced, as far as they could, all the rites and ceremonies of the Romish church. The mass was celebrated with all due pomp; the confessional was erected in almost every village; penances of all grades and kinds were imposed; children and adults alike were required to perform the rosary, and the people *en masse* soon learned to make the sign of the cross, and most readily did they fall into the habit of wearing crucifixes, medals and relics. There were certain heathenish customs, however, which the missionary fathers found much difficulty in inducing the people to abandon;

and they were never entirely successful until they substituted others of a similar character, which the natives regarded as a sort of equivalent for those they were required to give up. One of the missionary fathers has very ingenuously placed the customs which were abolished, and those which were substituted in their place, side by side in his journal, little imagining how forcibly others would be struck by the family likeness of the two. The limits of this article will not allow us to extract extensively from his journal, but a brief reference to a few of these customs will be quite sufficient to justify the remark just made. It was a custom of the country, for example, to bind a cord of some kind around the body of every new-born infant, to which were fastened the bones and teeth of certain kinds of wild animals, which was regarded as a sort of a charm to preserve the health and life of the child. This practice was regarded by the missionaries as an offence of high grade, and the mother who had the temerity to present her child for baptism with one of these heathenish cords about it, was scourged in public and in the severest manner. In the place of this, the missionaries enjoined, "that all mothers should make the cords with which they bound their infants of palm leaves that had been consecrated on palm Sunday; and moreover guard them well with other such relics as we are accustomed to use at the time of baptism."

Another custom that was regarded as not less objectionable by the missionaries, was the practice of handing over every new-born infant to a native priest or sorcerer to tell its fortune, which they pretended to be able to do by examining its form, its limbs and countenance. In the place of this, they enjoined "that all mothers, after the birth of their first-born, should carry it to the church and perform the ceremony of entering into the holy place; and if it be sick, we order its mother to recommend it to the Lord, together with some sort of a vow."¹

Another custom in Congo, which excited the displeasure of the missionaries, was the habit of interdicting to every person at their birth some one article of food, which they were not, through life, upon any consideration, to put into their mouths. This practice was regarded as specially heathenish, and was unconditionally interdicted. In the place of it, however, they commanded "that the parents should enjoin their children to observe some particular devotion, such as to

¹ The vow, in all such cases, was an engagement on the part of the mother, that the child, for a specified period, should not eat a certain kind of food, wear clothes of a certain color — or something of a similar character.

repeat many times a day the rosary or the *crown*, in honor of the blessed virgin ; to fast on Saturdays ; to eat no flesh on Wednesdays, and such other things as are used among Christians."

Another custom of the country at the root of which the axe was laid, was that of guarding their fruit-trees and patches of grain with *feteiches*, which were supposed to possess themselves the power of punishing all trespassers. The practice was interdicted, but the people at the same time were recommended, "to use consecrated palm branches, and here and there in their patches of corn to set up the sign of the cross." These details might be extended to almost any length, if it were necessary. A Roman Catholic of discernment may possibly see an essential difference between these heathenish customs that were abolished, and those that were substituted in their place ; but we seriously doubt whether the simple-minded people of Congo were ever conscious of any material change in their code of superstitious rites, or derived any essential advantage by the exchange. At the same time, wiser heads may well be excused for doubting whether the one is more conformed to the spirit of enlightened Christianity than the other ; or whether it is worth the trouble and expense of sending the Gospel to the pagan nations of the earth, if it produces no better results, or lays no surer foundation for salvation. It was the great error of the missionaries, perhaps we should say the grand defect of Romanism, that they presented the benighted inhabitants of Congo with a system of superstitious observances so nearly allied, both in spirit and form, to the one which they aimed to extirpate. It was utterly impossible that one of two systems so nearly related could ever have supplanted the other ; and all therefore for which the inhabitants of Congo were ever indebted to the missionaries, was for a burdensome accession to those superstitious ceremonies that had already crushed them almost into the dust. The new religion had no more to do with their moral and intellectual natures than the old one. It imparted to them no clear views of the sublime truths of the Gospel, and left them in as great ignorance of the true gospel plan of salvation, as it found them. It limited their attention almost entirely to a few drivelling expedients to preserve themselves from the evils and accidents of life, without attempting to impart any glimpses of that glorious immortality, brought to light in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Instead of relaxing the cords of superstition and conducting them into a wider space and greater freedom, it only drew them the more closely, and chained them down to a heavier burden of idolatrous rites than they or their fathers had ever known. Knowing this to

be the case, we are not surprised that this corrupted religion found no permanent lodgment in their hearts, and produced so few beneficial changes in the state of society.

The fact that the people occasionally showed great zeal for the outward observances of their adopted religion, is no proof whatever that they ever possessed any sincere attachment for it, or that they had in the least relaxed their hold upon the old. It was their interest, or they thought it their interest, to make a display of zeal. It was important for them to enjoy the favor of the missionaries, and they had no fears that their own religion would be contaminated by contact with Romanism, and no danger of its being lost from occupying a subordinate or less conspicuous position. If they showed all due reverence for the rites and ceremonies of the Romish church in the presence of the missionaries, they were not less punctilious in performing the rites of their own, in their absence. As but few of the missionaries ever made themselves acquainted with the language of the country, the natives had special advantages for playing off this double game. If the missionaries had studied the character of the people more thoroughly, and adapted their instruction to their wants, instead of endeavoring to make everything bend to the lifeless and frigid demands of Romanism, the probability is that they would have done them real good, and would not themselves have been so easily duped by their dissimulation. The natives were perfectly aware of their ignorance in this respect, and they did not hesitate to turn it to good account, in acting out one of the most remarkable farces that has ever been recorded. It cost them no effort to appear easy and natural in a character foreign to their own—to maintain their own private views and principles inviolate in strict consistency with the outward exhibition of views and principles of the very opposite character—in other words, to appear to be zealous Roman Catholics, when in reality they were but the most besotted pagans on the face of the earth. The missionaries themselves seem occasionally to have had some misgivings about the sincerity of their converts; they repeatedly expressed apprehensions that they might, at some time, revert to the pagan worship of their forefathers.

The attempt which they made to brace up their authority and enforce the demands of Romanism, by practising upon the credulity of the people, did not tend materially to avert this dreaded result. They naturally supposed they were in possession of a field wonderfully promising for the exercise of miraculous powers. What they could not effect by the bare exercise of authority, or by the ordinary powers

of persuasion, they hoped to accomplish by the exercise of their pretended miraculous gifts; and great were the marvels they performed in this hidden corner of the world. Devils fled at their approach; trees withered away under their rebuke; the rains descended or held back as they wished; sorcerers fell down dead at their feet in consequence of taking a false oath upon the mass book; if a comet appeared in the heavens, it was there in obedience to their call, and all were threatened with immediate destruction who would not obey the priests; if the small pox made its appearance among the people, it was sent to chastise the obstinacy of their chiefs, and great would be the clamor if they did not at once perform the appointed penance. If the eloquence of a holy father was insufficient to draw tears from the eyes of his audience or wring from them expressions of sorrow for their sins, a curtain is suddenly drawn aside and an image of the virgin in *relievo*, with a dagger thrust through her breast, is revealed to their wondering gaze.

These things, doubtless, had a momentary effect upon the minds of the people, but they exerted no lasting influence. The missionaries forgot that the sorcerers, whom they persecuted with so much virulence, not only pretended to work the same kind of miracles, but others so much more wonderful, that their own would appear exceedingly tame by the side of them, and at the same time supported by proofs quite as good as any that the missionaries could adduce. In fact, the imagination is such a predominant element in the mental constitution of the negro, that he cares very little about proofs in such matters; he will more readily accredit a pretended miracle by one of his own countrymen, provided only that it is sufficiently gorgeous to suit his taste, than he would one by the missionaries, which must always have some decent reference to credibility and truth.

The negro feels, that in energy of character, in scope of understanding, in the exercise of mechanical skill, and in the practice of all the useful arts of life, he is hopelessly distanced by the white man. Any suggestions of rivalry here never fail to provoke his unbounded mirth. But whenever you enter the precincts of the unknown and the mysterious, the realms where the imagination alone can travel, there is no place where he feels more at home, and the endless variety of fantastic images which he brings forth from these mysterious regions, shows that here he has no rival. The missionaries, therefore, when they addressed themselves to the task of working miracles, little knew how egregiously they were to be outstripped; and perhaps they could not possibly have adopted any

course that would more certainly bring themselves and their religion into contempt.

But notwithstanding the multiplied ceremonies imposed upon the people of Congo by the church of Rome, for a time and to a certain extent, they did not feel it to be burdensome. So long as its requirements were confined to the ordinance of baptism, to saying the rosary, wearing crucifixes and doing trivial acts of penance, they submitted to it without any symptoms of serious discontent. But in the course of time, when the missionaries set themselves more earnestly to work to root out all traces of the old religion; when they commenced a more vigorous persecution of the priests of that religion; and above all, when they determined to abolish polygamy throughout the land, they assailed heathenism in its strong hold, and aroused hatred and opposition which astounded themselves. In this emergency, when priestly authority and miraculous gifts were of no more avail, they had recourse for aid to the civil arm, that never-failing resource of Rome. And this they could command without any difficulty. The king and the chiefs, who were indebted to the missionaries for alms and all the power they possessed, could well afford to exert that power in enforcing the commands of the church. The missionaries could any time pledge the assistance of the king of Portugal to maintain them in authority, and it was as little as they could do in turn to support the spiritual authority of the missionary fathers. And from the moment the missionaries had recourse to the civil arm for aid, they threw aside every other means of promoting the interests of religion. The severest laws were enacted against polygamy; the old pagan religion, in all its forms and details, was declared illegal, and the heaviest penalties denounced against all who were known to participate in celebrating its rites; sorcerers and wizards, by whom were meant the priests of the pagan religion, were declared outlaws; at first the penalty denounced against them was decapitation or the flames, but it was afterwards commuted to foreign slavery. For a time the missionaries entrusted the execution of the laws to the king and his chiefs. But if they showed the least dilatoriness or reluctance to punish their subjects, they took the law into their own hands and administered it with unsparing severity. The count of Sogno was required on one occasion, as an act of penance, to compel three hundred of his subjects to be married after the Christian manner; and it is mentioned as a proof of the sincerity of his piety, as well as the excellence of the ordinance, that he became so zealous in the cause of the church, that he did not stop until he had compelled six

hundred. Corporeal punishment was the favorite instrument of discipline, and it was administered without restraint. The slightest deviation from the prescribed rules of the church was punished by public flogging, and it was not uncommon for females, and even mothers, to be stripped and whipped in public. Sometimes these castigations were inflicted by the missionaries themselves. Father Merolla relates with no little glee, how he had once belabored a wizard with the *cord of his order*, calling upon St. Michael and all the rest of the saints to participate in the sport. He mentions the case of a Father Superior who had boxed the ears of one of the magnates of the land for having expressed some doubts about the efficacy of baptismal regeneration. This had nearly proved a serious matter, however, and it required all the sophistry that Merolla could command, to convince the chief that it had been done in love, and was intended only to rescue him from the snares of the devil.

These acts of tyranny could not fail to awaken hatred and resentment in the minds of the people against their religious teachers, and especially so, as it was done to enforce the observance of a religion for which they felt no attachment. These wrongs were endured, however, with wonderful forbearance, so long as it was apparent that the authority of the missionaries could not be resisted with impunity. But as soon as it became manifest that Portugal could no longer interfere with the internal affairs of the kingdom, the true state of feeling, both among the chiefs and the common people, began to show itself; and it was not long before the tide of persecution began to set in the opposite direction. The count of Sogno was among the first to resent the indignities that had been heaped upon him, by persecuting the missionaries in the most shameless manner. The common people revenged themselves in several instances by abandoning the missionaries, with whom they were travelling, in the gloomiest woods, with the expectation that they would be devoured by wild beasts. In several instances of severe sickness, the people refused to let them have anything that would administer to their relief. In the province of Bamba, once one of the strongest holds of Christianity, six Capuchin missionaries were poisoned at one time; and an unsuccessful attempt of the same kind was made upon the life of another missionary who was sent there to get the effects of the deceased brethren. Philip da Salesia, another of the missionary brotherhood, fell into the hands of banditti in the character of sorcerers, and by them was killed and devoured. Father Joseph Mariæ da Sestu was poisoned, and Merolla himself was brought to the verge of the grave in the same

way. Indeed, the apprehensions of the missionaries became so much excited in this way, that they seldom travelled without having an antidote for poison. And it was not long before they had to abandon travelling altogether and confine themselves to a few localities where the people were more friendly. Ultimately they had to leave the country altogether, and we need be at no loss to account for the almost simultaneous disappearance of all the religion they had propagated in that country. We have no certain information of the process by which it ceased to be the religion of the country. It is not probable, however, that it was abolished in any of the provinces by a formal enactment of government. It is pretty certain that it did not require the force of a political revolution to overturn it. It is quite as improbable that it was rooted out by persecution, for there were none that loved it enough to be persecuted for its sake. We can only compare it to a magnificent edifice that fell to pieces because it had no foundation upon which to rest; or to a beautiful exotic that withered away because it had taken no root in the soil of the country.

ARTICLE VI.

THE THEOLOGY OF RICHARD BAXTER.

By George P. Fisher, Resident Licentiate, Andover.

No one of the eminent English divines of the seventeenth century is more widely known than Richard Baxter. There are many who prize the accuracy and learning of Owen, and many who admire the calm strength and fertile imagination of John Howe; while dissenters as well as churchmen render homage to the genius of South, of Barrow and of Jeremy Taylor. But neither of these, and indeed few of the illustrious persons of that age, prolific of great men, can claim a reputation so extensive as that of the Pastor of Kidderminster. And yet it is not as a theologian that Baxter is chiefly known. He is least indebted for his reputation to those works on which he most relied for fame. The volumes which are the fruits of his most severe toil and were written "chiefly for posterity," repose, in dust and

silence, on the shelves of antiquaries; while the "Call to the Unconverted" and the "Saint's Rest" are found with the Pilgrim of Bunyan, wherever our language is spoken. The explanation of this fact must be sought both in the peculiar character of the man and of the times in which he lived.

The lot of Baxter was cast in a period when the English mind was roused to an unexampled activity, and the old institutions of church and state were shaken from their foundations, to be reconstructed according to the views of a new age. The contest of Prerogative and Privilege, of hereditary authority against individual rights, had come to the crisis to which it had been for centuries approaching, and men were leaving the halls of debate for the field of battle. The Reformation, by working out its natural results, had generated a spirit of earnest and fearless inquiry upon the subjects of religion. And the Puritans, with whom politics was a secondary interest, from small beginnings had grown into a powerful and organized party, which was endeavoring not only to resist the advance but to cripple the power of the hierarchal churches.

That Baxter was well fitted, in many respects, to mingle in the strifes of a troublous age, is sufficiently evinced by his life. The ardor and energy of his character, his courage, the acuteness and vigor of his mind, his stores of learning and ample knowledge of the various parties, gave him signal advantages. More than all, his piety, chastened by intense and protracted suffering and confirmed by prayer and self-denial, was fervid and constant. The number is small, in any communion, who have cherished more holy aims, or have proved their fidelity to the Redeemer under stronger temptations. At the same time, it will be readily allowed by all, who are familiar with the story of his life, that he wanted the practical wisdom which adapts means to ends. Hence his tireless energy and multifarious knowledge were too often wasted in unpractical labors. It was his ruling desire to bring about a peace among all the parties in church and state. Especially did he wish to unite, on a common platform, the Calvinistic and Arminian theologians. The mode which he chose to attain this desirable end, was the publication of voluminous and subtle disputations. In this attempt to secure a peace, he excited more contention than he quelled, and a great part of his life was spent in the controversies of which he was himself the author. In his own candid and pathetic review of his course, he says: "Concerning almost all my writings, I must confess that my own judgment is, that fewer, well studied and polished, had been better; but the reader, who can safely

censure the books, is not fit to censure the author, unless he had been in the place and acquainted with all the occasions and circumstances." He speaks of the zeal with which he had started controversies for the correction of error, and tersely remarks: "Men are so loth to be drenched with the truth, that I am no more for going that way to work." It is certain that his eagerness fully to explain and defend his opinions led him to compose disquisitions so long and intricate, that they have repelled the mass of readers.

Yet the theological character of Baxter entitles him to respectful attention. As a man of intellect, he is a marvel. Although he had not the advantage of an academical training, he stored his mind with patristic and mediæval lore, and gained an acuteness, as a metaphysician, which few men have ever attained. His strong conviction of the evils of ambiguity impels him often to mourn over the deceitfulness of words, and in the analysis of many of the vexed terms of theology, he has anticipated the work of later writers. His diligence is not less rare than his candor and erudition. "Never," it has been said, "was the alliance of soul and body formed on terms of greater inequality than in Baxter's person;" and yet there was never a body which had so small success in impeding the work of the soul. He is the author of one hundred and sixty-eight treatises, most of which are filled with valuable truth, and almost all breathe the spirit of piety. While his English style is often inaccurate and the style of his Latin works is beneath criticism, he abounds in passages which justify the encomium of Doddridge, who looked on him "as one of the greatest orators, both with regard to copiousness, acuteness and energy, that the English nation has produced." He is, moreover, dear to the heart of the church, as a minister of Christ, who loved conscience better than preferment. He was defamed and persecuted, and has formally submitted his opinions, as well as conduct, to the judgment of succeeding times. We attach a peculiar interest to the thoughts of a man who toiled on amidst almost unparalleled difficulties through seventy-five years, with the single design of extending the kingdom of his Master.¹

¹ Baxter was roughly treated by his opponents. The following are the significant titles of some of the books which were written against him: "Baxterianism Barefaced;" "A Vindication of that Prudent and Honorable Knight, Sir Henry Vane, from the Lies and Calumnies of Mr. Richard Baxter, in a Monitory Letter to the said Mr. B.;" "Rebel's Plea examined; or Mr. Baxter's Judgment concerning the late War." A book, in which passages of his writings are arrayed against each other, bears this droll name: "The Casuist Uncased, in a dialogue

The theological views of Baxter cannot be ascertained from his earlier doctrinal works, since, after their publication, his views underwent important changes. About fifteen years before the close of his life, he published the "*Catholick Theologie*,"¹ an English folio of seven hundred pages. Only six years afterward he published his one hundred and eighteenth volume, the "*Methodus Theologiae*,"² a Latin folio of sixteen hundred pages, which exhibits his complete theological system. These two works undoubtedly contain the mature opinions, which were the results of his long and varied study. In the following exhibition of his Theology, only such references will be made to his other works as may explain or confirm the doctrines of these treatises. When it is remembered that Baxter gave little if any time to the revisal of his productions, and that his complicate discussions go through almost every branch of theological science, it will not be expected that he should be free from contradictions. The subsequent selections are believed to represent faithfully his predominant views. We will, in the first place, endeavor to ascertain his opinions on the doctrines of Anthropology.

betwixt Richard and Baxter, with a Moderator between them, for Quietness' sake." Atrocious crimes were laid to his charge. (See Orme's Baxter, p. 55.) Scurrilous epitaphs were composed for him during his life-time. (Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 219.) After the restoration of Charles II, Baxter endured the persecution of prelates and the gibes of buffoons, who shared together the honors of a dissolute court. "Dr. Dubious" was his *sobriquet* among the wits of the time. His treatment by the notorious Jeffries and his cruel imprisonments are well known.

¹ "*Richard Baxter's CATHOLIC THEOLOGIE*: plain, pure, peaceable: for PACIFICATION of the dogmatical WORD-WARRIOURS, who, 1. By contending about things unrevealed or not understood; 2. and by taking VERBAL differences for REAL, and their arbitrary notions for necessary sacred truths, deceived and deceiving by Ambiguous, unexplained WORDS, have long been the shame of the Christian religion, a scandal and hardening to unbelievers, the incendiaries, dividers and distracters of the church, the occasion of State discords and wars, the corrupters of the Christian Faith, and the subverters of their own souls and their followers, calling them to a blind zeal and wrathful warfare, against true piety, love and peace, and teaching them to censure, backbite, slander and prate against each other, for things which they never understood," etc. etc. "Written chiefly for posterity, when sad experience hath taught men to hate theological wars, and to love, and seek, and call for peace. (Ex Bello Pax.)"

² "*Methodus Theologiae Christianae*."

1. Naturae Rerum,	}	Congrua
2. Sacrae Scripturae		Conformis
3. Praxi		Adaptata,"

etc. "Dicata per Richardum Baxterum, Philotheologum."

§ 1. SIN.

WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF SIN? *God cannot properly be said to be the cause of sin.*

"God is truly the first cause of the [moral] act by giving the power, and doing all that belongeth to the *fons naturae* to the exercise. And he is the first cause of our liberty, in making us free agents, and he is the first cause of the moral goodness of our actions, by all that he doth by his law, providence and grace to make them. But he is in no way the first cause of them as evil." (Cath. Theol. B. I. Pars I. p. 165.)

— "there is a great difference between God's *permitting* sin (after great means against it) and his *causing* it; between the making of a free agent and the putting of life or death in his choice; and his causing men unavoidably to sin, and then to damn them for it. The holiness of God's nature will stand with the being of sin, by man's causing; but not with God's causing it." (Cath. Theol. B. I. Pars I. p. 573.)

"And it must be remembered that God is far from a *total permission* or *non-impedition* of sin. He always *hindereth* it, so far as to *forbid* it, to *threaten* damnation to affright men from it, to *promise* salvation and all felicity to draw men from it. He tells men of the vanity of all which would allure them to it. And his daily mercies and corrections should withhold men from it. Only by *doing no more*, and not *effectually changing* or *restraining* sinners, but leaving them to their own choice under all these moral, restraining means, he *permitteth* sin." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. p. 153.)

"Permission is nothing else than not *efficiently* to *hinder*." "It must therefore be said that God *foreknows* sin, as a future event, while he *not at all chooses*, nor *absolutely refuses* its existence; but prohibits and in very many ways hinders it, yet not *effectually*; and as an event, He *permits* it." (Meth. Pars. I. cap. 2. p. 70.) See also Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. 87, 140, 157, 165, 529, 708. Part III. p. 106. B. II. p. 36. p. 151 note.

"The devil and man cause sin, and God uses it well. [Deus causato bene utitur.]" (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. 2. 22.) "The devil himself was the first cause of his own pravity; God made him not evil, but he made himself so." (Pract. Works, Vol. XX. p. 433.)

Why has God made men capable of sinning? "We may say that the variety of the Divine Works is beautiful, and that every one has its fitness for a proper work; but the question is for the most part inscrutable to us. And, indeed, this liberty of the will and natural indetermination with the power of freely determining itself, is adapted to the business of this life, which is preparatory to everlasting rewards. He who can say why God has not made all animals rational, or men angels, or stones suns, can solve this question." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 273.) See also Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 138.

We know that God will be no loser by it [by making men defectible], but equally glorified and pleased in the way of recovering grace." (Pract. Works, Vol. XIX. p. 583.)

IS SIN THE MEANS OF GOOD? "Unless I am mistaken, the strife is about a word. That sin is an *occasion* of good, is conceded by all. But whether *occasion* should be called *means*, is to be decided by an explanation of the latter term. If by *means* is denoted any *true causality*, then sin is not the *means* of good; but if by *means* is only meant an *antecedent sine quâ non*, I have no disposition to contend. But that the matter may be understood, it should be confessed that sin has the same relation to the Divine Glory, as a rebellion or treason has to a king who pardons it, or as a disease has to a physician. If there had been no disease, the skill of the physician would have been less conspicuous. But truly the disease has no *causal power* to produce the glory of the physician [*causalitatem ad medici gloriam*]. And indeed the term *means* signifies strictly what, in some way, positively and really *conduces* to the end; and in this sense, sin cannot be called the *means*; just as death is not the means of resurrection; night is not the *means* of morning. Winter is not the *means* of Spring; ignorance is not the *means* of learning, or of the glory of the teacher; but only the *occasion* or the *evil removed*. But if the term *means* is to be taken more widely, for something or nothing which is interposed, or for the terminus a quô, it is to be demanded of those who choose to speak foolishly, that they do not coin their nonsense into articles of faith, or by disputing sacrifice the peace of the church. *Good* from the occasion of sin is in no wise the good of sin. The *good* which God himself does against sin and by sin, as an occasion, is indeed chosen by God. To choose health after disease, is not to choose disease; to choose resurrection is not to choose death. To choose to give money to the poor, is not to choose their poverty; and to choose to pardon a sinner, to justify, to sanctify, to save him, is not to choose sin." (Meth. Pars I. c. 2. pp. 64, 65.)

"It is still false that sin is any medium to God's glory, or desirable, or hath any good." "God's glory is our end, and to forbear things prohibited is not the means. If sin conduce as much as *Christ* and *holiness* to God's glory, why may we not desire it, *sub ratione medii*, though not as *preceptum*?" (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. 610.) "It is the destroying of sin that God is glorified by." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. III. p. 59, note.)

"He [his opponent] saith that the Universe would not be perfect, if there were perfect holiness and no sin, and so no pardon or punishment; but he giveth us no proof, but confident assertion, at all. I need not say, that it would be more perfect if there were no sin; it sufficeth me to say, that it would be as perfect; and so that it is not necessary to the world's perfection, that there be sin or hell" (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. 621.)

"It is a horrible injury against God to entitle him [i. e. to ascribe to him] sin, and make it seem necessary to his ends and honor. Good ends will not justify evil actions." (Pract. Works, Vol. II. p. 300.) See also Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. 536. 655 note. B. II. p. 30.

IS SIN VOLUNTARY? "So great is the dominion of the will in human actions, it may be truly said that what is not voluntary is not sin or merit." "An omission of choice is called voluntary, when one does not choose what he could choose." "The will is culpable, because he either does not use his

power when he ought, or abuses it [male utitur]." "The beginning of sin is an abuse of freewill; or not to choose, when one could have chosen." (Meth. Pars I. c. 8. p. 214.)

"*Morality* consisteth formally and primarily in the will or *voluntary*." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 94.)

"Sin is (formally) the violation of the perfect, holy and righteous law of God." "It is all willingly done and chosen by a free agent that could not be constrained to it." "*Voluntarium est omne peccatum.*" (Practical Works, II. pp. 244, 246.)

"Human nature has taught all nations of all ages to speak of *human* actions as voluntary actions, and to ascribe to the will the final praise or blame, the merit or fault of persons and of actions; and in public as well as private judgments to excuse or absolve him who involuntarily does an injury, but to condemn him who voluntarily does an injury." (Meth. Pars I. c. 7. p. 216.)

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE VOLUNTARINESS OF SIN? *Has the sinful agent the power of contrary choice?*

"The natural freedom of the will consists in the three things enumerated in the following table: viz. 1. and principally, that the will, as a part of the natural Divine image is a kind of first cause (dependent and subordinate to God) of its own acts; on which it is implied that it is a power to do an act, *not yet determined.*" 2. "That it has the power of commanding the other faculties; but in different ways, according to the nature of the faculties commanded. 3. That absolutely, directly and properly, it is so subject to no created power, that by physical motion it can be efficiently determined, or receive the necessity of determining itself."¹ "To the evil of sin God pre-determined the will of no man; because this is against the perfection of the Divine nature; and it would be against the liberty of the person to be so pre-determined to sin." "Good angels, the solicitations of the Devil, tyrants or friends" can persuade "but cannot determine the will by causal necessity." "An object can be the occasion of the determination, and is sometimes such and so presented, that the will, in such circumstances, is *always and infallibly* determined to it;" but neither the object nor the intellect which apprehends it, "by a causal necessity determine the will." (Meth. Pars I. c. 7. p. 208.) "Whether, *de facto*, men equally enabled, predisposed, helped and

¹ It is proper to remark that the self-determining power of the will which Baxter maintains is not the theory that the will "determines its own acts by choosing its own acts," which is refuted by President Edwards. (Treatise on the Will, Part II. Sect. 1.) Baxter simply teaches, as an ultimate fact of human nature, that, in the circumstances which are requisite for a volition, the mind has the power of choosing or refusing the object. (Meth. Pars I. c. 8. p. 213.) If he inadvertently uses language which implies the absurdity of an infinite series of choices, it is no more than has been occasionally done by the best writers upon the subject, including Edwards himself. Baxter also opposes the liberty of indifference or the theory that the will is determined, uninfluenced by involuntary inclinations (which is refuted in the same section of Edwards's treatise). He only denies their necessitating power. (See Meth. Pars I. c. 8. p. 207. Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 75 et passim.)

hindered, do yet without any cause but their own *freewill itself*, act or will act variously, is a question that these controversies need not come to. That such (were there such in the world) *could do it*, I take for granted; whatever they [actually] do." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 151.)

"The understanding *guideth*, but doth not *necessitate*. (B. II. p. 153.)

"All pretended middle ways between Hobbes, his necessitation, physical, and true freewill, are but fancies, as far as I can perceive." "I have great reason to think *irrewill* a part of his [man's] natural image;" "and that as God is a *causa prima entium*, so freewill may be a kind of *causa prima* (not of the action, as such) but of the comparative moral species of its own acts." "I say therefore that here is no effect without a cause. *Freewill* may be the cause of various effects, without a various predisposition." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 152.)

"I doubt some think so much of strength or power alone, as if they thought God were glorified by nothing else; or more in an ox or horse, than in a man. And whatever is ascribed to God's sapiential operation, they contemptuously call a *moral causing*, and not a physical; as if God must move men, as he doth the air, the water, or a stone." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 195.)

"They who place the will under a caused or imposed necessity of sinning (either from above or without) either actually deny all sin, or resolve the sin and misery of the damned into the Divine will." "It does not matter whether this is done by the necessitating physical predetermination of the Dominicans, or, according to the great Camero and others, by the necessitating predetermination of the will, through objects apprehended by the intellect; while God is the cause of the law, of the will, of the intellect and of the object. In either way, the doctrine of the infidel Hobbes, concerning the necessity of every volition, is asserted." (Meth. Theol. Pars. I. c. 8. p. 215.)

"*By the necessity of existence* [i. e. by the necessity of incompatibility], indeed, the contrary act may be impossible. Whatever exists, when it exists, exists by necessity [i. e. it cannot exist and not exist at the same time]; and so its contrary, by necessity, is non-existent. But sufficiency of power to the contrary, even, at the instant before [the choice], *formal* power to the contrary is not inconsistent [with the actual occurrence of the choice]." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 272.) "Whoever says that God is *not able* to make a creature with power to determine one volition of its own without His efficient physical predetermination aforesaid, sayeth more against God's *omnipotency* (though on pretence of a contradiction) than I dare say or think."¹ (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. III. p. 86.)

¹ The course of Baxter's reasoning leads him to conclude that man is free, if God could make him free; and that to doubt the possibility of making him free is impious. Bishop Berkeley, on the other hand, in his celebrated argument for the freedom of the will (Minute Philosopher, Dial. VII.), starts with the admission of his opponent, that God can make a creature free, and proves that man has the qualities which, it is expected, will characterize a free creature. Indeed, the gravest objections, which are offered to the doctrine of human freedom, ap-

"Do you think, 1. That it will be the way of glorifying the justice of God in judgment, to have the world know that he condemneth the world, merely because He will condemn them, for that which they never had any more true power to avoid than to make a world? 2. Or will their conscience in hell accuse them or torment them for that which they then know was naturally impossible and caused by God?" (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 140. See also B. I. p. 40.)

IS THE GUILT OF THE SINNER LIMITED BY THE POWER OF CONTRARY CHOICE?

"Those who are made, capable only of *doing wrong*, cannot do wrong; it is a contradiction. For it is not sin never to have done that, for doing which, we have never received mediate or immediate power from God; just as we do not sin in not flying, like birds, or shining, like the sun. It is not sin to do the only thing we *can* do; [and this] by the irresistible will of the Creator." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25 p. 265.)

"Accordingly I judge of *guilt* and *shame* and *accusation*; which will not be a bare discerning of what God made us do or be; but what we voluntarily *did* or *were*, when we could do [or be] otherwise." (Cath. Theol. B. I. Part II. p. 115.)

"The obligation of law ceaseth, when the thing commanded becometh *impossible* without the subject's fault." "A necessity contracted by our own fault (as by drunkenness leading to madness) excuseth not from guilt." "This is a sin (and the consequent acts and omissions), not simply in itself considered, but *secundum quid* and participatively, as it partaketh of the first sin, which is described itself to be 'a *voluntary forbidden act, disabling us to future duty, and virtually containing a sinful life to the end.*'" When such a physical disability is incurred, "strictly and properly God is not said after to oblige him by that law, because he is not *receptive* and *capable* of such *new obligations*. And yet he is not disobliged as to his benefit. For no man getteth a right to any benefits by his fault." (Cath. Theol. B. I. Part I. p. 39.)

"We may answer the old question, 'Whence is evil?' For as sin is a moral thing, etc., unbounded wisdom and goodness having laid our endless

pear to resolve themselves into the question: 'Is the creation of a free agent within the compass of Infinite power?' And it is worthy of notice that the opposer and advocate of freedom confront each other with the same objection. 'You disparage the Divine Omnipotence,' says the former, 'when you assert that a creature can be free to choose his own course.' 'You disparage the Divine Omnipotence,' says the latter, 'when you assert that a creature *cannot be made*, who is free to choose his own course.' Baxter refutes the objection to freedom, derived solely from the prescience of God, by distinguishing between certainty and necessity, and between the *logical* necessity that *an event will be which will be*, and the *real* necessity which would constrain the agent. The foresight no more than the retrospection, of an act, causes the act to be truly unavoidable. Baxter also frequently answers the objections to his doctrine by showing that they apply with as much force to the acts of the Deity as to those of man.

happiness as a reward for obedience, and endless wretchedness as punishment for sin. Without this obedience, there could be no heaven; without sin, no hell. And without a power not to do in both, there could be neither. So then, that God may have leave to make man happy for holiness, man must needs have power to make himself wretched for sin." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 151 note.) See also Cath. Theol. B. I. § IX. 229. In answer to the question, "what is the use of such power [of contrary choice]," he says, "1. If they [men] had power to do good, they could have done it; for what else is power, but that by which I *can* do the act. 2. The power given was a proportionable demonstration of *God's* power, wisdom and mercy, and therefore *it did good*. 3. That it was not used to their *own salvation*, was their own fault, for which they suffer." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 23.) See also Cath. Theol. B. I. § X. 229.

WHAT IS ORIGINAL SIN? In conformity with the foregoing views Baxter develops his doctrine of Original Sin. Adam's powers, at the beginning of his existence, were in a right state. This righteousness was not superadded after his creation, and yet it was not an essential attribute of his mind. (Meth. Pars I. c. 15. p. 354.) For he sinned and fell, when he had, not "the hypothetical or conditional," but the *true* power to stand. (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 113.) In Adam, original sin "was the forbidden act, and the depraved disposition which followed it." In us, it is *fundamentally* the imputation of Adam's sin; it consists (materially) in "the destitution of righteousness, and in positive corruption." Whether Baxter is self-consistent, therefore, depends on his doctrine of Imputation; or on his answer to the following question:

WHY ARE THE POSTERITY OF ADAM CHARGED WITH HIS SIN?

Baxter speaks of persons who have excited opposition to the doctrine of Original Sin "by feigning an unproved, arbitrary covenant of God, made with Adam and his posterity, which was no law of nature, nor was made [or adjusted] to any other since (according to the change of the covenant), and by which God imputeth Adam's sin to us, not because we were in his loins, (for then it would extend to others,) but because it was *His will* to do so; as if it had been God and not Adam that defiled our natures and made us all sinners, by an unnecessary, if not ungrounded imputation." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 105.)

"My thoughts are these: 1. That we were *seminally* and *virtually* really in *Adam*; having the very essence of our souls derived from him; not being in him, as the *house* is in the head of the *architect*, but as an *essential form* is in the *generater*; though we call both *esse in causa*. 2. That we were not personally in Adam (though *seminally*); that is, we were not *natural persons* in him, when he sinned. 3. God supposeth no man to be what he is not, or to have *done what he did not*; for he erreth not. 4. God is not the author

of sin; therefore He doth not by arbitrary imputing of Adam's act, and reputing us to have done what we did not, make all men sinners, which Adam could not do. 5. But God doth truly repute us to have been *seminally* in Adam, and to have no essence but what is really derived from his essence; and as when a man is guilty, no part of him is innocent, neque semen, neque sanguis, though they have not a distinct guilt, but *participative*, *qua partes rei*; so we were sinners in that act, and guilty of that act, so far as we were *partes Adami*, and in him. 6. This was not to be at *that time* guilty, as distinct persons; for we were not such. 7. But we, that were then only *seminally* existent, after became real distinct persons, and then that *guilt* even of Adam's act, adhering still to us, became *guilt of persons*, because the subjects of it are persons. Even as if Eve had been made *after* the fall, of Adam's rib, that rib at first was guilty, not by *another*, but the same *numerical* guilt that Adam was, as part of a sinner; for it was a capable subject of no more! But when that same rib was made a *person*, it would be a guilty person; for it lost not the guilt by that change. But then it is not only or chiefly our bodies that are from Adam, (which are from the elements in our daily food), but our *souls*; and therefore the adherence of the guilt to a rational spirit essentially flowing from another's essence, is more easily understood and defended than that of the corporal rib could be. 8. I do (contrary to excellent Jos. Placeus) suppose that in *primo instanti*, this, our participation in Adam's guilt, is in order before our qualitative pravity; and that God doth therefore deny us His Spirit first, to make us originally holy, not only because Adam, but because we *in Adam* (as aforesaid) did forfeit and expel it. 9. I think that some men's assertion of a decree or covenant of God, that if Adam fell, any more should be imputed to his offspring than they were thus *really guilty* of themselves, is the bold addition of men's invention, of greater audacity than the addition of ceremonies to the worship of God, which yet some are more sensible of. 10. I think if Adam had not sinned that same first sin, but had sinned another sin in the next hour, or day, or month, or year, or any time before generation, it would have been equally ours, as this first was, because we were *equally in him*, and no Scripture-covenant makes a difference." 12. "I doubt not but if Adam had never sinned, yet (supposing the same covenant [i. e. legal dispensation] to stand), if his sons after him had sinned, we should have been guilty of it as we are of his sin; yea, had it been but our nearest parents. 13. I doubt not but that we are still so guilty of our nearer parents' sins,¹ further than

¹ Baxter held that the original sin of infants is pardoned at their baptism; and even when the rite is, for a good reason, omitted, the offspring of pious parents are saved. They are regarded as parts of their parents and are therefore members of the church and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. The Holy Spirit renews their heart from their infancy, and they are to grow up in the exercise of holy faith. The supposed fact that the children of pious parents sometimes lead unholy lives, when no marked fault can be charged on their parents, was one cause of Baxter's difficulties on the subject of "Perseverance." It seemed to him

as the introduction of the new pardoning covenant, and the oft pardons by it, and the incapacity of nature to bear any more punishment may make a difference." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 111.)

"When Adam sinned, every part of his body participated in his guilt (*ejus reatum participavit*). And if a leg or an arm had been cut off, one would not at all attribute innocence to this limb; but at the Resurrection it would bring back its part of the guilt." "But when we were *parts*, we were not innocent (not more than an amputated foot is innocent)." "That the will is the primary seat of moral good and evil, we grant. But from it, the whole body becomes participant of the guilt (*reatus particeps*)." (Meth. Pars I. c. 15. p. 370.)

To the objection, "What is involuntary is not sin, original depravity is not voluntary and therefore is not sin," he replies by denying the *minor* premise; and avers that original sin is voluntary, "since it proceeds from the act of him, from whom our essence proceeds." (Meth. Pars I. c. 15. p. 370.) "Why am I guilty of what Adam did, but because I have a nature that was *seminally* in him; and was it not proximately in my nearer parents?" (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 105.)

"God is the author of no man's sin, but the Creator of his nature, which voluntarily sinned, when it had power not to sin; and by his own will *man* subjected himself to the deceiver." (Cath. Theol. B. I. § XX. p. 118.) See also B. I. Pars III. p. 101. B. II. p. 128.

Baxter endeavors to relieve himself from the charge of materialism by a physiological disquisition, in which he attempts to combine the theories of Traducianism and Creationism. (Meth. Pars I. c. 15. p. 371.)¹

not an unreasonable hypothesis that, when once converted, they may actually fall away. (See Meth. Pars III. c. 9. p. 98, et passim.)

¹ Baxter's doctrine of original sin unquestionably develops the ancient doctrine of Imputation. It is taught by the earliest Christian writers. Origen (of the third century) held that men were tainted with sins committed in a former state. It was the opinion of Tertullian and the Traduciani "that the souls of children have existed in reality or at least potentially, in their parents, and this as far back as Adam; and that in this way the souls of all his posterity participated in the actions done in his person, although they themselves were never after conscious of such an action." (Knapp's Theology, p. 275.) The doctrine of Ambrose and Augustine may be learned from the clear and indisputable statements of Neander. Ambrose "says: 'We have all sinned in the first man; and, with the propagation of the nature, the propagation of the guilt also has passed from one to all. In him *human nature* sinned.' In one aspect, the corruption which passed from the first parent to all his posterity, seems to be derived from the law of natural propagation; in another, a certain inherent connection seems to be supposed between the first member of the human race, as one in whom *the whole kind was already contained in the germ, and all the later members of the race*; as indeed Ambrose was already led to this view by the phrase 'in quo' in the Latin version of Rom. 5: 12; which expression was referred to Adam. This idea was afterwards more fully developed by the Philosophical Realism of Augustine." (Neander's Church His-

WHAT CONTROL HAS GOD OVER SIN? *God foreknew sin.* It is important to observe, in this place, the peculiar doctrine of Baxter

tory, Vol. I. pp. 562, 563.) The "participation of all in Adam's transgression, Augustine made clear to his own mind in this way: Adam was the representative of the whole race, and bore in himself *the entire human nature* and kind, in the germ, since it was from him it unfolded itself. And this theory could easily blend with Augustine's speculative form of thought, as he had appropriated to himself the Platonico-Aristotelian Realism in the doctrine of general conceptions, and conceived of general conceptions as the original types of the kind, realized in individual things. Furthermore, his slight acquaintance with the Greek language and his habit of reading the Holy Scriptures in the Latin translation, led him to find a confirmation of his theory in a falsely translated passage of the Epistle to Romans, 5: 12." (Neander's Ch. Hist., Vol. I. p. 609.) That this was the doctrine of Augustine is also shown by Bretschneider and Döderlein. "In Adam all sinned; in the loins of Adam was the human race; in him, we were all one man," is the language of this father. "In Adamo omnes peccarunt; in lumbis Adami erat genus humanum:" "omnes eramus unus ille homo." Augustine, while he did not formally admit, yet did not deny the doctrine of Traducianism. The theory of Augustine "was the prevailing theory among the schoolmen, and even throughout the sixteenth century and until about the middle of the seventeenth, when it was contested by the French reformed theologians, Joshua Placcæus and Moses Amyrædus, who, however, were violently opposed." (Knapp's Theology, p. 276.) It is the doctrine of Anselm of Canterbury. (Neander's Ch. Hist., Vol. IV. p. 492.) The influence of Augustine stamped this doctrine upon the theology of Anselm and contemporary schoolmen of the same philosophic sect, as well as upon the systems of modern theologians. (Neander, Vol. IV. p. 492.)

We "sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression" is the phrase of the Westminster Assembly.

The same doctrine is taught by President Edwards in his Treatise on Original Sin. "Therefore I am humbly of opinion," he says, "that if any have supposed the children of Adam to come into the world with a double guilt, one the guilt of Adam's sin, another the guilt arising from their having a corrupt heart, they have not so well conceived of the matter. The guilt a man has on his soul at his first existence, is one and simple, viz. the guilt of the original apostasy, the guilt of the sin by which the species first rebelled against God." (Edwards on Original Sin, Ch. III.) He also says: "The sin of the apostasy is not theirs [i. e. ours] merely because God imputes it to them. But it is TRULY AND PROPERLY THEIRS, and on that ground God imputes it to them." (Ib. Ch. III.) If it be true that Edwards in his argument for the doctrine of original sin, as the Princeton Essayist (Princeton Theol. Essays, 1st series, p. 139) has said, "philosophizes on the nature of unity until he confounds all notions of personal identity," the fact serves to show how his great mind toiled to avoid the necessity of making God impute to men a sin which is not, previously, "truly and properly" their own.

The Calvinistic or Augustinian doctrine of Imputation may be thus stated: Man, or human nature, or the human race was in Adam and constituted ONE PERSON; and in consequence of their *real* (though not individual) participation in his offence, men are, when they are born or become *distinct* persons, guilty of

with respect to the Divine foreknowledge. He rejected the theory

the sin which they *really* committed in their progenitor and are condemned on account of it. This is Calvinism; but this doctrine of Calvinism is now very often abandoned.

There is, however, another doctrine, which has borrowed from Calvinism the name of "Imputation," and may be thus stated: The human race were not in Adam and did not really participate in his sin; but God imputes or ascribes the sin of their progenitor to all men, and, on the ground of this imputation, judicially condemns and punishes them.

Between the Calvinistic and the latter doctrine there is a radical and irreconcilable difference. The Calvinistic doctrine imputes to men what is truly and properly their own; while the latter doctrine imputes to them what is *not* truly or properly their own. The Calvinistic doctrine makes men *guilty* in the sense of sinful, for the sin of Adam; but the latter calls them guilty only in the sense of "exposed to punishment." The Calvinistic doctrine makes the punishment of men for Adam's sin an infliction of evil for their own share in his sinful act; and the latter doctrine makes it a judicial infliction of evil for an act in which they had *no* real participation. It should be added that those theologians who are adduced to sustain the latter doctrine, make the secondary or covenant imputation of Adam's sin to his descendants to rest primarily on the existence of the race in him at the time of his sin, or on the Realistic conception of Augustine. They are especially earnest in this view when they are answering objections. Owen, for example, in his "Display of Arminianism," says that the first ground of the imputation of Adam's sin is, that "we were *then* in him and parts of him." (Owen's Works, Vol. V. p. 130.) He, not less than Baxter, distinguishes between the ground of the imputation of Christ's righteousness and of Adam's sin. "Sin and punishment," he says, "though they are sometimes separated by his [God's] mercy, pardoning the one, and so not inflicting the other, yet *never* by his justice inflicting the latter where the former is not; sin imputed by itself alone without an inherent guilt, was never punished in any but Christ; the unsearchableness of God's love and justice, in laying the iniquity of us all upon him who had no sin, is an exception to that general rule he walketh by, in his dealing with the posterity of Adam." (Ib. p. 127.) The plain sense of the term "guilt" in this passage is enough to show the groundlessness of the statement that its uniform and established meaning in theology is "exposedness to punishment." He says, and quotes Augustine to confirm him, that when Adam sinned "we were then all one man, we were all in him, and had no other will but his; so that though that be extrinsic unto us, considered as particular persons, yet it is *intrinsic*, as we are all parts of one common nature; as in him we sinned so in him we had a will of sinning." (Ib. p. 127.) He says that if, without any sinfulness of our own, "God should impute the sin of Adam unto us," it could not be "reconciled with that rule of his proceeding in justice with the sons of men, 'the soul that sinneth, it shall die;' which clearly granteth an impunity to all not tainted with sin." (Ib. p. 129.)

From these historical facts it follows that the new doctrine of Imputation cannot derive support from Augustine, or many of the other eminent theologians of the church, and must stand or fall, as common sense may decide it to consist or not to consist with the teachings of the Bible and the rectitude of the Divine character.

that the foreknowledge of God depends on his purposes, or that his purposes depend on his foreknowledge; and held that foreknowledge is an independent attribute or a part of the Divine omniscience.

"God, knowing that He will make the free agent, knoweth also that this agent *will freely sin*; in all which the futurity is nothing, nor is any existent cause [i. e. existent, when the event of sin was foreknown] necessary; but only the truth of the proposition would result from the infinite perfection of God's knowledge." (Cath. Theol. B. I. p. 83.)

Man is not made independent of God. "Much less do we take the will from under the power and government of God; for, 1. It could have no self-determining power but of God, one moment. 2. He giveth us governing laws accordingly. 3. And he attaineth all His ends, and fulfilleth all His will, as perfectly in consistence with our power and freedom, as if we had none such at all." (Cath. Theol. B. I. p. 565.)

"This rank and state of free agents is God's own wisely-chosen work in which He is delighted." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. III. p. 116.)

God can cause the certainty of events without impinging on human freedom. Although Baxter commonly vindicates the doctrine that God can control the existence of sin, by referring to his foreknowledge, there are still several passages in which he asserts that God has caused the *certainty* of events, without causing their *necessity*.

"It is not right to doubt but that God can render the occurrence of an act infallibly certain [infallibiliter futurum reddere] by moral means and by ways unknown to us, without physical predetermination. For if the will has no other liberty except the power of choosing as it does [praeter ipsum velle] then all certain faith and the Christian religion fall to the ground, as has been before amply proved. But if God cannot cause the future certainty [certo futurum reddere] of the free volition of man, divine Providence in the government of the world and the security of His promises, are destroyed. Both which consequences are intolerable. But the question, how God does or can do this, misbecomes us dim-sighted pigmies." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 274.)

It is conceded "that the determination of the will by itself, and God's moral way of determining it (by which He causes the will to determine itself infallibly, and yet without physical determination), is consistent with liberty and formal power to the contrary." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 272.) See also *ib.* p. 288.

How can God prevent Sin? "God could prevent all future sin, if he absolutely willed so to do, either by destroying the world or disabling the sinner, or by withholding his moving influx, or by such a change of his nature as should make him indefectible." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. III. p. 58.)

§ 2. ABILITY.

"This unhappy CAN is the cannon that battereth our peace and love." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 113.) "This one poor word is the grenade or fire-ball." (Ib. p. 88.) "I tell you, once for all, that the shaming and ending of all the controversies between the Synodists and moderate Arminians (or Jesuits), lieth in the true opening of the ambiguity of this one syllable Can. And unhappy is the church when its pastors have neither skill nor love enough to forbear torturing and distracting it, by one poor ambiguous syllable, not understood by the contenders." (Ib. p. 86.)

WHAT IS NATURAL ABILITY? "Remember that a true power is that by which *we truly can*; and not that faculty which could do this or that, if God would predetermine it, and otherwise cannot; no more than the sun can shine without him." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. III. p. 74.)

"Is not natural strength or power a thing belonging to man as man which sin destroyeth not and grace restoreth not?" "The soul of every man hath a *true* natural power to repent, believe and love God; and they omit it, not for the want of natural power, but of something else." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 86.)

"This unhappy syllable CAN by its ambiguity is the cause of all our silly quarrels. If by CAN, you mean a physical power or faculty, man can not only do more good than he doth, but he can *repent* and *believe*, who doth not." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 107.)

"If man's will had been made by God such as could not possibly love Him or holiness, it would not have left a man without excuse in judgment, that his enmity was voluntary." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. III. p. 100.)

"A natural power of freely determining itself, both to the choice of God and spiritual good, remains in the will of the unregenerate. For the sinner is free from a fatal predetermination to evil, and from the dominion of created causes over his will, and from the necessity of sinning, imposed in any other way." (Meth. Pars I. c. 15. p. 215.)

Ability is not a mere capacity, without a motive to action. "Man's [involuntary] inclination to felicity, truth and goodness, which is natural, doth continue." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. p. 155.)

"Man's natural faculty itself, besides natural power, hath all these aptitudes to the act. Man hath self-love and a desire of felicity, and an unwillingness and fear of hell and misery, and of all that he knows doth tend to it, as such. He can seek for glory, honor and immortality." He has "Reason to understand what is told him of good and evil in some sort," "conscience to accuse and excuse," "the disgrace of sin," "the fear of the devil," "the prospect of death and immortality;" and "God addeth by his works and word many vehement motives, persuasions and urgent exhortations, examples, mercies and corrections." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 147. See also p. 153.)

"Even in the point of believing, [the will] hath natural power and liberty to act otherwise than it doth, even to turn itself from the act of unbelief to the act of faith. But being indisposed and ill-disposed, it *will not do* that

which it hath a natural self-determining power to do; till God assist it or turn it by his grace." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 97.)

WHAT IS MORAL INABILITY? "He that wanteth not natural force or power, but only a right *disposition* of his will, and *so far* wanteth it, that none, in his case, *do ever* change their own acts to good, without more help and power than he hath, is said to be *morally unable* or *impotent*." (Cath. Theol. B. I. p. 37.)

"Ofttimes, in Scripture, by the word 'cannot' is meant only that which a man cannot do without suffering, loss or difficulty. (So 1 Sam. 25: 17, 'He is such a son of Belial, that a man cannot speak to him,' i. e. without inconvenience by it.)" "Ofttimes this inconvenience, procuring *unwillingness* is named like *impotency*, and it is said, 'men cannot,' because they will not. (Luke 14: 20, 'I have married a wife and cannot come,' i. e. I will not, because I cannot without inconvenience.)" "And this unwillingness, when it is habitual and prevalent, is what is commonly called *man's moral impotency*, as to believe, love, obey, etc." "That power is morally called *impotency*, which no man ever reduceth to act." (Cath. Theol. B. II. pp. 95, 96.)

"Both habitual and dispositive and actual willingness or unwillingness is not called usually *strength* or power, but will; the will itself hath its proper power to will, for it is a natural faculty; but its habits and acts are better known by the name of willingness or unwillingness than of power. If, therefore, men would do as the Scripture doth, usually express moral habits and acts, by these their best known names, and when we use the terms of power, *can* and *cannot*, would do it so rarely and explainedly as to be understood, that it is nothing but moral *willingness* and *unwillingness* that we mean, it would do much to end all this controversie." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 98.)

WHAT IS MORAL ABILITY? There are many passages in which Baxter asserts that men are not only naturally able but also *morally* able to perform actions which they yet do not perform. The apparent confusion of ideas is obviated by observing that he sometimes uses the term *will*, in the way it is used by the old writers, to denote not only the power of choice but also the tendencies or involuntary inclinations which influence the mind in choosing. When these involuntary inclinations are so excited by a gracious influence toward the right object, that the choice of it is comparatively *easy*, then the mind is sometimes said to be *morally* able to perform the action. Hence, too, in his view, there are different degrees of moral ability. It is obviously important to ascertain his idea of the extent of moral inability, or the effect of sin upon those powers of the mind which lie back of the faculty of choice. This question Baxter answers both in the passages already quoted, which relate to the power of contrary choice, and in those which assert the existence of natural (involuntary) tendencies to happiness and goodness. He is, however, in other places, more explicit:

"This impotence is not a total defect, but weakness of power. And man still retains true power for acting here and now (even without the aid of any other cause)." But this power wants the alacrity and firmness "which render the action certain. It is not prompt and prepared for action, and can abstain from acting. Impotence is the cause (*sine qua non*) of inaction, but not the *necessitating* cause. I say, therefore, that whenever the will does not act, when it ought to act, no necessitating reason for the inaction is to be rendered" "The reason of inaction is finally to be resolved into the will itself." "Sin does not destroy an essential faculty and so destroy the human species;" "nor is every inclination to good, to happiness, to God, to the salvation of the soul, to virtue, lost." "But by means of sin, the active powers may be languid, and the intellect ill-disposed to perceive higher things, and the will disposed or inclined, by evil habits against spiritual and toward sensual good." "No one is good or bad, contrary to his will; but the happiness or misery of every one follows his election or rejection of the means." (Meth. Pars I. c. 7. pp. 215, 216.)

Baxter sometimes uses the word *habit* in the sense of a fixed, voluntary inclination; but frequently, as it is used by the old writers, to denote an excited involuntary principle or inclination. "A habit," he says, "is not only a power to act, but a power to act promptly and easily." It implies a greater likelihood of the act than the term *moral power*.¹ But prior to the existence of a holy "habit," the mind has involuntary inclinations which tend to God and holiness, and give it a true natural power to do right.²

"But habit itself does not necessarily produce an act, although by a natural agency it makes a man incline to the act. Indeed men often act against a habit. But habits are a kind of second nature, and so strongly incline to the act, that they constantly produce it, but do not necessitate it." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 275.)

It is, therefore, plain that in the passages where Baxter asserts that men have grace enough to enable them to perform certain acts which they omit, he refers to *moral* ability. His language is not free from ambiguity, but perhaps his meaning may be thus expressed: Men are morally able to do an action when, from their previous inclinations, it appears to us probable that they will perform it; and when the omission of it costs them a mental struggle. All men have not only the natural power to repent and believe, but they have such grace as confers *moral* ability, and if faithfully used, would lead finally to their conversion and salvation.³

Let us now ascertain the views of Baxter with respect to the Bible and the principal doctrines of Theology.

¹ Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 97. Meth. Pars I. c. 8. p. 202. ² Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 92.

³ Cath. Theol. B. III. p. 133. Meth. Pars III. c. 25.

§ 3. THE BIBLE.

What is the authority of the Bible? The truth and Divine authority of the Scriptures have been abundantly proved. Whatever in the Bible professes to have the sanction of God is worthy of belief; and whatever errors or contradictions may be found, are to be attributed to the mistakes of transcribers, printers or translators.¹ There is nothing in the Bible which is superfluous, and nothing which does not conduce to the well-being of Christianity.² The Bible brings the evidence of its own divinity to the attentive reader: "it shineth by its own light, and it beareth the certain seal of heaven." Yet the perfection of the Scriptures is not absolute but relative to the ends for which they were given, and by their fitness to these ends their value is to be estimated. One part of the Bible may be preferred to another, as it may treat of greater themes, or be furnished with clearer marks of Divine authority, or be the work of a writer who excels in style and method. The imperfections of the biblical authors in knowledge and the art of composition contribute to the perfection of the Revelation; just as the meanness of David's weapons proved that his victory over Goliath was a Divine achievement.³

What is essential to be believed? Baxter makes a careful distinction between faith in the veracity of God and a belief that the doctrines of the Bible are divinely inspired. The former is essential; while one may think that no part of the Scriptures is canonical except the bare announcement of the condition of salvation, and although he is grossly mistaken, he can yet believe and be saved. Hence it is not requisite for ecclesiastical communion that one should subscribe to every verse, chapter or book of the Bible, as canonical; but it is essential that he should credit all the words of God, and especially that he should believe the vital truths of the Christian religion. Men ascribe too much to the Bible when they affirm that it presents no signs of human imperfection, and maintain that we have no greater certainty of the truth of the Christian religion than we have of the truth of "every item of history, genealogy, number or word," and assert that every one who doubts whether a single word is true or was dictated by the Holy Spirit may, with equal reason, doubt the whole Gospel.⁴ "And here," he says, "I must tell you a great and needful truth, which ignorant Christians, fearing to confess, by over-

¹ Meth. Pars III. c. 15. p. 208. Pract. Works, Vol. XX. p. 430.

² Meth. P. III. c. 15. p. 208.

³ Meth. P. III. c. 15. p. 203.

⁴ Meth. Pars III. c. 15. pp. 200, 201.

doing, tempt men to infidelity. The Scripture is like a man's body, where some parts are for the preservation of the rest, and may be maimed without death; the sense is the soul of Scripture and the letters but the body or vehicle."¹

The relation of Reason to Revelation. Baxter discovered no antagonism between Faith and Reason. He would have cordially assented both to the apothegm of Augustine, "crede ut intelligas," and the proud saying of Abelard, "intellige ut credas." For he insists upon a right temper of heart as indispensable for the successful study of religious truth, and also teaches that nothing is to be done or believed without a sufficient reason. We always have sufficient reason for believing a doctrine that is proved to be the testimony of God.²

"They that believe and know not why, or know no sufficient reason to warrant their belief, do take a fancy or an opinion or a dream, for faith. I know that many honest-hearted Christians are unable to dispute for their religion or to give to others a satisfactory account of the reasons of their faith or hope; but yet they have the true apprehension of some solid reasons, in themselves." (Christian Directory, Part I. c. III.)³

Baxter was one of the earliest of the English writers on the proofs of revealed religion, and published the first answer to the treatise "de Veritate" of Lord Herbert, the founder of the English school of Deists. He appreciated the importance of Natural Theology, as furnishing proof alike of the possibility and of the need of a revelation, and as confirming the truths of the Bible. Worthy as are his defences of the external grounds of Christianity, his works on this subject now have their chief value in the force with which they unfold the internal evidences of Christian truth.

§ 4. THE TRINITY.

IS OUR LANGUAGE RESPECTING GOD LITERALLY CORRECT? It is a fundamental principle of Baxter's theology, that the traces of a Trinity may be perceived in every part of the universe. What is dimly discerned in inanimate nature, and seen less faintly in the irra-

¹ Pract. Works, XIX. p. 32.

² Ib. XX. p. 429.

³ The "Christian Directory" is a companion to the "Methodus Theologiae," and treats of Practical Ethics. It was first published in 1673 in a large folio volume, which would have been still larger had not the author fortunately been absent from his library during the time of its composition. It is an able treatise on Casuistry and ranks with the "Ductor Dubitantium" of Jeremy Taylor. To this inferior department of moral science, little has been contributed since the time of Baxter.

tional animals, is more clearly recognized in the soul of man, which is the image of the Creator. From what we see around us and in ourselves, we derive language to express our conceptions of the Deity. But this language is tropical and must not be literally interpreted.

"All our terms concerning God are plainly metaphorical. For although the thing expressed is primarily in the Deity, yet the notion which expresses it, is primarily adapted to creatures; and by it something created is commonly signified. And since we must speak improperly or metaphorically concerning the Deity, no where else than from the human spirit, can our conceptions and metaphorical modes of speech be borrowed. Nor is any other natural mirror known to us, in which we can more clearly see God. Nor is the soul vainly called by God Himself, the image of God." (Meth. Pars I. c. 2. p. 218. Also Practical Works, Vol. XIX. p. 576.)

WHAT IS KNOWN OF THE TRINITY? Looking upon the human soul as upon a mirror, Baxter finds "in God, who is an infinite and undivided Spirit," a Trinity of "essentialities" or "active principles;" viz. Active or Vital Power, Intellect and Will [Potentia-Actus, Intellectus, Voluntas]. These principles are the ground of a threefold, eternal, immanent act in the Deity; viz. 1. Vital Activity or "Self-living" ["Sibi Vita vel vivens"]. 2. Self-knowing ["Intellectus se Intelligens"]. 3. "Self-loving" ["Voluntas se Amans"]. These, too, are respectively the eternal ground of a *transitive* act, and so of God's relation, 1. to the existence of things or to nature; 2. to the order of things, and to grace; 3. to the end of things and the glory of man. These principles are the Trinity of persons, Father, Word and Holy Spirit. Hence, in the Scriptures, power is emphatically ascribed to the Father, wisdom to the Son, and the communicative love of God to the Spirit. Hence, also, by His eternal act of self-knowledge, God is said to generate the Son; and as the communications of Divine Love are ordered by Wisdom and Power, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father and the Son. "We shall be as loth to say that the Father or the Holy Ghost was incarnate for us, or died for us, or mediates for us, as that the power or love of God doth the works which belong to His wisdom." "As in man's soul, the power, intellect, will [posse, velle, scire] are not three parts of the soul, it being the whole soul *quae potest, quae intelligit et quae vult*," so "the whole Deity is power, the whole is understanding, and the whole is will." [See "Methodus," Pars I. c. 2. pp. 36, 37, 34, 28. Practical Works, Vol. XIX. pp. 62, 63, 576 et seq. Vol. XX. p. 439. Vol. XXI. p. 307 et seq.]

"I hold it certain that we are to conceive (though imperfectly) of God,

as *triple* [tripliciter]: 1. in respect to his vital-active, intellectual and volitive power; 2. in his triple immanent act; 3. in his transitive, external [ad extra] [or emanent] act, as an agent. It is certain that in the Holy Scriptures, the works of power are, in some way, most frequently ascribed to the Father, the works of wisdom to the Son, the works of love to the Holy Spirit. Efficiency of the works is ascribed to the Father, direction of the works to the Son, and perfection of the works to the Holy Spirit; creation is ascribed to the Father, redemption to the Son, and sanctification to the Holy Spirit. And so, eminently, the Father is the author of nature, the Son of remedy [medicinæ], the Holy Spirit of salvation, and all alike of glory." (Meth. Pars I. c. 2. p. 121.)

Whether the Trinity of the Divine Being be anything *more* than is above described, Baxter professed himself unable either to affirm or deny. "And what mortal man is able to say whether the distinction of persons be greater or less than this?" (Prac. Works, XXI. p. 312.) If it be more, the truth is still rendered credible by the manner in which it is shadowed forth in all the works of God. Nature is at least a ladder by which we may climb upwards to a knowledge of the Deity.

"There are some who do not presume to define the *Personality*, whether it be anything absolute, a power, an immanent act, a mode of existence, a relation, a property, or something formal, and admit that no formal and proper conception of the Divine Personality (as well as none of the Divine Essence or of any essential Divine Attribute), is possible to the human intellect. That these agree with me, I do not deny [minime diffiteor]. (Meth. P. I. c. 2. p. 123.)

"That the Trinity of Persons is the same as that of Essentialities [or active principles], I have never verbally or mentally affirmed; I think that it cannot be affirmed." (Ib. p. 121.)

WHAT IS ESSENTIAL TO BE BELIEVED? Soundness of belief does not consist in the use of any particular words, as Person, Relation, Generation or Procession. (Meth. P. I. c. 2. p. 119.)

"The reasons of Rada, by which he decides that it is not heretical to consider the Persons absolute Attributes, I deem to be entirely valid." (Ib. p. 122.)

"Whoever says, with proper reverence, that the third Trinity [Father, Son and Spirit] is the same Trinity [of principles or active powers], presented most clearly to the apprehension of men [hominibus explicatissimam], and in the sense, last and best known by us, is a Trinity of persons, as appearing in their special, visible works; whoever says this, will not be accused of heresy by me." (Meth. P. I. c. 2. p. 37. Pract. Works, Vol. XXI. p. 313.)

"He will be saved, who so believes in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three persons in one Essence, as to give and devote himself wholly to God the Father, Creator (Lord, King, Friend) Redeemer and

Sanctifier, and repose in Him his entire confidence and hope; and this is saving faith in the Trinity." (ib. p. 122.)¹

Baxter's theory of the Trinity may be in part accounted for by his fondness for the scholastic writers and his familiar acquaintance with their works. The history of the doctrine which he gives, at once evinces his profound research and discovers the sources whence he derived his opinions. The view of Augustine tended to Sabellianism; and the well known comparison which he had made between the persons of the Trinity, and the memory, intelligence and will, may be regarded as the key-note to the principal speculations of the schoolmen. They reasoned of the nature of the Trinity from the analogy of the human mind. The common view among the theologians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Anselm, Abelard, Hugo a St. Victore, Thomas Aquinas, Alexander of Hales, Raymund Lull), is like that of Baxter; and, indeed, the doctrine of Abelard which represented the three persons as the power, wisdom and love of the Divine Being "became, on the whole, current in the middle ages."² In later times, similar modes of reasoning were adopted by Melancthon, and to a certain extent by Grotius. But Baxter has gone beyond every other writer, in the minuteness with which he has carried the system of trichotomy through every form of existence and every department of science. Groundless and diverse from the biblical view, as such speculations may be, they have not been without their value in counteracting a tendency toward Tritheism, which has more than once revealed itself in the history of the church.

§ 5. DECREES.

The following are the leading opinions which are presented, with endless distinctions, in his prolix discussions of this topic.³

¹ This baptismal formula appears to have been the result of Baxter's search for a symbol on which Christians ought to unite in love and communion. He frequently declares that this formula is the substance of our religion; and that the Apostles' creed, the Lord's prayer and the Decalogue are a summary expression of the belief, the desire and hope, and the duty of the Christian. (Pref. to Cath. Theol. Works, Vol. XXI. p. 265.)

² Hagenbach's Hist. of Doctrines, Vol. I. p. 478. Neander's Church History, Vol. IV. pp. 457—465.

³ One cannot forbear to sympathize with those who deplored or smiled at Baxter's tedious distinctions. No man could divide a hair with so exquisite nicety. His fondness for logomachy often injured his cause. At the Savoy Conference he was pitted against Gunning, afterwards Bishop, first of Chichester and then of

The decrees of God are His eternal purposes. They are made in accordance with infinite wisdom. God foresees the results of all His possible actions. Yet, in the view of Baxter, the mode of the Divine prescience of actual events is to us inscrutable, and therefore the question, whether His foreknowledge is dependent on His purposes, is beyond the reach of our faculties.¹ The decree of God with respect to sin is simply a purpose not forcibly to prevent what he foresees will, without His efficient prevention, certainly occur. To the positive existence of sin, according to the view of Baxter, no specific decree is required;² and in his view, the assertion of such a decree is in the highest degree objectionable,³ since with the term decree he associated a preference on the part of the Deity that the event decreed, rather than its opposite, should occur. And it was a principle of his theology, as we have seen, that God prefers holiness to sin, in themselves considered and all things considered. The purposes of God have primary reference to his own actions.

ELECTION. "The true meaning and scope of the doctrine of election is, that God, the absolute Lord and Benefactor of all, does not distribute his gifts equally, but, as it pleases His most wise will [*sapientissimæ voluntati*], gives to some more and greater, to others fewer and inferior blessings. To some He gives more grace, to the end that they may be certainly saved and happy; but to some less grace—such as is merely necessary or sufficient (commonly so called)—but which He yet foresaw they would abuse to their destruction. And so it must be said that from eternity He has decreed that these blessings shall be distributed with the inequality with which He has actually distributed them." (*Meth. Pars I. c. 2. p. 52.*)

The order of decrees. In the order of time, the purposes of God are contemporaneous; and to inquire respecting any other order than

Ely. Burnet says: "Baxter and he spent some days in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes, that could never be brought to an end or have any good effect." (Burnet's "Own Times," Vol. I. pp. 283, 284.) The town were probably correct in their view. Yet, it is needless to say, Baxter was never a quibbling sophist, but was ever actuated by high moral aims. Often he alludes to some question as useless or impious, and grieves that it was ever raised; but for the sake of concord "a few necessary distinctions must be made," and then he goes on with them through many a weary page. With propriety he has been styled the last of the schoolmen. He seemed to think that men wanted only an exhibition of the truth to be convinced; and he would hardly have deemed an argument hopeless even with those whom the poet describes as on a "hill retired," reasoning high

"Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate."

¹ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. pp. 24, 26, etc.

² Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. p. 43. P. III. p. 72, etc. ³ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. p. 43.

that of their execution is useless, if not impious. The ultimate end of God is His own glory or complacency in His glory. He predestinates men to destruction "only on the foresight of their wilful sin. The election of men to salvation is absolute and not conditioned on His foreknowledge of their repentance."¹

§ 6. REDEMPTION.

Who is the Redeemer? A human soul and a human body constitute the human nature of Christ; this with the Divine nature of the eternal Word constitutes the person of the Mediator. The mode of this hypostatic union is incomprehensible. There are in Christ two principles of intelligence as well as of choice, the acts of which are separate; but since the Divine nature moves the human faculties as subordinate, the act of the human nature is also the act of the Divine nature, while not every act of the Divine nature is also the act of the human nature, "for the Divine nature can do what is above and beyond the human."² "So many diverse opinions have arisen about the person and natures of Christ, that we ought to beware of rashness in forming opinions and of a rash condemnation of those who differ from us."³

What is the origin of redemption? "It must not be supposed that a covenant, properly so called, was formed between the Father and the eternal Logos. But since it was certain, that some things were to be done by the Son, and some things were to be given to the Son, as incarnated, and some things were to be bestowed on men by His grace, theologians often call these divine decrees or volitions, by the name of covenant. But observe that these allegorical modes of speaking are not to be too often, or generally, used, lest they be mistaken for literal forms of speech. And when controversies grow out of them, we should revert to proper expressions." (Meth. P. III. c. 1. pp. 9, 10.)

Redemption springs from the love of God, and impious [nefandus] is the idea of those who attribute mildness and lenity only to the Son.⁴

Did Christ suffer the punishment of sin? In the first place, Baxter defines the term. Punishment, in its generic sense, is natural evil inflicted on account of moral evil. The primary and most common [famosissimus] meaning of the word is natural evil inflicted on the delinquent himself. But punishment, in a secondary and analogical sense, signifies the natural evil which, not directly, but mediately follows moral evil. This may occur in two cases: (1) where

¹ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. p. 123.

³ Meth. P. III. c. 1. p. 36.

² Meth. P. III. c. 1. p. 31.

⁴ Meth. P. III. c. 1. pp. 9, 10.

the sufferer has a natural connection with the offender, as in the instance of slaves who suffer for the faults of their master, or children for the faults of their parents; and (2) where suffering follows in accordance with a voluntary stipulation of the sufferer. The latter is called vicarious punishment.

Christ was not a sinner, and therefore in the usual meaning of the term, he was not punished. "Christ was not reckoned a sinner;" "for God does not judge falsely;" he was not punished, in the analogical sense of the term, for the faults of parents. He suffered vicariously, and therefore only in the last signification of the word can it be said that he was punished. "The sufferings of Christ were a natural evil, occasioned and remotely caused by the sins of the human race, and proximately caused by the obligation of a stipulation and proper consent of the sufferer."¹

Were the sins of men imputed to Christ? In its primary and most proper signification, the term relates to "guilt of the fault" [*reatum culpæ*]; and therefore sin is not, in this sense, imputed to Christ. But in an improper sense of the word, it can be said that our sins are imputed to Christ, "as they were the cause whence sprung the necessity of his suffering. But this phrase [*viz.* imputation of sins to Christ], however well it may be explained, though it can be tolerated, is yet improper, and is therefore not to be used too often, or in controversies, where there is need of great clearness."²

"The forensic meaning [of terms], when God is the judge, is their true and reasonable, and not their false meaning." "Christ did not suffer punishment on account of his own sins; therefore he was not reckoned a sinful person." (*Meth. Pars III. c. 1. p. 47.*)

"Christ chose and consented to be made a sacrifice for sinners; to a certain extent, he was our surety (*sponsor poenarum*). "Our sins were the remote cause of the sufferings of Christ. For if we had not, by means of our sin, become exposed to punishment [*poenarum reatum incidissemus*], it could not have been in any way necessary for Christ to suffer punishment, as the means of liberating us." "In the proper sense of Imputation, not *our* sin but his own is imputed to Christ; not by God, but by men; not by the good but by the wicked; not truly but falsely." (*Meth. P. III. c. 1. p. 47.*)

Did Christ die for all men? Christ died for all, but not for all equally.³ There are some benefits, as faith and repentance, which only a part of mankind actually possess; and hence we conclude that Christ did not determine that his death should eventually put all men

¹ *Meth. P. III. c. 1. p. 38.*

² *Meth. Pars III. c. 1. Determ. 7.*

³ *Meth. P. III. c. 1. pp. 55, 56.*

in possession of them.¹ And yet he did intend and decree that the gift of them should be offered to all. Christ is the Redeemer of the human race and suffered for the sins of the human race;² the death of Christ is "in itself a remedy sufficient to profit all; but if it be not taken it will not heal."³ In consequence of his death, on the condition of faith and repentance, it is true that justification, adoption, and a right to celestial glory are given to every man. Innumerable favors which "tend to produce repentance" are granted to all. To these benefits, there is added such assistance of the Holy Spirit as confers mediate or immediate [moral] power for the right use of them.⁴

What is the matter of the Atonement? The lofty dignity of Christ and his sinless obedience increase the value of his sufferings.⁵ His sufferings were not the same in kind and degree as are due to all sinners, nor is their value to be estimated by their severity. They were chiefly spiritual, and arose from his deep sense of God's displeasure at sin.⁶ His humiliation forms a part of his atoning sacrifice.

What is the formal nature of the Atonement? Christ did not literally fulfil the precept of the Law for us, "by representing our persons, as a man's servant pays his master's debt, by his command."⁷ Nor did he literally bear the penalty for sinners. "The punishment of one is not the punishment of another." If the precept had been fulfilled, "we should not be bound to obedience;" if the penalty had been endured, "we should need no pardon."⁸ It is more correct to say that "he suffered for our sake and in our stead," and "unless he had suffered we must have suffered."

What is meant by the satisfaction of Christ? Satisfaction has respect remotely to the precept of the law and proximately to its threatening. The punishment of the sinner himself is satisfaction for the violation of the precept; the substituted punishment [i. e. suffering] of Christ is directly satisfaction on account of our release from punishment [impunitatem], and remotely on account of our disobedience.⁹

His sufferings render satisfaction, because they demonstrate the justice, wisdom and mercy of God, and enable Him to attain the ends of government in a better way than by executing the law and de-

¹ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 53.

² Meth. Pars III. c. 1. p. 42.

³ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I. p. 118.

⁴ Meth. P. II. p. 53.

⁵ Meth. P. III. c. 1. pp. 39, 40.

⁶ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. pp. 40, 41.

⁷ Ib. p. 38.

⁸ Meth. P. III. c. 1. p. 47.

⁹ Ib. p. 48.

stroying the world.¹ They express the Divine hatred of sin and so repress any contempt of the lawgiver and the law, and are, moreover, wonderfully adapted to declare to the world God's love and compassion. Fitness to accomplish these ends is the principal ground of the satisfaction.² The punishment [i. e. suffering] of Christ is said to be meritorious in procuring the remission of sins, since it is the means voluntarily applied to attain the aforesaid ends.²

Baxter often styles Christ our Surety or "sponsor poenarum." The word surety denotes one who undertakes to satisfy a creditor, when the debtor cannot pay. "But," he observes, "all this similitude of a creditor and debtor is to be limited in the application, according to the great difference of sin and debt, which will infer a great diversity in the consequents."³

§ 7. REGENERATION.

WHAT IS COMMON GRACE? In interpreting the writings of Baxter, it is necessary to consider his use of the term Grace. After the apostasy of the race, everything which they have, except their bare existence, is a gift, bestowed on them by the mercy of God. Hence, even man's natural power to do right (as it has been defined on a preceding page), when he is placed in the ordinary circumstances of life, is sometimes spoken of as a result of Divine grace, or as a gracious power. Hence, too, not only the supernatural influences of the Holy Spirit, but also all the arrangements of Providence, which have a tendency to win men from their sins and lead them to holiness, are the gifts of grace. Such gifts are bestowed on all men as give them, beyond their natural power, a moral ability or a facility for the performance of certain acts of duty.⁴ If they perform these acts, they will acquire a moral power or promptitude for doing other and higher duties, until they have attained salvation and perfect holiness. Those who are not saved, must not simply neglect, but must positively *resist* merciful influences.⁵

¹ Cath. Theol. B. II. P. I. p. 41. Works, Vol. XX.

² Meth. P. III. c. 1. p. 49.

³ Ib. p. 38.

⁴ That men may believe this, he exhorts them "to turn their eyes a little from Pelagius. and everything else that useth to blind disputers with prejudice." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 156, 101.)

⁵ On this subject, as we have before hinted, Baxter may not always be consistent with himself. He occasionally affirms that man has power, through grace, to do some acts which are preparatory to repentance, and employs such phraseology as would seem to imply that man has no *present* power to do more. Yet

Sufficient grace is given to all. "By sufficient grace is meant that without which, the thing could not occur, and with which, it could be done. It is what is necessary and sufficient to produce the act; but not sufficient to render the event actually necessary or certain." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 265.)

"If they [men] talk only of passive or obediential power, and say 'man can believe because God can make him believe,' and so denominate man able to do that, which they mean God is able to make him do, this is to play with words." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 98.)

"All men have some helps and grace, in its kind sufficient to enable them to seek salvation, and God will not forsake them until they forsake him." (Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 133.)

What is special grace? "Because no one would believe or have penitence without the aid of the Holy Spirit, plenitude of power is given to the Redeemer, to give the Holy Spirit to whom He chooses, and in whatever degree He pleases. But it is the wise design of the Redeemer not to give to men the same degrees of aid; but to vary the degree sometimes according to the preparation and receptivity of men, and sometimes only according to his good pleasure; and, therefore, to give to some such degrees of aid as will efficiently work in them repentance and faith."

"It is given to the elect not only to be able to believe [*posse credere*] but also to believe." (Meth. Pars III. c. 25. p. 274.)

Is grace resistible? "(1) Most of the disputants confess that the Divine working is not such as physically necessitates the human volition; or takes away the simultaneous power to the contrary [*simultatem potentiae ad contrarium*]. (2) With respect to the *force* of the means, almost all but the followers of Hobbes [*Hobbianos*] confess that it is not such as forces or physically necessitates the will." (Meth. P. III. c. 25. pp. 283, 286. Also Cath. Theol. B. II pp. 136, 138.)

Has the truth an agency in regeneration? Since man has the same essential faculties which he had before his apostasy, the spirit of God does not add to the mind any new faculty.¹ Faith and repentance are the acts of the natural faculties. To procure the performance of these acts, certain means, as preaching and reading, are appointed, which have an inherent aptitude to the end.¹ The Divine influence is in harmony with the nature of the mind, and "the word is a true cause which works with an efficiency subordinate to the final cause of

his strong doctrine of Natural Ability, which with him, as we have seen, is complete power for the performance of all duty, would require him in all these passages to signify a *moral* ability. That every man has full power, in some way, either mediately or immediately, to repent and be saved, is his unequivocal assertion. And to the possession of this power he links personal responsibility for declining the invitations of the Gospel. See Meth. P. III. c. 25. p. 291. Cath. Theol. B. II. p. 98.

¹ Cath. Theol. B. I. pp. 40, 41. B. II. p. 165.

conversion.”¹ “It is most probable that God overcometh moral impotency and giveth moral power by moral means and operations.”

The order of Divine operation in regeneration. “It is most probable that He first rouses the mind by a certain awakening motion. 2. That He shows the *probability* of Divine truth. 3. That from this He excites some fear of punishment and desire of escaping it, and at length some little hope. 4. That then before, by His Spirit, He renders the act of true faith and penitence morally possible, He gives a power of believing, inclined to the act (as the seed of faith). 5. And that at the same time, He excites the act of faith. 6. And that, finally, by frequent acts and the influence of the Holy Spirit, He produces a habit of faith, hope and love.

Who is the author of regeneration? This topic is illustrated by a comparison of Paul and Nero. “Faith and unbelief are the constitutive, differencing causes.” “Quest. 1. What is the cause (efficient) of Nero’s unbelief? Ans. His own will or wicked heart. Quest. 2. What is the efficient cause of Paul’s faith? Ans. 1. The principal efficient is God, by His Spirit. 2. The meritorious cause is Christ. 3. The chief ministerial efficient is Christ in giving the Spirit to work it. 4. The instrumental efficient is the Gospel. 5. The immediate efficient is Paul; for it is he that believeth and not God.”

“This prerequisite disposition [of man] and the concurrence of man’s will, is only the use of a power, freely before given of God, with all necessary helps to use it. And therefore that God is from first to last the first cause of all that is good in man, though not the only cause, and that of himself, man can do nothing.” (Cath. Theol. B. II. pp. 181, 183.)

“Lastly, forget not that as man is not moved as a stone, but governed as a moral agent, and as the wonderful changes by motion in the world are made recipiendo ad modum recipientium, by the diversity of receptive dispositions, which are no efficient causes of what they receive; so man can and must do somewhat, yea *much*, under God, to the due receptivity of the Divine Influx; not without God, nor by any power, not freely given him of God; but by a power which he may or may not use.” “And when God giveth man not only the gold if he will open his hand, and the meat if he will open his mouth, or not turn away and spit it out, and also giveth him all his vital power, by which he can do this, if he will, and also *can will it*, and giveth him both freedom to use this power, and manifold persuasions and helps to use it; all this must not be reproached as no grace, nor the world instructed in ingratitude, by them that should preach that Gospel of Christ which makes gratitude the universal complexion of all our duties, which must give life and beauty to them all.” (End of the Discussion on Grace, Cath. Theol. B. II. pp. 196, 197.)

Do all, who are regenerated, persevere in holiness? On this subject Baxter has written largely. He held that all the elect are kept by

¹ Meth. P. III. pp. 292, 293. Baxter appears to use the terms Regeneration and Conversion as interchangeable.

the agency of the Holy Spirit from falling into fatal sin. But the question whether any but those who are elected to be saved, are truly converted, he seems to have been unable fully to decide. He affirms that the authority neither of Augustine, nor Prosper, nor Fulgentius, nor of the church generally for a thousand years after Christ, can be adduced to sustain the doctrine of universal Perseverance. At one time he avowed his belief in the doctrine,¹ but in the "Catholic Theology" he inclines to the view that "strong Christians" persevere, while Christians, weak in virtue, sometimes fall. "It is confest," he says, "that this point is no article of our creed, nor is an agreement in it necessary to church communion and Christian love, but difference in it must be accounted tolerable."²

It was a favorite belief of Baxter that the number of the regenerate is not limited to those who profess a belief in the Christian religion. "As the sun," he says, "sendeth some light to the world, before it riseth and is seen itself, so doth Christ send many excellent gifts of His grace to those that knew him not as incarnate." It appeared to him not improbable that some, besides nominal Christians, even some among the heathen, "do truly love God and holiness above the pleasures, profits and honors of this world." The censures, of which this opinion was the cause, occasionally drew from him a sarcastic retort. "Those," he remarks, "that teach the church that it is a certain truth, that no one in the world, infant or aged, is saved from hell-fire, but Christians only, and that this is not only certain to such great understandings as their own, but must be so to all true Christians, do but discover that they overvalue their own understandings, and that siding hath contracted their thoughts and charity into a sinful narrowness, and that the opinion of men, counted orthodox, prevaileth more with them than the evidence of truth, and I think that they are to be numbered with those, that by overdoing do dangerously undermine the Christian faith."³

¹ In his tract on Perseverance, 1657.

² Cath. Theol. B. III. p. 217. B. I. P. II. p. 116.

³ Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 49. It was said of Baxter, by one who knew him, that he was "sparingly facetious;" and satire certainly was not his usual weapon. But there was a class of persons in his time to whom he shows little mercy and whom he describes "as those who are so very wise in their own eyes as hardly to suspect anything to be an error which they have long held, and who build much of their religion and theological reputation in adhering to the opinions of those whose communion they think most honoreth them, and who, out of a blind zeal for that which they count orthodox, will presently, without impartial consideration or friendly debate, magisterially pass their judgment among those that reverence them, and backbite those that they cannot confute."

§ 8. JUSTIFICATION.

Baxter's view of Justification is best learned by observing his doctrine of the Covenants. The Divine constitution, which was originally established with man, embraced two parts, the Law and its Sanctions; and as it contained a conditional promise, it may be called a Covenant.¹ Neither the legal precept nor the threat of punishment was annulled by transgression.¹ By the law all are condemned.² The Covenant of Grace is the promise of God, made in consequence of the work of Christ, that all who will repent of their sins shall be saved. We wish to ascertain the nature of the right [jus] to salvation, which is acquired by those who fulfil the prescribed condition. It is not derived from our obedience, either actual or supposed, to the original law; nor is it founded on the fact that God judged Christ to be the legal person of the sinner; for such a judgment would not be true.³

"To say that Adam's Law meant '*Do this by thyself or by Christ, and thou shalt live,*' is a human fiction, not found in Scripture, confounding the law of innocency with the Gospel; and to say that the New Covenant maketh us one person with Christ, and then the law of Adam doth justify us, is a double error. We are not reputed one person with Christ; nor doth the first covenant justify any but the person that performeth it." (Cath. Theol. B. II. P. II. p. 62.)

"The disputes whether it be Christ's Divine, his habitual, his active or his passive righteousness, that is made ours to our justification, seemeth to be but the offspring of the error of the undue sense of Christ's personating or representing us in His righteousness; and the parcelling out of the uses and effects (that one is imputed to us instead of habitual righteousness, another instead of actual, and the third pardoneth our sins), is from the same false supposition. It is well that they suppose not that his Divine righteousness is imputed to our Deification." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 42.)⁴

The covenant of redemption, in the view of Baxter, is a figurative representation of the Divine purposes.⁵ And our whole right to salvation is derived from the gracious promise of God, who, on the ground of Christ's atoning work, publishes the offer of pardon, and freely justifies the believer.

"And so [Christ] is the true meritorious Cause of all. That Sacrifice and Obedience, Righteousness and Merit, which are directly given to God, for man, by [the] performance of Christ's undertaking, may yet be consequentially said to be given unto man; in that it was given to God for man, and

¹ Meth. P. II. c. 2.

² Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 69.

³ Cath. Theol. B. II. P. II. p. 66. B. I. P. II. p. 75.

⁴ See Meth. P. III. c. 27. p. 308.

⁵ Meth. P. III. c. 1. pp. 9, 10.

in that the benefits merited were given to man ; and so *relatively*, as to those benefits, the Sacrifice, Obedience, Righteousness and Merit may be said to be given unto us." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 42.)

The foregoing passage indicates the only sense in which Baxter would allow the doctrine of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness. He contends that the faith of the Christian is imputed for his justification, not however as a meritorious cause.¹ Though he employs different phraseology, he seems to have held substantially the view of the atonement and of justification which has been taught by the New England theologians.

§ 9. CHRISTIAN VIRTUE.

Men have no virtue which deserves a legal reward. It is folly to divide the praise of a good act between God and man ; for while the whole is due to God, a part is due to man, since man holds his powers in subordination to God, and has nothing but what he received. All Christians have an imperfect righteousness.²

"He that is no cause of any good work is no Christian, but a damnable wretch, and worse than any wicked man I know in the world. And he that is a cause of it [i. e. of a good work] must not be denied falsely to be a cause of it ; nor a saint denied to be a saint, upon a false pretence of self-denial." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. pp. 78, 74.)

What is holy faith? "This Gospel covenant is the Christian religion." "It is a true description of justifying and saving faith, that it is such an assent to the Gospel, as produces a trustful [fiducial] consent to this covenant." (Meth. Pars III. c. 8. p. 95. Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 82.)

"When faith is spoken of as a *virtue*, it always necessarily includes an act of the will. For the prime seat of morality is the will, and nothing is good but what is voluntary. To choose freely, or to place confidence in the fidelity of some one, is the moral form of faith. Therefore holy faith always includes an act of the intellect and of the will ; because it is in the highest sense, moral and voluntary." (Meth. Pars III. c. 27. p. 326.)

"As Christ, as Mediator, is the summary means and way of bringing man home to his Creator ; so faith in Christ is a mediating grace to work in us the love of God." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 91 ; also B. I. P. II. p. 82.)

The act of faith precedes the habit. "God acts upon everything according to its nature." "But acquired habits follow very many acts ; therefore infused habits follow at least one act. It is quite probable that, in the case of adults, by means of the word, through His vivifying and illuminating influence, He first moves the mind for the purpose of eliciting [ad elicendum] the first act of faith ; and that from this, a habit is produced." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 84.)

¹ Meth. P. III. c. 27. p. 311.

² Cath. Theol. B. I. P. I 73.

What is repentance? 1. In its narrower sense, "the word repentance signifieth only the aversion of the soul from evil, by sorrow and change of mind." 2. "Repentance is sometimes taken comprehensively for the whole conversion of a sinner to God," "and is the same thing as faith, in the [its] larger sense, but expressed under another formal notion."

Distinction between faith and repentance. "As man's mind is not so happy as to conceive of all things that are one, by a single conception; so we are not so happy in our language as to have words enough to express things entirely by one name, but we must have several words to express our inadequate conceptions by. And so that is called repentance, as the soul's motion from the *terminus a quo*, which is called sometimes faith or affiance, and sometimes love, from the motion of the soul to the *terminus ad quem*, though the *motus* be the same. But when faith and repentance are distinguished as several parts of the condition of the new covenant, the common sense is, that repentance signifieth *the conversion of the soul from sin and idols to God, as God*, which is, or includeth, faith in God; and faith signifieth specially faith in Christ as the mediator and way to God. And so [in this use of the terms] faith is below repentance as the means of it." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. pp. 83, 84.)

Holy love. The first holy act involves an exercise of love; but a man is not so properly said to love God, until he has trusted in Him for salvation, and love has become "the fixed habit or employment of the soul." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 84.)

Yet "no faith, no fear, no obedience, no praise, no suffering, is further accepted of God, and a part of true holiness, nor will prove our salvation than it participateth of predominant love to God." (Cath. Theol. B. I. P. II. p. 92.)

"The bellows of faith kindling love, and love working by holy obedience, patience, mortification, gratitude and praise, is the substance of all true religion." (Ib. p. 91.)

§ 10. ESCHATOLOGY.

Whether the sensitive principle ["*anima sensitiva*"] is a faculty of the thinking mind or distinct from it, is undetermined. Death does not annihilate the soul, or divide it into parts, or cause it to lose any of its essential powers. The mind does not give up its activity, nor does it lose its individuality and become absorbed in an all-pervading Spirit; nor is it transformed into any other creature, either of the same or of a different species. The souls of the redeemed, at the moment of death, are introduced by angels into the presence of Christ, and dwell forever in heaven. The souls of the wicked enter upon a state of hopeless and endless suffering; for as the period of probation, and with it the mutable state of man, close with the present life, the destiny of all is then irrevocably fixed.¹

¹ Meth. Pars IV. c. 3. p. 397.

"The union of the rational soul with the body which has been formed anew, is the Resurrection."¹ Baxter indulged in curious speculations on the mode of the resurrection. He conjectures, that the vital principle ["*anima vegetativa*"] is pure, ethereal fire, and that while a portion of this fire adheres to the perishing body, another portion is indissolubly connected with the mind, and forms a spiritual organism. The subtle flame which invests the soul has only to touch the dust, and the body is restored to its pristine life and proportions.²

The Resurrection is followed by the General Judgment. Whether there will be any change in the place of lost souls, after this event, is unknown; but their pains will be aggravated. The sources of their sufferings are not all revealed; but among them are probably outward fire and darkness, joined with the torment of evil passions and remorse of conscience.³

Baxter held that the doctrines of immortality and a future state of retribution are evident by the light of nature."⁴ By arguments drawn from the nature of the soul, as an indestructible substance, its superior powers, its aspirations after happiness, and especially from its capacity of knowing and enjoying God, he endeavored to prove that it is immaterial and everlasting. His belief, which was confirmed by the common consent of mankind to the doctrine, also derived support from the tales of celestial apparitions.⁵ He argued the necessity of the endless punishment of the wicked from the justice of God as a moral Governor. An evil, so odious and dangerous as that of sin, is not to be endured under the government of God, without an adequate demonstration of His justice, and a vindication of the Divine Law from contempt. And when the penalty has been threatened, the veracity of God is pledged for its execution. In a remedial system even, His wisdom and goodness require Him to express His hatred of sin by inflicting the most severe sufferings upon the incorrigible.⁶

We have endeavored to state the opinions of Baxter. In a subsequent Number, we design to present to our readers an estimate of his Theology and Philosophy.

¹ Meth. Pars IV. c. 5. p. 384.

² Ib. p. 390. Pract. Works, Vol. XXI. p. 447.

³ Meth. P. IV. c. 6. pp. 394—396.

⁴ Ib. c. 4. p. 380. Pract. Works, Vol. XVIII.

⁵ Ib. c. 6. p. 393. XXI. pp. 95—115, 320.

⁶ Ib. XVIII. p. 284.

ARTICLE VII.

NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY;

WITH COMMENTS ON A THIRD ARTICLE IN THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND
PRINCETON REVIEW, RELATING TO A CONVENTION SERMON.

By Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor in Andover Theol. Seminary.

WHEN Napoleon had made his majestic march to the Kremlin, and while he was retreating on a peasant's sled in a storm, he uttered the maxim that "there is but one step between the sublime and the ridiculous." We have been reminded of this incident by the late incursion of Dr. Hodge into our northern country, and his later precipitate egress. He advanced with the brave announcement that, "a man behind the walls of Gibraltar or of Ehrenbreitstein, can not, if he would, tremble at the sight of a single knight, *however* gallant or well-appointed;"¹ but he has now hurried back with the excuse, "There is another feature of Professor Park's mode of conducting this discussion, which is very little to our *taste*."² He sailed up along our rock-bound coast and cried aloud, "A man at sea with a stout ship under him, has a sense of security in no measure founded upon himself."³ After *doubling* and *redoubling* his course, and *doubling* it over again, he has sped homeward with the apology, "When we ran out of the harbor in our yacht, to see what 'long, low, black schooner' was making such a smoke in the offing, we had no expectation to be called upon to *double* Cape Horn."⁴ We had said, in a plain way, that the *same truths* may be expressed in diversified forms, all reconcilable with each other. Our assailant rushed forward, with a seeming readiness to meet any foeman, anywhere, and proposed some of his own theories which he defied us to reconcile with our doctrines. We proved to him that his theories were not true, and that he himself did not believe them in his better moods. He now exclaims, "Where is this matter to end?—This is a great deal more than we bargained for."⁵ And there is something rather ominous in the excuses which our antagonist has left behind him, for his very unexpected departure. After having publicly accused

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 319.

² Ib. p. 693. The italics throughout the present article are *our own*.

³ Ib. p. 319.

⁴ Ib. p. 676.

⁵ Ib. p. 676.

us of Rationalism, Schleiermacherism, Infidelity, profaneness, and, worse than all, "Pelagianism," he has retired because the discussion has assumed a "*personal* character!"¹ After having introduced various doctrines, to which we had not even alluded, and having attempted to prove some of his theories, he listens to certain New England objections, and then retreats with the words, "We regard it, therefore, as a matter of *great* importance, that such questions should not be open, at least within the church (i. e. among Christians), to perpetually renewed agitation!"² This is significant. But the most instructive sign is, that our critic has declined an answer to our first Reply, because he did *not* understand it;³ and has declined an answer to our second Reply, because he *did* understand it, and its contents were quite familiar to him.⁴ It is a singular fact, that he has written an Essay twenty-one pages long, for the sake of excusing himself from answering our last argument, which might have been refuted in a single page, if it could have been refuted at all.

And among the apologies assigned by him for abandoning his position, there is one which deserves a formal statement. Our Reviewer drew out a creed⁵ which would have answered well enough as an amusing caricature of our faith, but which he dignified with the name "anti-Augustinian;" and he represented us as actually believing that strange creed to be true. He contrasted it with another system which he called the "Augustinian," and which likewise he represented us as believing to be true. He even ventured so far as to introduce a quotation, with the regular quotation marks, and to charge it upon ourselves, in which pretended quotation we are made to say of the Augustinian creed, "Let us admit its *truth*, but maintain that it does not differ from the other system" [the anti-Augustinian]. "Both [creeds] are *true*, for at bottom they are the same."⁶ He has ventured to accuse us repeatedly of having "*declared*," yea, of having "*proposed* to show" that those two creeds are "identical;" and only "different modes of stating the same general *truths*."⁷ Now we affirm, that neither we nor any body else ever heard of that anti-Augustinian creed, until Dr. Hodge collected its discordant parts into one mass. No man, woman or child, not even "Pelagius" himself, ever believed it as a whole. It is no *system* at all, but a conglomerate of different schemes that contradict each other. Dr. Hodge himself has not dared to accuse any individual of believing it, except

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII p. 688.

² Ib. p. 678.

³ Ib. p. 307.

⁴ Ib. p. 678, etc.

⁵ Ib. pp. 308—312.

⁶ Ib. p. 319.

⁷ Ib. pp. 319, 320, 322, 326, 328, 692, 694, etc.

the author of a late Convention sermon. And his courage failed even here; for he once confessed that, "so far as the present discussion is concerned, he [Prof. Park] may hold neither of these systems in its integrity, or he may hold the one which we believe to be true, or he may hold the opposite one;"¹ that is, he may attempt, "*ex professo*," to prove that *both* are true, and still not acknowledge that either is true! We have once and again disclaimed a belief in that heterogeneous compound of errors mingled up for us by Dr. Hodge. We have pointed out some of its contradictions and eccentricities.² Had we deemed it worth our while, we might have resented the imputation of it to us, as at least an indecorum. But after all,—and will the reader believe it?—Dr. Hodge retires from his self-sought discussion, partly because we do not confine our Reply to the incoherent creed which was originated by himself, and then injuriously imputed to us.³ First, he requires us to *prove* a negative, viz. that his anti-Augustinian creed is not fairly stated: very well; we have shown that we favor no such compound of errors; that, *as our creed*, it is not fairly stated, and has no more to do with our faith than Mohammedanism has to do with our Reviewer's.⁴ Or, secondly, he requires us to *prove* another negative, viz. that the *nondescript* creed imputed to us is not allowable: very well; we have shown that we do not allow it, and we challenge any man to name the individual who ever did allow it as a whole. Or, thirdly, he requires us to *prove* still another negative, viz. that he has not understood our theory: well, we have shown that we have harbored no theory like that which he has invented for us,⁵ and he himself is sometimes compelled to admit, that he imputes it to us merely by his own inference, which we will not sanction. Or, fourthly, he requires us to prove that our theory is philosophical: well, we have abundantly shown that it is demanded by the philosophy of common sense, and that he himself is necessitated to believe it in his better hours. But what if we had shown none of these things? What if we had not even denied that we believe that creed, which was never made to be *believed*, but to be *imputed*? If the anomalous medley of errors which our

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 320.

² Bib. Sacra, Vol. VIII. pp. 604, 605, 624, 627, etc.

³ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 694.

⁴ Bib. Sacra, Vol. VIII. pp. 604, 605, 627, 628, etc. Also *Ib.* pp. 164—174.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 594, 596, 627, 628, 646, etc. The first fourteen pages of our second Reply, detail the only theory on which we have attempted to reconcile opponents, and this is a sufficient proof that we have never made use of the scheme which Dr. Hodge, by mistake, ascribes to Schleiermacher.

critic has been so kind as to devise for us be a logical result of our principles, he ought to have *proved* that it is so, instead of summoning us to prove that it is not. He ought to have produced at least one argument, to show that those errors grow up from our "three radical principles." But when or where has he even hinted at so much as a single proof, that our principles lead into that medley? He has done nothing but *assert* that it is so; and now he has hastened out of the contest in which he promised to be so victorious, and can plead no better apology than that we pay very little respect to his mere, sheer assertions. And is it enjoined in the ninth commandment, that anonymous Reviewers load an author with conjectural and false accusations of heresy, and then make a bold request that he spend all his time in proving a negative, and none of his time in showing that his principles have been once and again avowed by his accuser, — avowed in words which have suddenly become '*very little to the taste*' of the man who first uttered them?¹

¹ One chief benefit of theological controversy is, that it manifests the comparative *necessity* which the disputants feel for misrepresenting each other. He who has the greater need of this malpractice, has the weaker cause. We have long thought that our Reviewer impairs the public confidence in his theological system, by the *extreme* to which he carries his misstatements of other systems. Thus, because we have said that some men, speculatively believing different creeds, do yet in practical life disown their differences and heartily agree, Dr. Hodge goes so far as to ask: "Has any one, before our author, ever inferred from these facts, that idealism and materialism are different modes of one and the same philosophy, or that Arminianism and Calvinism, Moravianism and Pantheism, are but different forms of one and the same theology?" (Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 692.) He thus implies that we have a more absurd theory than any body else, and yet his great object has been to stigmatize us as adopting nothing new, but rather an old Schleiermacherian theory! He overleaps himself; for a candid reader, instead of believing that we have ever represented Materialism, Arminianism and Pantheism as, in any sense, allowable, will believe that our critic was compelled to make such a misstatement, because he was unable to oppose us in a more honorable way. We have said far less to authorize this caricature of our views, than our critic has said to justify us in publishing him as a worshipper of the Virgin Mary. For, notwithstanding all his protests against our effort to show the practical agreement of good men, he goes so far as to declare his speculative agreement not only with New England divines, but also with Romanists; see Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 324, 677, 686, etc. If, then, we should portray our Reviewer as sanctioning all the puerilities of Rome, we should have a better pretence for caricaturing him than he has for having caricatured us; but we should dishonor our dogmatic faith, by betraying a consciousness that we cannot defend it, except by misrepresenting its assailants.

But let us leave our author's ingenious reasons for not holding out in the contest which he began. In his last Reply, he has made some remarks on New England Theology, which have induced us to discourse on the same theme, with an occasional reference to that Reply.

In the preface to the first printed sermon ever preached in America, is the following sentence: "So far as we can yet find, it [New England] is an island, and near about the quantity of England; being cut out from the main land in America, as England is from the main of Europe, by a great arm of the sea, which entereth in forty degrees, and runneth up north-west and by west, and goeth out either into the South Sea, or else into the Bay of Canada."¹ This "great arm of the sea" means the Hudson river; the "South Sea" means the Pacific ocean, and the "Bay of Canada" means the river St. Lawrence. Now it were about as easy to learn the shape of New England from the preceding account, as to learn the type of New England Theology from the statements which some of its recent opposers have deemed it wise to make.

We beg leave, therefore, first of all, to explain the term, New England Theology. It signifies the formal creed which a majority of the most eminent theologians in New England have explicitly or implicitly sanctioned, during and since the time of Edwards. It denotes the spirit and genius of the system openly avowed or logically involved, in their writings. It includes not the peculiarities in which Edwards differed, as he is known to have differed, from the larger part of his most eminent followers; nor the peculiarities in which any one of his followers differed, as some of them did, from the larger part of the others; but it comprehends the principles, with their logical sequences, which the greater number of our most celebrated divines have approved expressly or by implication. As German philosophy is not adopted by all Germans, and is adopted by some foreigners, so New England Theology is not embraced by all New Englanders, and is embraced by multitudes in other parts of the world. Its more prominent standards, however, are from these north-eastern States. It was first called New-light Divinity; then New Divinity; afterward, Edwardian; more recently, Hopkintonian or Hopkinsian. From the fact that Edwards, Hopkins, West and Catlin resided in Berkshire County, it was once called Berkshire Divinity. When it was embraced by Andrew Fuller, Dr. Ryland, Robert Hall, Sutcliffe, Carey, Jay and Erskine, it was called American Theology by the English, in order to dis-

¹ The Sin and Danger of Self-Love Described, in a Sermon preached at Plymouth, in New England, 1621, p. iii.

criminate it from the European systems. It has been denominated New England Theology by Americans, in order to distinguish it from the systems that have prevailed in other parts of the land. In 1756, two years before the death of Edwards, there were, according to Dr. Hopkins, not more than four or five clergymen who espoused this new theology. In 1773, according to Dr. Stiles, it was advocated by about forty-five ministers; and Dr. Hopkins says that, in 1796, it was favored by somewhat more than a hundred. Still, even while it was thus restricted in its influence, it was distinguished as a system peculiar to New England. In 1787, Dr. Stiles mentioned as among its champions, the two Edwardses, Bellamy, Hopkins, Trumbull, Smalley, Judson, Spring, Robinson (father of Dr. Robinson of New York), Strong, Dwight, Emmons. In 1799, Hopkins appended the names of West, Levi Hart, Backus, Presidents Balch and Fitch. We may now add such honored men as Dr. Catlin, President Appleton, Dr. Austin. Divines of this class were foremost in the Missionary enterprises of the day. They were conspicuous in the establishment of our oldest Theological Seminaries, as Andover and Bangor. They gave its form and pressure to our theological system. They were imperfect men. They did not harmonize on every theme, but a decided majority of them stood firm for the "three radical principles," that sin consists in choice, that our natural power equals, and that it also limits, our duty. Idle, idle is the late attempt to draw a line of demarcation between the elder Edwards, Bellamy, on the one side, and the younger Edwards, Emmons, West, on the other, with regard to these three principles. Hopkins was the beloved pupil of the first President Edwards, and through life, was the most confidential of his friends; was with him in sickness and in health, in the house and on journeys, by day and often by night. He was also an adviser and more than a brother to Bellamy. He was the teacher and a spiritual father of the younger Edwards, West, Spring, and he was an intimate friend of Emmons. He serves, therefore, as a *commune vinculum* between the elder Edwards and Bellamy on the one hand, and the "choir leaders" of the "Exercise Scheme" on the other. But in more than two hundred of his free, private letters, and in all his published works, we have sought in vain for the slightest hint that, on these radical principles, there was even an approach to a disagreement between the two classes. He reached out his fraternal arms to Edwards and to Emmons, and gave them both his approval and his blessing in their maintenance of these three doctrines, and he often expressed, as clearly as words can express, his hearty union with the forerunner

and the follower. And all the theories which the original Edwardians and the later Coryphaei of the Exercise Scheme were harmonious in espousing, are parts of the New England system.

What worthy end, now, could our Reviewer aim to accomplish, by insinuating that we "regard the little coterie to which" we belong, "as all New England?"¹ We belong to no party which has not been honored throughout the Christian world; but does our assailant dream that "*all* New England" must unite in the New England Theology? What! a single speculative creed for the Churchmen and Come-outers, the Presbyterians and the Quakers, the Baptists and the Swedenborgians, the Sub-lapsarians and the Supra-lapsarians, the Owenites and the Baxterians, the Burtonites and the Emmonites, of a community whose fathers were John Robinson and Roger Williams! We have never pretended that New England Theology is the dogmatic faith of every man, woman and child, or of a majority of the laymen, or even clergymen, of these free States. It has, however, been the faith of certain elect minds, whom New England has loved and will ever love to venerate.

We now proceed to say, in the second place, that the Theology of New England is marked by certain new features. We have seen that for a hundred years it has been called "new;" it has been opposed as new, it has been admired as new. All its designations which we have just repeated show it to have been new. The younger Edwards wrote an essay on the "Improvements made in Theology by his father, President Edwards."² We do not mean to say, that the Edwardean school discovered principles which were never thought of before. They claim to have brought out into bold relief the obscurer faith of good men in all ages. They gave a new distinctness, a new prominence, to doctrines which had been more vaguely believed by the church. They produced new arguments for a faith which had been speculatively opposed by men who had practically sanctioned it. We say that Aristotle first discovered the syllogistic art, although Adam reasoned in syllogisms, whenever he reasoned at all. We say that Bacon first detected the law of induction, although Eve made obeisance to that law before she decided to eat the apple. We say that Longinus and Tully were among the first to find out the principles of rhetoric, and yet we are aware that all men, in all times, have known enough of those principles to comply with them in their

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 694.

² See Dr. Jonathan Edwards's Works, Vol. I. pp. 481—492.

speech. He is called a discoverer who makes that palpable which had been dim, and shows that to be reasonable which had formerly been held by an instinct.

We might illustrate these remarks by referring to several doctrines, but we will confine our illustration to the single truth, that an entirely depraved man has a natural power to do all which is required of him; a truth which has been so clearly unfolded by the New England divines, that it properly belongs to their distinctive system.¹ All unsophisticated thinkers, we are aware, have practically believed that a just God will not command men to do what they have no power to do; that he will not punish them with unending pain for doing as well as they can; that, in every case, physical ability is commensurate with obligation. In what sense, then, may so old a doctrine be called new? In this sense: the Edwardean school have made it more prominent and more effective than it has been made by some; have shown more fully than others have done its agreement with the truths of man's entire sinfulness and of God's decrees; have defended it against those metaphysical Calvinists who speculatively deny their own practical faith; have been the first to make obvious, prominent and impressive, the consistency of those two truths, which all good men have more or less secretly believed, — that a sinner can perform what a reasonable law requires of him, and that he certainly will never do as well as he can, unless by a special interposition of Heaven. They deserve far more gratitude for their originality in developing these truths, than Hume deserves for his originality in unfolding the laws of mental suggestion.

¹ Dr. Hodge errs in supposing that our natural power to repent must be the same as a power to regenerate ourselves. (Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 682, 683.) The very term, regenerate, implies that there is a parent, and also a child distinct from the parent. It has a different relation from the term repentance. It refers to the renewing Father, as well as to the renewed offspring. To say that a man can repent, is as different from affirming that he can regenerate his soul, as to say that he can learn is different from affirming that he can impart knowledge to his soul; or as to say that he can go from one place to another is different from affirming that he can carry himself in his arms from one place to another. Dr. Hodge asks, "Where is the man who has ever regenerated himself?" We answer by asking, first, Where is the commandment which requires a sinner to regenerate himself? and secondly, Is there no difference between a man's actually doing what the law does require of him, and his being able to do it? There is a requisition that we make ourselves new hearts; but no requisition that we be born again, by a special divine influence; and it is one thing to have a power of obeying, and another thing to obey actually. Our Reviewer is not alone in overlooking these distinctions.

It has been lately maintained, however, that on this topic Edwards and his followers taught nothing which the Calvinistic standards had not taught with equal uniformity and consistency; that New England Divinity does not recognize a sinner's power to use his faculties aright, but simply recognizes the fact of his possessing a reason, a conscience and a will. When the word *able* is used in its literal and proper sense; a sense too simple to be made clearer by a definition; then, we are told, the Edwardean school believe, not that a sinner is able to use his capacities aright, but only that he is endued with the above named capacities, distinguishing him from brutes. After all his past opposition to Edwards on the Will, Dr. Hodge now seems to believe that Edwards, "Bellamy, Dwight, and the other great men of New England," *denied* that "ability limits responsibility," and meant no more than that "since the fall man retains all his faculties of soul and body, and is therefore a free, moral agent."¹

Are our opponents right, then, in affirming that the far-famed "natural ability" of the Edwardean school means nothing more than the natural capacities of soul and body, and does not include an adequate power to use those capacities as they should be used?

1. This explanation is utterly inconsistent with the language of that school. It may agree with some of their expressions, but not with the rich variety of them. Our standards teach that, in the "proper sense of the terms," man *can* now repent, has now power to love. Do they say that a child, while it remains an *infant*, has power to speak, because it has the natural faculties of a speaker; that it can walk in its earliest days, because it has the natural faculties of a walker? Of what use is it to prove that man has the capacities of a moral agent, if he cannot use them in the right way? How can they be called power, in its only "proper" signification?

¹ This novel mode of explaining the Edwardean system has been advocated by several recent authors, and is here ascribed to Dr. Hodge on the ground of his assertions in Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 681—683, 685, 686, 693, 694. On those pages he gives in his adhesion to the great New England standards concerning the will and sin, and alludes to our own "*hallucination*." In the same paragraph which refers to our hallucination, he says, that the advocates of the "Exercise Scheme" were led to a "*denial*" of the doctrine that sin consists in sinning, and that the three radical principles which he has imputed to a Convention Sermon, were never "*rejected*" by any class of New England divines reputed orthodox, except the Emmons and the New Haven schools (p. 694). We presume that he meant here, as we hope that he has meant elsewhere, exactly the opposite of what he said; but it was not very *opportune* for him to speak of our own hallucination, in the very paragraph which combines so singular a want of carefulness, with so singular a kind of charity.

and yet in this signification Edwards often affirms that we have power commensurate with duty. He refers not only to the existence, but also to the degree and extent of our faculties. Thus he writes: "We can give God no more than we have. Therefore if we give him so much, if we love him to the utmost *extent* of the faculties of our nature, we are excused. But when what is proposed, is only that we should love him as much as our capacity will allow, this excuse of want of capacity ceases, and obligation takes hold of us, and we are doubtless obliged to love God to the *utmost* of what is *possible* for us, with such faculties *and* opportunities *and* advantages to know God *as we have*."¹ The *faculties* must have *opportunities* enabling them to act.

Dr. Bellamy teaches, in a volume which Edwards recommended, that the heathen are without excuse because they enjoy "sufficient means of knowledge;" that God's law is on "a perfect level" with man's "natural powers *and* natural advantages;" "that if God looks upon the advantages of the heathen sufficient, no wonder that he so often speaks of the advantages of his own professing people as being *much more than* barely sufficient, even although they enjoy only the outward means of grace, without the inward influences of the Spirit;" "and thus we see how all mankind have *not only* sufficient natural powers, but *also* sufficient outward advantages to know God, and perfectly conform to his law, even the heathen themselves."² By sufficient outward advantages, Bellamy means all advantages except the special interposition of God's Spirit.

What says Dr. Smalley? "It must, I think, be granted that we do generally suppose a man's present duty cannot exceed his present *strength*, suppose it to have been *impaired* by what means it will."³ If, then, the strength of the faculty be lessened, the duty is lessened. This strength of the faculty, and not the mere faculty itself, is power "in the proper sense of that term." The faculty must be strong enough to overcome all natural hindrances to right choice. Hence Dr. Smalley often speaks of a "want of opportunity" as excusing the sinner from blame.⁴ Dr. Jonathan Edwards expressly declares that, on his father's theory, men have physical power to remove their moral inability; that is, they are able to do what they are unwilling to do."⁵

¹ Edwards on Original Sin, Part I. Ch. I. Sect. V.

² See Bellamy's Works, Vol. I. pp. 107, 109, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, etc.

³ Smalley's Sermon on Moral Inability, p. 5. Ed. 1811.

⁴ Smalley's Sermon on Natural Ability, p. 38. Ed. 1811.

⁵ Edwards's Works, Vol. I. p. 309. Dr. Edwards here, as elsewhere, affirms directly what Dr. Hodge implicitly denies, in Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 642

Dr. Hodge has seen fit to inform us, that "the aberration of the advocates of the Exercise Scheme" on this topic "was in the direction of ultra-Calvinism."¹ Let us then go a little way in this ultra-Calvinism. The greatest of those advocates addresses the unregenerate thus: "You are as able to love God, as to hate him. You are as able to turn from sin as to continue sinning. You are as able to love God before you do love him as afterwards." He often says that unregenerate men are "as able to do right as to do wrong, and to do their duty as to neglect their duty; to love God as to hate God, to choose life as to choose death; to walk in the narrow way to heaven as in the broad way to hell;" "as able to embrace the Gospel as a thirsty man is to drink water, or a hungry man to eat the most delicious food;" "they can love God, repent of sin, believe in Christ and perform every religious duty, as well as they can think, or speak, or walk."² And this is the common representation of the "Exercise" school, and this, according to Dr. Hodge, is "in the direction of ultra-Calvinism." It certainly is an avowal of something more than a mere impracticable faculty.

Again, if natural ability be nothing more than the capacities of reason, conscience and disabled will, what then is natural inability? Is it the want of reason, conscience and disabled will? When New England writers affirm that man has not natural power and is therefore not required to become as holy as his Maker, do they mean that he has not the faculties of a moral agent? Dr. Smalley answers the question by saying, "Natural inability consists in, *or arises from*, want of understanding, bodily strength, *opportunity*, or *whatever* may prevent our doing a thing when we are willing, and strongly enough disposed to do it;" and also, "Persons who have ordinary intellectual powers, and bodily senses, *and are arrived to years of discretion*, and *live under the light of the Gospel*, labor under no natural inability to obtain salvation" [by faith in Christ].³ It is the common remark of

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 694.

² Emmons's Sermons, Vol. V. pp. 154, 175. Vol. IV. pp. 352, 357—359, 361, 514. Vol. VI. p. 92. The authority of Dr. Emmons on this subject is very important. He was the brother-in-law of Dr. Samuel Spring, and agreed with that divine more nearly, perhaps, than with any other. "When Dr. Spring died, I lost my right arm," was a remark which he often repeated. The most munificent founders of Andover Theological Seminary were the devoted adherents of Dr. Spring, and admirers of his theology, and this was Emmonism.

³ Smalley's Sermons on Moral Inability and Natural Ability, pp. 9, 37, Ed. 1811. See also Catlin's Compendium, Essay XV. Griffin's Park Street Lectures, Lect. I. West on Moral Agency, Part I. Sect. 2. Dwight's Theology, Sermon 133.

the Edwardean school, that men have no inability to repent except their unwillingness, and this unwillingness is a sin, and sin is a voluntary act.

Our opponents are misled by confining their attention to one class of words, and using that class in its narrowest sense. When they read in Bellamy, for example, that the natural power to do right means "the capacities of a moral agent," they overlook his frequent explanations that "men's natural powers are *adequate* with the law of God, and so they, as to their natural capacities, are *capable* of a perfect conformity to the law."¹ We allow that, speaking in a general way, New England divines do often affirm, that our natural power is our natural capacity; but they do not mean to trifle; they employ the word *capacity* in its widest sense; they refer to a capacity which is *capable* of doing what is justly demanded of it; and not to an incapable capacity, which is nothing better than a natural incapacity, the very thing which they always deny. So when they speak of our natural powers and natural abilities, they mean abilities which are able, and powers which are sufficient to bear what is rightly laid upon them.² "Nothing can be plainer," says Emmons,³ "than that those who have a natural power to act, have the same natural power to refrain from acting;" hence it is obvious that he uses the terms will, choice, moral agent, in their fullest sense, and, so used, they imply not a mere faculty of will, but a faculty able to choose or to refuse the same thing. What if a man have powers utterly incapable of performing the part assigned them? Merely because he has ears, can he be required to hear the conversation of the antipodes? Merely because he has eyes, can he be bidden, on penalty of eternal death, to see the remotest star of the universe? And on the same principle, what if he have a power of will? Can he be justly required to put forth a choice equal to that put forth by an archangel, or to perform any kind of act to which his powers are naturally inadequate?⁴

¹ Bellamy's Works, Vol. I. pp. 105, 106, 109, 115, etc. etc. Dr. Bellamy here uses the word "adequate;" Dr. Hodge objects to this word above all others relating to the subject, and yet claims to agree with Bellamy. See Bib. Repert. Vol. XXIII. pp. 681—683, 693, 694.

² Smalley's Sermon on Natural Ability, pp. 38, 39. Ed. 1811. Bellamy's Works, Vol. I. p. 93. Ed. 1850.

³ Emmons's Works, Vol. IV. pp. 304, 305.

⁴ We had hoped that our Reviewer would attempt to explain the difference between the morality of requiring a man to love God when man has no real strength to do so, and the morality of requiring a man to love God with a greater degree of strength than belongs to man's constitution. See Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. pp. 600,

The doctrine of New England is, that any powerlessness, in the original, literal and proper meaning of the word, is incompatible with obligation.

2. The new explanation which our opponents give of natural power, is inconsistent with the history of the disputes on the subject. President Edwards often says, that "no Arminian, Pelagian or Epicurean," can even conceive of any freedom greater than he ascribes to man; "and I scruple not to say, it is beyond all their wits to invent a higher notion, or form a higher imagination of liberty."¹ He has always been opposed by the assertion that, before the fall, men had more freedom than they have now; and that although in paradise they lost their liberty and power to obey, yet God has not lost his right to command. Here has been and is now, a dispute. Edwards affirms, that for men to have more than their present freedom is inconceivable. His opponents object, that they once had more and lost it. He says, that for men to have a power of freer choice than they now have, is as impossible, as for an animal in *Terra Del Fuego* to take a step always before the first step. His Calvinistic opponents reply, that this power which he ridicules was once possessed by Adam. What do they mean? That Adam had once a moral power to do right? But Edwards never disputed this fact, for this moral power is holiness itself. Do they mean that Adam lost the natural capacities of a moral agent? They disclaim such an idea. They must mean, therefore, that Adam had and lost the power of using his capacities aright; he lost his natural ability. But Edwards affirms, that the race have as real a natural ability as they ever had.

Again, the Edwardean affirms, that holy beings in heaven possess a natural but not a moral power to do wrong. Does he mean that they have the natural capacities of a moral agent? Then there would be no dispute. But there is a dispute. The Edwardean is reproved, and told that the blessed in heaven have *no* power to do wrong. Now does the objector mean that they will not (i. e. they have a moral impotence to) do wrong? The Edwardean agrees with

601. But our assailant has chosen an easier part, and has merely reaffirmed some irrelevant distinctions. See *Bib. Repert.* Vol. XXIII. p. 681, 682. Does he really believe that the "civil good" of the old divines has any reference to the supposed holiness which exceeds our constitutional powers? If not, why did he flee to the misapplied distinction between "civil" and "spiritual obedience?" Our question still remains unanswered: What is the moral difference between punishing a man for not being virtuous when he is literally unable to be so, and punishing him for not being more virtuous than he is literally able to be?

¹ Letter to a Minister of the Church of Scotland.

him. Still, the objector perseveres in impugning the Edwardean, and denying just what the Edwardean affirms, that the spirits in heaven have a power to make a wrong use of their capacities, and this disputed power is natural ability. It is a singular phenomenon that our opposers ascribe to Adam in paradise, more liberty than to any other being in the universe. "The inhabitants of heaven," they say, "have no power to sin. Men and fallen spirits have, in themselves, no power to be holy. But Adam, being left to the freedom of his own will, had a power to do right and also to do wrong, and used his power in doing both"!

3. This new explanation of physical ability is disrespectful to the memory of our fathers. Many of them have supposed, that our national literature is honored by the Edwardean discriminations between physical and moral ability. And when the younger Edwards declared that before these distinctions were made, "the Calvinists were nearly driven out of the field by the Arminians, Pelagians and Socinians,"¹ did he mean that the tide of war was turned by his father's discovering man to be endued with reason, conscience, and disabled will? And when Dr. Dwight was borne so high as to sing,²

"From scenes obscure did Heaven his Edwards call,
That moral Newton and that second Paul," —
[Who,] "in one little life, the Gospel more
Disclosed than all earth's millions kened before," —

did the bard thus exult because this "moral Newton" had found out that man, who was always known to be *wilful*, really had the capacity of will? And was it because this "second Paul" had detected a difference between the natural faculties of a moral agent, and the agent's inclination to use those faculties in a holy way, that another poet exclaimed on hearing of Edwards's death,

"Nor can the muse in deepest numbers tell,
How Zion trembled when this Pillar fell?"³

Did several of our strong-minded fathers publish volumes of long-drawn, wire-drawn arguments, to prove that the possession of a will was not the same thing with true virtue, which is moral power to do right? Did they expose themselves to cavil and obloquy, and the charge of "Pelagianism," merely for the sake of proclaiming the discovery that impenitent man was not a stone nor a brute, but was

¹ Dr. Jonathan Edwards's Works, Vol. I. p. 481. ² Triumph of Infidelity.

³ See first edition of Edwards on Original Sin, p. x.

elevated above both by rational and moral faculties? Robert Hall teaches us, that the "important distinction" between physical and moral impotence "was not *wholly* unknown to our earlier divines;" and adds "The earliest regular treatise on this subject it has been my lot to meet with, was the production of Mr. Truman;" and yet the learned minister of Cambridge questions even Mr. Truman's "claim to *perfect* originality."¹ Did the profound genius, then, of Robert Hall, pay homage to Mr. Truman for anticipating our own Edwards, in the discovery that man, since the fall, retains his human nature and that this is not real holiness?² And have our fathers not only been cheating themselves with this "hallucination," but have their opponents been gravely disputing what few skeptics on earth ever called in question before? No. The New England theory of the will is a distinct and philosophical, and therefore uncommon, exposition of the very common faith, that a sinner can do without help what he is justly required to do without help, and can do with aid what he is justly bidden to do with aid. The theory may well be called original, for its faithfulness to human nature and the divine government; a faithfulness, alas! how unusual in scholastic treatises. So far forth as the theory unfolds the before hidden teachings of conscience, it is a specimen of the New England system; the substance of which is old, like all truth, but the form is novel, because it is a luminous and harmonious development of ideas which *had* been confused.

In the third place, New England Theology is Calvinism in an improved form. It does not pretend to be a perfect system. Both Edwards and Hopkins reiterated the wish and hope, that their successors would add to the improvements which the Genevan faith had already received. Neither does our system profess to be original in its cardinal truths. It has ever claimed that these great truths are the common faith of the church; that they are recognized in many evangelical creeds; that Calvinism contains the substance of New England Theology, not always well proportioned, not seldom intermingled

¹ Hall's Works, Vol. II. pp. 450, 451. American edition.

² Although Dr. Hodge claims to agree with Edwards on the Will, he fails to remember that, according to Edwards, a moral power to do right is a disposition to do right, and the want of this power is a disposition to do wrong. With much emphasis, Dr. Hodge insists that, "since the fall, men are *both* 'indisposed and disabled' to all spiritual good." (Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 681.) This expression means, on the theory of Edwards, that men are *both* indisposed *and* indisposed to all spiritual good. To be morally disabled is, with Edwards, only to be disinclined.

with the remnants of an erring scholasticism, and sometimes enveloped in inconsistencies and expressed in a nervous style. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." The substance of our theology is Calvinistic; here it is old. Much of its self-consistency is Edwardean and Hopkinsian; here it is new. It is not mere Calvinism, but it is consistent Calvinism. Instead of pretending to be an entirely new revelation, it has always professed to be a revised and corrected edition of the Genevan creed. As such, it was extolled by its early friends, and ridiculed by its early foes. That Hopkins was far from having an ambition to shine as the originator of an altogether novel creed, is apparent from the following modest words which he wrote in his eightieth year: "I believe that most of the doctrines, if not all, I have published, are to be found in the writings of former divines; viz. Calvin, Van Mastricht, Saurin, Boston, Manton, Goodwin, Owen, Bates, Baxter, Charnock, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, Willard, Ridgley, Shepard, Hooker, etc. These, indeed, did not fully explain some of those doctrines which are asserted or implied in their writings; and many, if not most of them, are, in some instances, inconsistent with themselves, by advancing contrary doctrines."¹ It was in reference to his labor in fitting together the heterogeneous parts of the Genevan creed, that Emmons said, "I have spent half my life in making joints." Both he and Hopkins defended the substance of Calvinism earnestly and reverently; and the Genevan divine who now assails their memory, must be ignorant of their controversial successes, or careless of that grace which is called "the memory of the heart."

Let us now allude to a few particulars, in which the New England divines have been employed in straightening the crooked parts of Calvinism, and have loved to retain all its theories which could be made to hold together. A favorite New England idea has been, that the certainty of human action is distinct from its necessity. But this is Calvinistic; for the great Genevan himself has said: "By impossible I mean that which never was, and which is prevented from being in future by the ordination and decree of God." "There is no reason for cavilling at the remark, that a thing cannot be done, which the Scriptures declare will not be done."² "I will not hesitate, therefore, simply to confess with Augustine, that the will of God is the necessity of things, and that everything is necessary which he has willed, just as those things will certainly happen which he has fore-

¹ Hopkins's Ms. Letter in possession of the author.

² Institut. Lib. II. Cap. VII. § 5. See also § 21.

seen."¹ An Edwardean never complains of such definitions, but only regrets that they are so often forgotten by the Genevan school, and that a necessity is merged into a fate.

So are New England writers satisfied with many definitions which Calvinists give of human freedom. In describing the liberty which is "inseparable from the will," that learned old Puritan, W. Perkins, says: "Liberty of will consists in a double faculty; the first is, that when of itself it chooses anything, it can also on the other hand refuse the same; in the schools, this is called the liberty of contradiction. The second is, that when it chooses anything, it can choose another or the contrary; and this is called the liberty of contrariety."² We are often told by the Genevan divines, that the will is not determined to its volitions by a *natural* or instinctive necessity, as the sun is necessitated to shine, and the fire to burn, and the horse to eat grass or hay;³ but that our freedom involves the intellectual faculty or power to discern good or evil, the power of will to choose or refuse either, and also the strength to execute the choice.⁴

What more can a New England theologian desire? Only one thing; that the Calvinists would not here, as elsewhere, disown their faith. But this they do; for they no sooner ascribe to us free agency, than they take it all back, and affirm that man is free only to evil, and has not the slightest degree of power to choose good. This free will, "inseparable from man," is yet said to be "injured and destroyed;" we have an "utter and absolute impotence to do right;" and, in the words of Boston, "our father Adam, falling from God, did by his fall so dash him and us all in pieces, that there was no whole part left, either in him or us," etc. etc.⁵ Now we affirm, that if it be possible for human language to express a contradiction (like iron-wood, *σιδηροξύλον*), it does express one in the Calvinistic sentence, that (properly speaking) man *must* have the ability to choose between right and wrong, and yet has not "the least particle of ability" to choose right.⁶

¹ Instit. Lib. III. Cap. XXIII. § 8.

² "The Free Grace of God and the Free Will of Man," translated in the Southern Pres. Review, Vol. IV. pp. 527—540.

³ See Turretin, Inst. Theol. Pars I. p. 729. Van Mastricht, Lib. IV. Cap. 4. § xxx.

⁴ See, for example, Bucan. Inst. Theol. Loc. XVIII. § 1. Thomas Boston gives a definition equally unlimited.

⁵ Boston's Works, Fol. Ed. p. 815.

⁶ Dr. Hodge is indignant at us for quoting sentences in a Princeton Review, which are understood to declare that man has an adequate power of choosing

It is to relieve evangelical doctrine from this strife with itself, that our divines have explained the sinner's power of choosing right, to be consonant with the certainty of his choosing wrong; and the certainty of his choosing wrong, to be no literal necessity; and thus they have united the opposite poles of science into one attractive system. The process is a simple one, but nearly all discoveries appear easy to him who has once made them.

In their dogmatic theories, rather than in their practical faith, Calvinists have contradicted themselves with regard to the divine agency in producing sin. Inspiration declares, that God 'hardens the heart of men,' and 'moves them to do wrong,' and 'puts a lying spirit within them,' and 'deceives them,' and 'creates evil.' These intense expressions of a profound truth have been transferred into the reasonings of the Genevan school; and even the learned founder of that school, who was far milder on this topic than many of his successors have been, has yet sometimes written as if the fervid words of inspired prophets were to be used like the exact phrases of a metaphysical creed. In reply to men of "delicate ears," who choose to say that God permitted, rather than caused, the obduracy of Pharaoh, Calvin remarks, that "there is a difference between suffering a thing to be done, and actually doing it; and God sets forth in this passage not his endurance, but his power. It troubles me not to say, and confidently to believe, what is so often said in the Bible, that God brings the wicked into a reprobate mind, delivers them over to shameful vices, blinds their intellect and hardens their heart. It may be said that God is thus made the author of sin, and this is detestable impiety; but I answer, that he is not blamed in the least, when he is said to exercise judgment; therefore if the blinding of the mind be his judicial act, he cannot be charged with crime for inflicting this penalty."¹ "What says the Spirit? Hardening is from God, that he may urge them on (præcipitet) whom he designs to destroy."² In his Commentary on Rom. 9: 18, Calvin censures those men as *diluti moderatores*, who say that the hardening of the heart is a mere permission of wickedness. But the ablest men of his school often deny

between good and evil; and for not quoting other sentences in the same Review which are understood to deny that man has such a power. But this indignation is unwarranted; for we expressly said, and our aim was to show, that the Review contradicts itself; and need we particularize *all* the instances in which its pendulum swings from one to the other extreme? Comp. Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. pp. 600—602, with Bib. Repert. Vol. XXIII. pp. 688, 689.

¹ Calvini Opp. Om. Tom. I. p. 269, in Exodus 4: 21.

² Op. Om. Tom. I. p. 35, in Josue 11: 19.

that God exerts any positive agency in the production of sin, and then contradict themselves, by saying that our passive nature is itself sin. Must not this nature have a creating and sustaining cause? Adam does not create it, nor Satan. It is created, then, by God. Calvinists believe that preservation is a continued creation, and they are driven to admit that our nature is constantly re-created by Jehovah, and yet the nature is sin. In this dilemma, they rush to a scholastic distinction which, even if it mean anything, avails nothing; and they affirm that God is the author of our nature as an essence, but is not the author of it as sin! Who then is the author of it as sin, or as *a* sin?¹ It must have an author. Is man himself the personal cause of his passive iniquity, which exists before his own personal action?² Nothing is gained by saying, that nature often means disposition.³ For, we ask, who is the author of this passive disposition? There is no way of covering up or retreating from the inference, that if our passive disposition, which we cannot separate from our infantile nature, be iniquity, or *an* iniquity, then the author of that disposition is the author of iniquity. And yet men who hold the premise, reject the conclusion, and deny, with emphasis, that He who made us, made also the nature, i. e. the disposition with which we were made! Seeing these theorists in trouble with their own hopeless incongruity, the New England divine went to their help, more than a half century ago. He taught that men must be the agents of all their own sin, and at the same time that God has made and placed them so that they will certainly and freely do wrong; that God never causes wickedness, in such a sense as renders it literally impossible for the sinner to avoid it, and yet that he never leaves the impenitent man in a state in which his wicked choices are uncertain. Thus is preserved the profound meaning of the declarations, that men harden their own hearts, and that God hardens them; and thus it is perfectly consistent to deny that Jehovah is the author of sin, and at the same time to affirm, that he so constitutes and circumstances men, that they will certainly do evil. The New England theory has been well expressed by the two Edwardses, thus: "The divine disposal, by which sin certainly comes into existence, is only establishing the certainty

¹ Each created human nature is itself sin. Then it is *a* sin. There are as many passive sins, therefore, as there are infants. Truly, we need a new *language*, or else New England Divinity.

² Some reply, that we were the causes of our own passive sin, when we were in Adam. But there is yet wanting a *personal* cause of this sin, existing in ourselves as distinct persons.

³ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 684, 685.

of its future existence. If that *certainty*, which is no other than moral necessity, be not inconsistent with human liberty, then surely the cause of that certainty, which is no other than the *divine disposal*, cannot be inconsistent with such liberty."¹ Hopkins expresses this truth, when he says: "Something must have taken place previous to his sin, and in which the sinner had no hand, with which his sin was so connected as to render it certain that sin would take place just as it does."² Here is the substance of Calvinism, in the self-congruous form of New England Theology.

Were it seemly to smile, while writing on so grave a theme, we should be tempted to do so by the lame English on which our Reviewer essays to get away from the logical results of his creed. He is so fond of using fervid expressions in his argumentative paragraphs, that he is often misled by them into errors from which he can extricate himself only by an unwholesome strain upon his mother tongue. At first he said with much apparent emotion, that our nature is "truly and properly sin."³ We replied, that if our nature be sin, the sin must have been committed by the author of our nature, just as the author of any actual sin committed that sin.⁴ Now what does our Reviewer rejoin? He gravely attempts to defend himself by the plea, which at the best would be unavailing, that the word nature, when it is called sin, means not essence, but disposition.⁵ Now sub-

¹ Dr. Jonathan Edwards's Works, Vol. I. pp. 485, 486. See the same idea in the President's Inquiry on the Freedom of the Will, Part IV. Sections 9 and 10.

² Hopkins's Works, Vol. I. p. 106, new Edition. It is readily admitted, that this writer and a few others in New England, have sanctioned the phraseology that God is the author of our wickedness. But, first, this is not the common phraseology of our best divines; and secondly, it does not express, without much qualification, the real philosophy of our writers who employ it. They never mean that Jehovah is the author of moral evil, in any such sense as takes from man the full natural power to avoid every kind and degree of sin. They teach that our iniquity is as really our own, and as really our free act, as if God had never made it certain. They affirm that he never produces any sin which precedes or overpowers, or in any way opposes, our own choice, and that our choice remains as free as the choice of any one can be, on earth or in heaven. Such a phrase as 'God is the author of iniquity,' has recommended itself to them by its *strength*, and not by its philosophical exactness. It is unfaithful to their precise meaning, and belongs to the style of excitement and impression, rather than to that of calm discussion. It was Hopkins's reverence for Calvin, and his fondness for expressing his creed in the powerful language of inspired men, which led him to say that our sins are *caused*, when he meant that they are *made certain*, by the positive efficiency of our Sovereign. His phraseology on this topic has been improved by more recent divines.

³ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 314, 315. ⁴ Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. pp. 631, 632.

⁵ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 684, 685, 690.

stitute the word "disposition" for its synonym "nature," in our Reviewer's creed as first written, and see if it be, in his own language, "designed to state with all possible *precision* the intellectual propositions to be received as true." Here is the sentence: "It [Dr. Hodge's creed] acknowledges Adam as the head and representative of his posterity, in whom we had our probation, in whom we sinned and fell; so that we come into the world under condemnation, being born children of wrath, and deriving from him a nature [i. e. a *disposition*] not merely diseased, weakened, or predisposed to evil, but which is 'itself,' as well as 'all the motions thereof,' 'truly and properly sin!'"¹ Then our disposition, so strong to sin, is *weakened*, and even our *disposition* is *predisposed* to evil, and this predisposed disposition is, in itself, as well as its motions, sin. Who committed *this* sin? Did any divine ever use such language before? Can a parallel to it be found, except in our Commentator's exegesis of Rom. 5: 12; which amounts to the doctrine that by one man all are punished, and because they are punished, they are punished, and so all men are exposed to punishment, because they are punished.² Is it wise for our friend to cherish so weakened and predisposed a disposition for technical terms, that he cannot tear himself from their net-work without maiming the idiom of our fathers? Would it not have been more consonant with the genius of an "easy English," for him to take up with what he calls "the last arrow in the quiver," i. e. the theory of a Convention sermon, and to confess outright, that his first affirmation was not what John Foster calls "the simple, general language of intellect,"³ but was too intense for the Reviewer's own "sober second thought."⁴

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 314, 315.

² Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. p. 625.

³ Foster's Essays, Andover edition, p. 192.

⁴ We are happy to confess that although Dr. Hodge has not recalled his assertion, Our passive nature is sin; yet in the creed which he gives in his last Review, p. 677, he has amended it; and he now says, that we are "*by nature the children of wrath, infected with a sinful depravity of nature.*" The *depravity* is the *disposition* belonging to the nature. In some connections the word nature means disposition; but never in such connections as those in which our Reviewer used it. As Dr. Hodge has avowed his deference to the great Edwardseans of New England, we commend to his notice a remark of the younger Edwards (Works, Vol. I. p. 485), that it is hard to conceive of a distinction between the authorship of an act and of the sinfulness of that act. How can Dr. Hodge conceive of God as the author of a disposition and not as the author of the sinfulness of it? Does not our Reviewer rush into two difficulties in order to avoid one? See Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 684, 685.

In the fourth place, New England divinity has been marked by strong, practical common sense. Its framers were remarkable men, invigorated by the scenes of an eventful era, and claiming our deference for their love of plain, wholesome truth. We might extol them as diligent readers. It is supposed that, on an average, Hopkins studied twelve hours a day, for more than half a century. He read in the original Latin the whole of Poole's five folios, nearly the whole of Calvin's nine folios, Turretin, Van Mastricht, and the standard treatises of English divines. For seventy years, Emmons remained like a fixture in his parsonage study, and like his brethren read "books which are books." Dr. West sat near his library so long, that his feet wore away the wood-work in one part of his room, and left this enduring memorial of his sedentary habit. We care not, however, to extol our divines as readers. Many of them had been disciplined for practical life. The younger Edwards, who perused Van Mastricht seven times, was noted for his wisdom in his intercourse with men. It was a blessing not to be despised, that some of our standard-bearers had been early trained to rural labors in a new country, and by this discipline they gained a healthy and practical judgment. Nearly all of them had been teachers of the common school, and Luther has well said, that "no man is fit to be a theologian, who has not been a school-master." They were married men, and thus were saved from writing like the exsiccated monks of the Middle Ages. That melancholy phrase, "He hath no children," could not be applied to our divines, as to many who have speculated in favor of infant damnation. Our later theologians, as Dwight and Appleton, were adepts in the philosophy of Reid, Oswald, Campbell, Beattie, Stewart; and this has been termed *the philosophy of common sense*. The tendency of literature, during the last hundred years, has been to develop "the fundamental laws of human belief," and has aided our writers in shaping their faith according to those ethical axioms, which so many fathers in the church have undervalued. A modern reviewer has termed these axioms the germs of infidelity; but without them skepticism is our only refuge. There has never been a more independent class of thinkers than our Edwardean theologians. They lived under a free government in church and state. Nor council nor university could awe them down. Hence they did not copy after other men, so much as exercise, and thereby strengthen, their own judgment. They were peculiar, also, in being called to write a theology for the pulpit. In general, divines have written for the schools; but our fathers wrote for men, women and children.

The Germans have wondered that several of our theological systems are in the form of sermons. It is a practical form, and it was designed to exhibit a practical theology. We can say of it, as of few other systems, it is *fit* to be preached. It has been accused of metaphysics, by men who distinguish between the sin belonging to us as natures, and the sin belonging to us inchoatively as bodies, and the sin belonging to us as persons. But the metaphysics of New England Theology is such as the yeomen of our fields drank down for the sincere milk of the word. It is the metaphysics of common sense. There are pious men, trained under other systems, who say in their creeds, that let man do whatever he can possibly do, there is no atonement available for him, if he be of the non-elect. But when these pious men are preaching to the non-elect, they hide this notion, "like virtue." We can hardly repress a smile, when we hear good old Thomas Boston at one time exhort his impenitent hearers never to commit a sin, at another time assure them of their utter impotence to do anything which is not sin, and after all say to them, "Do what you *can*; and, it may be, while ye are doing what ye *can* for yourselves, God will do for you what ye *cannot*."¹ It is because our theology has been practical in its aims, that it has been, more than any other system, devoted to the ethical character of the acts preceding conversion, to the wisdom of demanding an immediate compliance with the law, and to the scientific refutation of all excuses for prolonged impenitence. Dr. Hopkins valued none of his speculations so highly as those in which he proved the duty of a sinner's instant surrender to God.²

But let us illustrate the practical nature of New England divinity, and its agreement with the intuitions of a sound judgment, by a reference to its theory concerning the nature of moral evil. This theory is just what Dr. Hodge affirms it not to be, "that all sin consists in sinning; that there can be no moral character but in moral acts."³ We regard it as a dishonor cast upon the faith of our greatest divines, to deny that it has been and now is characterized by the adoption of this simple truth.

1. The mode in which our Edwardian authors have reasoned on

¹ Boston's Works, Fol. Ed. p. 52.

² It were easy to trace the influence of this doctrine upon the missionary spirit which distinguished the early advocates of the New England creed, and also upon the revivals of religion in the midst of which that creed was developed, and to the furtherance of which it has conducted more than any other system.

³ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. pp. 693, 694.

the doctrine of ability, proves that they must have had the good sense to resolve all sin into moral acts. Even our Reviewer will allow that they believed sin to consist in some kind of violated obligation. They are understood, by nearly all their friends and foes, to have believed that ability is commensurate with obligation. And if any man admit that he is able and obligated to avoid all sin, he must either contradict himself, or else admit that he has no sin antecedent to his choice. For if the doctrine of power commensurate with duty be true, and if we be literally unable to do or to have a thing, we are not obligated to do or to have it. Now we are literally unable to have a well-balanced nature preceding our first choice. We are, therefore, not obligated to have it, and are not sinful for not having it. We are equally unable to avoid an ill-balanced nature preceding our first choice. We are, therefore, not obligated to unmake ourselves before birth and before our first act, and are not sinful in being born just as we were made by the Power which we could not resist. And not only is it true that our nature, antecedent to our first choice and beyond the reach of our faculties, is free from moral blame, but also if we cannot afterwards change it, and can only resist it, we are not blamable for not changing it, and are only blamable for not resisting it. And this is the consecutive theology of New England.¹

2. That our Edwardean divines were practical enough to regard all sin as a moral act, is evident from their mode of reasoning on the doctrine of our Paradisiacal offence. According to their creed, we are never obligated to perform an act which we cannot perform, and therefore are never obligated to perform an act *where* and *when* we cannot perform it. Now we never could have obeyed a law in Eden, for we were never there. Of course we were never obligated to obey a law of that place, and therefore we never sinned in not obeying it. Again, we never could have obeyed a law at the time of Adam's dwelling in Eden, and of course were never bound to obey it, and thus were never sinful in not obeying it. Now we can no more prevent an evil *make* of our souls before choice, than we could have prevented an occurrence in Paradise. We might as justly be commanded to go back six thousand years and refuse to eat the apple, as we can be commanded to go back one week before birth, and unmake our natures. And if we are not sinful for Adam's offence because it eludes all our natural power, then, by parity of reasoning, we are not

¹ President Edwards often declares, that the kind of necessity which "the will has nothing to do in," "does excuse persons, and free them from all fault or blame." Inquiry on the Will, Part IV. Sect. iii.

sinful for our bad moral structure before birth, because that eludes all our natural power. And so far forth as it is literally impossible for us in one instant to renovate our natural sensibilities, just so far forth are we free from sin in not renovating them, and are bound only to refuse the wrong indulgence of them. This is the *consistent* theology of New England.

3. The speculations of our Edwardean divines on moral agency, are a proof of their having adopted the maxim of common sense, that all sin consists in sinning. And here the great fact is, that they looked upon moral *agency* as essential to good or ill desert, and upon a moral *agent* as the only responsible being, and they frequently describe men as becoming sinners "as soon as they become moral *agents*," and not before. Whenever they speak of the brutes, who "do not act from choice, guided by understanding," or of anything "that is purely passive and moved by natural necessity," they deny that such existences are sinful.¹ According to Dr. Hodge, there is sin in a nature which is incapable of any action; but according to the Edwardeans, men "are subjects of command or moral government in nothing at all, and all their moral agency is entirely excluded, and no room is left for virtue or vice in the world,"² so far forth as there is no possibility of virtuous or vicious acts. In whatever degree men deny the existence of virtuous action, they "do evidently shut all virtue out of the world, and make it impossible that there should ever be any such thing in any case, or that any such thing should ever be conceived of."³ Both Edwards and his disciples often assert, that if there be an act which precedes every act of will, it cannot be subject to any command or precept, directly or indirectly, and therefore cannot be either obedience or disobedience: "if the soul either obeys or disobeys in this act, it is wholly involuntarily; there is no willing obedience or rebellion, no compliance or opposition of will in the affair, and what sort of obedience or rebellion is this?"⁴ Now, *a fortiori*, if there can be no involuntary sinful *act*, there can be no involuntary sinful *nature*. Volumes might be filled with the repetitions which these men make of the assertion, that all sin is perverted free-*agency*, and that free-*agency* "consists in choosing, and in nothing else."⁵ What says Dr. Dwight, with whom our Reviewer professes to agree on this subject? "*Man is the actor of his own sin*. His sin is *therefore* wholly his own; chargeable only to

¹ Edwards on the Will, Part I. Sect. V. and Part III. Sect. II.

² *Ib.* Part III. Sect. IV.

³ *Ib.* Sect. VII.

⁴ *Ib.* Sect. IV.

⁵ Dr. William R. Weeks's Nine Sermons, p. 72.

himself; chosen by him unnecessarily, while possessed of a power to choose otherwise; *avoidable* by him; and *of course* guilty and righteously punishable. *Exactly* the same natural power is in this case possessed by him, while a sinner, which is afterwards possessed by him when a saint; which Adam possessed before he fell, and which the holy angels now possess in the heavens. This power is also, in my view, perfect freedom; a power of agency, as absolute as can be possessed by an intelligent creature."¹ "The advocates of the Exercise Scheme," whose aberration, according to Dr. Hodge, "was in the direction of ultra-Calvinism,"² uniformly say, "When we talk of moral agency, we talk of some kind of *action* or *exertion*, and not merely of something which may be a foundation for action, and is yet perfectly and entirely distinct from it. When we speak of a person, or moral being, as the subject of punishment or reward, or as having in him desert of praise or blame, it is agreeable to the common sense and understanding of men, to consider him *as in exercise*, at least as *having put forth* some motion or exertion."³

The standard Edwardean definition of law is, a rule of moral conduct. What other law is there to be transgressed? The standard definition of conscience is, the faculty to regulate moral conduct. What faculty is there to regulate a condition preceding choice? And where has obligation been described as anything more than a force binding to obedience? And what is obedience but activity? Here are facts, and they are more decisive than particular words and phrases, in favor of the proposition, that the New England Theology defines sin as the chosen rebellion against law, conscience and duty.

4. The speculations of our Edwardean divines on the nature of virtue, give evidence of their having adopted the sensible theory, that all sin consists in moral acts. Everybody knows their doctrine to have been, that the whole of virtue is comprehended in love to the Creator and his creatures; in "love to being in general;" and is not this love a voluntary act? Virtue is said to imply "consent and union with being in general;"⁴ and what is consent but an act of will? It is said to consist in principle; but, says Edwards, "a principle of virtue, I think, is owned by the most considerable of late writers on

¹ Dwight's Works, Sermon 27.

² Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 694.

³ West on Moral Agency, Part I. Sect. 1. In the very first sentence of his Treatise, this "patriarch of Berkshire" says, that moral agency "consisteth in spontaneous, voluntary exertion." See also Prof. Wines's Inquiry, *passim*.

⁴ Edwards on the Nature of True Virtue, Chap. I. See also Hopkins on Holiness. Dwight's Sermons, 97, 98, 99.

morality to be general benevolence or public affection;"¹ and is not benevolence a voluntary feeling? And does not Edwards often say, that affections "are only certain modes of the exercise of the will?"² His whole doctrine of the affections is, that they "are no other than the more vigorous and sensible exercises of the inclination and will of the soul;" and that "true religion in great part consists in holy affections;"³ that is, in the more vigorous and sensible holy exercises.

But the objectors say, Virtue, according to Edwards, lies in "a good will." True, but what is a good will? It is, he adds, "the most proper, direct and immediate subject of command," "for other things can be required no otherwise than as they depend upon, and are the fruits of a good will." Now what is the immediate subject of command? He says: "The first and determining act" of the will is that which "more especially" "command or precept has a proper respect to," and "this determining, governing act must be the proper object of precept, or none."⁴ This determining, governing act of the will, is, then, the "good will" in which moral excellence resides.

The objectors reply, that virtue, according to Edwards, lies "in the tendency and inclination of the heart to virtuous action;" but when he speaks thus, he means a voluntary tendency, and inclination, for he says that "one, even the least, degree of preponderation (all things considered), is choice;"⁵ and also that the virtuous "habits or qualities, as humility, meekness, patience, mercy, gratitude, generosity, heavenly-mindedness," — "all these things are dispositions and inclinations of the heart."⁶ Now what are these dispositions and inclinations? In one of the most emphatic passages of his best treatise, Edwards remarks: "Whatever names we call the act of the will by, choosing, refusing, approving, disapproving, liking, disliking, embracing, rejecting, determining, directing, commanding, forbidding, inclining, or being averse, a being pleased or displeased, all may be reduced to this of choosing. For the soul to act voluntarily is, evermore, to act electively."⁷

¹ Edwards on the Nature of True Virtue, Chap. VI.

² Edwards on the Will, Part III. Sect. IV.

³ Edwards on the Religious Affections, Part I. Sect. I.

⁴ Edwards on the Will, Part III. Sect. IV. and Part IV. Sect. I.

⁵ Edwards on the Will, Part III. Sect. VI.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Edwards on the Will, Part I. Sect. I. When our theologians say, "Virtue is voluntary," it is idle for Dr. Hodge to interpret them as meaning, virtue "inheres in the will," but is not an exercise of it. He might as well represent them as thinking that the finiteness of the will is voluntary, for finiteness inheres in the will, or as saying that the existence of the will is voluntary, for existence belongs to the will.

It is, then, a settled principle, that in the Edwardean theology all virtue consists in the love of beings according to their value; that is, in the love of the greater more than of the less; and this love is an act. It is an act of the will, for, according to Edwards, the will is "that by which the mind chooses anything," and to love the greater more than the less is to choose the greater. Now the Edwardean theology has been shown to be self-consistent; and as virtue consists in action, so does sin. "It must be also observed and kept in mind, that sin, as does holiness, consists in the motions or exercises of the heart or will, and in nothing else. Where there is no exercise of heart, nothing of the nature of moral inclination, will, or choice, there can be neither sin nor holiness." "Sin consists in that affection and those exercises which are directly opposed to disinterested benevolence to being in general."¹ Our Reviewer has suddenly announced his agreement with Dr. Dwight on the nature of sin. Now every one knows, that Dwight resolved all virtue into benevolence, and he therefore says, in consonance with himself: "Sin, universally, is no other than selfishness or a *preference* of one's self to all other beings, and of one's private interests and gratifications to the well-being of the universe, of God and the intelligent creation."² "Selfishness consists in a *preference* of ourselves to others and to all others; to the universe and to God. This is sin, and *all that in the Scriptures is meant by sin.*"³ Now if the word "preference" do not express an intelligent act, involving comparison and volition, no word can express it.

Need we say more? Is it not notorious that certain Princeton divines have long been fearful of Edwards's theory of virtue, and have dreaded to admit it within their walls, lest, like the Trojan horse, it let out an army of Hopkinsian heresies, which they have loved to call "Pelagian"?⁴ They have known perfectly well, that

¹ Hopkins's System of Divinity, Chap. VIII. See also his Treatise on Holiness, *passim*. See also Bellamy's Works, Vol. I pp. 130 seq.

² Dwight's Works, Sermon 80.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ Dr. Miller, in his Memoir of Pres. Edwards, treats "the father of Hopkinsianism" with great urbanity, but expresses the opinion that if Edwards "had foreseen the use which has since been made of the doctrine of this Dissertation [on Virtue], he would either have shrunk from its publication, or have guarded its various aspects with additional care," p. 244. But Edwards adopted his theory of virtue while he was a member of Yale College; he wrote his Dissertation upon it three years before his death. It therefore contains his matured views. It is written with far more care than his Treatise on Original Sin. It was probably the theme of frequent conferences with Hopkins, who drew from it the conclusions so much regretted by Dr. Miller. Edwards was accustomed to subject all his works to the criticism of Hopkins, his nearest clerical neighbor

if holiness be reduced to a disinterested love, sin will be reduced to a partial love, and if a consecutive logic has once resolved moral character into these voluntary acts, it will next infer an ability to perform or omit them, and this ability cannot exist, for it was believed in by "Pelagius."

5. That our Edwardean divines were practical enough to resolve all sin into wicked practice, is evident from their sharp discriminations between sin and the occasions of sin. Two of their most prominent doctrines have been, that the moral character of an act lies in the act itself rather than in its cause, and that the first occasion of wicked acts cannot be itself wicked. "If all sin," say they, "be caused by that which is sin, then sin exists as a cause, before it exists at all." If an active choice cannot be well or ill deserving, unless it proceed from a passive nature that is well or ill deserving, then its character lies not in itself, but in something antecedent to itself, and this is the error which the New England divines have regarded as subversive of their entire system.¹

They often speak of sin as literally belonging to "the native bent," the "dispositions," "inclinations," "propensities," "tendencies," "habits," "relish," "taste," "temper," of the heart. But these terms, when thus used by our most eminent authors, are designed to signify the acts which involve choice. Dr. Bellamy, whom our Reviewer describes as strenuous in his opposition to the doctrine that all sin consists in act, says "that sinners are *free* and voluntary in their bad temper," "hearty in it;" that "this evil bent of our hearts is not of his [God's] making, but is the spontaneous propensity of our own wills; for, we being born devoid of the divine image, ignorant of God, and insensible of his glory, do, of our own accord, turn to ourselves, etc.—from whence we natively *become* averse to God," etc.

for seven years, and to follow that great man's advice. It is on record that, in 1755, Hopkins and Bellamy spent two nights and a day with Edwards, in examining his kindred Dissertation on the End for which God created the World. Both this and the Dissertation on True Virtue were first published by Hopkins, seven years after Edwards's death. Is it at all probable, that so inquisitive a man as the original editor of these two works, had never conversed with Edwards on the consequences logically resulting from them? Can we believe, that so plain-spoken a divine as Hopkins would have built his system upon them, and not apprized his readers that his familiar friend, who drew out the premises, would not accept the conclusion?

¹ See, for example, Edwards on the Will, Part IV. Sect. I. Dr. Jonathan Edwards's Works, Vol. I. pp. 429—432, etc. Hopkins's System of Divinity, Chap. IV. West on Moral Agency, Part I. Sect. IV.

He approves of Mr. Stoddard's remark, that "self-love is the very root of original sin."¹ He has left the following memorable words:

"These [sinful tendencies] are the earliest dispositions that are discovered in our nature; and although I do not think that they are concreated by God, together with the essence of our souls, yet they seem to be the very first propensities of the new-made soul. So that they are, in a sense, connatural; our whole hearts are perfectly and entirely bent this way, from their very first *motion*. These propensities, perhaps, in some sense, may be said to be contracted, in opposition to their being strictly and philosophically natural, because they are not created by God with the essence of the soul, but *result from its native choice*, or rather, more strictly, *are themselves its native choice*. But most certainly these propensities are not contracted in the sense that many vicious habits are, namely, by long use and custom. In opposition to such vicious habits, they may be called connatural. Little children do very early bad things, and contract bad dispositions; but these propensities are evidently antecedent to every bad thing infused or instilled by evil examples, or gotten by practice, or occasioned by temptations. And hence it is become customary to call them natural, and to say that it is our very nature to be so inclined; and to say that these propensities are natural, would to common people be the most apt way of expressing the thing; but it ought to be remembered that they are not natural in the same sense as the faculties of our souls are; for they are not the workmanship of God, but *are our native choice, and the voluntary, free, spontaneous bent of their hearts*. And to keep up this distinction, I frequently choose to use the word *native*, instead of *natural*."²

President Edwards and Dr. Hopkins often speak of holiness as literally existing in our spiritual discernment, and of sin as literally existing in our spiritual blindness; but they mean a discernment

¹ For these and similar testimonies, see Bellamy's Works, Vol. I. pp. 97, 98, 153, 154. Vol. II. pp. 554, 555, 581. Dr. Smalley differed from Bellamy (as well as from himself), on this topic, at least in words. He says that there is a sin of nature, "so entirely independent of the will as to be prerequisite to" every wrong volition. He does not allow, however, that the sinful principle is dormant, but styles it an active principle.

² Bellamy's Works, Vol. I. pp. 138, 139. The treatise from which this passage is taken, is the one which President Edwards endorsed publicly. Dr. Nathan Strong says: "What we call a new moral principle, may also be called a new taste, relish, temper, disposition, or *habit of feeling* respecting moral objects and truth." "A temper, disposition, inclination, taste or relish, which are right or wrong, mean the same as a heart or will that is right or wrong." "The will, the heart, and the affections may in most moral and evangelical discourses, be used as words of the same meaning." Now what are the affections? "The sensible *exercises* of the heart and will are what we call the affections, such as love, delight, rejoicing, hatred, enmity, mourning, and all these are *exercises* of the heart." Sermons, Vol. I. pp. 103, 104, 105, 167, 168.

which involves a right choice, and a blindness which involves a wrong choice, and in the choice alone lies the holiness and sin. "It will be found on examination," says Dr. Hopkins, "that if *practical judgment* has any meaning, it intends something which implies a sense of heart or a degree of inclination or will." "Everything practical or that relates to practice, belongs to the heart or will." "Whenever, therefore, there is a practical judgment concerning anything that is presented to the mind, as the object of choice, that it is good, eligible and excellent, there is taste and *choice actually begun*." "By understanding, knowledge and wisdom, in Scripture, is commonly meant true holiness, which consists not at all in mere speculation, but in the *exercise* of a right taste and inclination of heart, in a view and sense of divine truth."¹ On the same principle, these divines often speak of our ignorance, stupidity, etc. as sinful, because these states involve a wrong "taste," "inclination," "tendency," etc., all of which terms are here used to denote exercises of will.²

There is, however, another sense in which our divines occasionally use the words, "taste," "propensity," "disposition," etc. They intend to denote by them not a choice, but a foundation for choice, and therefore not a sin, but an occasion of sin; an evil, not a wickedness. Thus Dr. Hopkins says, that in regeneration the Holy Spirit "begets a *right* and *good* taste, temper, or disposition, and so lays a foundation for holy exercises of heart." He then adds:

"It is difficult and perhaps impossible to form any distinct and clear idea of that in the mind or heart, which is antecedent to all thought and exercise of the will, or action, which we call principle, taste, temper, disposition, habit, etc.; by which we mean nothing properly active, but that from which right exercise of the will or action springs, as the reason and foundation of it, and without which there could have been no such exercise. Perhaps the real

¹ Hopkins's Two Discourses on Law and Regeneration, pp. 48, 50. Ed. 1768. This distinction between the neutral principles and the moral exercises of the soul, is the basis of Hopkins's distinction between regeneration and conversion.

² That Edwards generally uses the word inclination as synonymous with choice, or else as implying choice, and as distinguishable not from acts but from external acts, is evident from Part III. Sect. IV. and Part IV. Sect. I. of his Inquiry. That he generally uses "habits" and "dispositions" as synonymous with *accustomed* acts of choice, is plain from Part III. Sect. VI. of his Inquiry. When, therefore, he says in the Preface to his Inquiry, that "all virtue and religion have their seat more immediately in the will, consisting more especially in right acts and habits of this faculty," his meaning must be that holiness belongs primarily to the occasional and habitual acts of the will, and not to any nature distinct from those acts.

truth of the matter, when examined with true philosophic, metaphysical strictness, will appear to be this: that what we call principle, disposition or frame of mind, which is antecedent to all right exercise of the heart, and is the foundation and reason of it, is wholly to be resolved into divine constitution or law of nature. But this I leave to the inquiry and decision of those who are inclined to examine this matter to the bottom, seeing I have not room here to go into a more particular consideration of it; and, whatever is at bottom the truth of the case, nothing will be said on this subject that immediately depends upon it."¹

Does any one suppose that Dr. Hopkins would call this evil bias a real, or even original, sin? Hear him: "Original *sin* is that total moral depravity which takes place in the hearts of all the children of Adam, in consequence of his apostasy, which consists in exercise or act, as really as any sin can do, and therefore cannot be distinguished from *actual sin*." "This *sin* which takes place in the posterity of Adam, is not properly distinguished into original and actual sin, because it is all really actual, and there is, strictly speaking, no other sin but actual sin."² Besides, the wrong bias which leads to wrong choice, is resolved by Hopkins into a "divine constitution or law of nature;" and did he believe that this is a real sin? Then

¹ Hopkins's Two Discourses on Law and Regeneration, p. 38. Ed. 1768. Here is seen the *substantial* agreement of Hopkins with "the Exercise Scheme." The earlier advocates of that scheme believed that all our sin is occasioned by a law of nature; and gave as a definition of nature's law just what Newton and other philosophers have given; viz. "the established mode of divine operation." Edwards on Original Sin, especially Part IV. Chapters II. and III., gives the same idea of a law of nature.

² Hopkins's System of Divinity, Chap. VIII. Here is but a single specimen of this author's mode of regarding Original Sin. Only a very small proportion of the best New England divines have dissented from it. After Hopkins's System was published, Dr. Jonathan Edwards wrote his freest criticisms upon it, and did not intimate the slightest dissatisfaction of himself or his brethren with the above named theory of Original Sin. It has had great influence on the New England clergy, as it pervades all the works of this good man. As early as 1787, Dr. Stiles writes: "It has been the *ton* to direct students in divinity, these thirty years past, to read the Bible, President Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, and Mr. Hopkins's writings; and this was a pretty good sufficiency of reading." He adds that the younger theologians were inclined to differ from Hopkins, in some particulars, but he does not specify the nature of moral evil as one of them. He says that none of the younger divines will "be equal to those strong reasoners, President Edwards and Mr. Hopkins." When, therefore, Dr. Hodge says, that "Bellamy, Dwight, and the other great men of New England, were no less strenuous than Edwards" in opposing the theory that all sin is actual and avoidable, he must have included Hopkins among these opposers, or else have used language inaccurately. Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 694.

he must have believed God to be not only the author but also the actor of moral evil. Still further, he supposed that in regeneration this bad relish is removed, and a good relish substituted for it; and in conversion this good relish is exercised. But this good relish is, of itself, no real holiness. According to him, it does not commend the subject of it to the divine approbation. Unless it be *exercised*, the man who has it as a passive quality, will not be saved. Hopkins quotes an objector as saying: "If persons are regenerated before they are enlightened and believe on Christ, what will become of them? Where will they go, to heaven or to hell, if they die after they are regenerated, and before they believe? It seems they are fit for neither; their hearts are renewed, so [they] cannot go to hell; but they are in an unpardoned, unjustified state, therefore cannot go to heaven!" Now what answer does Hopkins make? Does he say that this good, passive disposition will be accepted as a compliance with the conditions of life? No. He only affirms, that the disposition will be exercised before death, and the *acting* of it will, through grace, entitle the agent to the promises. "And," he replies, "what if a person who is elected to salvation dies in an unconverted state; will he be saved or not? Let the objector answer this question, and he will drop his objections, having fully answered it himself. His answer must be, there never was, and never will be such an instance. All that are elected shall be converted before they die."¹

Dr. Bellamy expresses the same idea thus: "The promises of the gospel are not made to the holy principle, *passively considered*, but to its acts and exercises, even as the blessings of the first covenant were not promised to that image of God in which Adam began to exist, but to his *active* compliance with that covenant." Bellamy then states the objection, that on his theory "a regenerated [but unconverted] soul may be in a state of condemnation for a time, and consequently perish, if death should befall him in that juncture." And he answers the objection in the words of Flavel, by remarking that the regenerated soul *will* be converted, i. e. the soul having the holy principle *will exercise* it before death, and by this action will secure an entrance into heaven. Death will not intervene between regeneration and conversion.² Bellamy does indeed call this principle "true holiness;" but he calls it so only as it implies the certainty of its being exercised. *In itself*, apart from its exercise, it is not a true holiness which God will accept as a condition of salvation;

¹ Hopkins's Two Discourses on Law and Regeneration, p. 50. Ed. 1768.

² Bellamy's Works, Vol. II. p. 634.

nothing which he has ever promised to reward. But has he not promised to reward all that which is true holiness in itself? And, on the same principle, what kind of sin is that which in its own nature deserves no punishment?

But does the choicest friend of Hopkins and Bellamy sanction their theory of an inward, neutral occasion of holiness and sin? They derived their theory from him more than from any other divine. President Edwards often speaks of "kind affections" which "are implanted by the Author of nature" within all men, and which are "the fruit of God's mercy," and, of course, are not sin.¹ He speaks of "the common, natural principles of self-love, natural appetite, etc., which were in man in innocence."² He then says, that these principles being left "to themselves, without the government of superior divine principles, will certainly be *followed* with the corruption, yea, the total corruption of the heart."² "When God made man at first, he implanted in him *two kinds* of principles. There was an *inferior* kind, which may be called *natural*, being the principles of *mere* human nature, such as self-love, with those natural appetites and passions which belong to the *nature of man*, in which his love to his own liberty, honor and pleasure were exercised."² These inferior "principles, that are essentially implied in, or *necessarily* resulting from, and *inseparably* connected with, *mere* human nature," were designed "to be wholly subordinate and subservient." But when the Divine Spirit left the soul, "the inferior principles of self-love and natural appetite, which were given only to serve, being alone and left to themselves, of course became reigning principles." "The immediate *consequence* of which was a fatal catastrophe, a turning of all things upside down, and the *succession* of a state of the most odious and dreadful confusion. Man did immediately set up himself, and the objects of his private affections and appetites as supreme, and so they took the place of God."² Edwards needed not to state more clearly that man's voluntary wrong action, which was his first sin, resulted from a previous disorder in his involuntary principles. He adds: "these inferior principles are like fire in a house, which we say is a good servant, but a bad master; very useful while kept in its place, but if left to take possession of the whole house, soon brings all to destruction."² Now is sin a good and very useful servant? If not, these principles are not sin; but Edwards adds, that "*in consequence*" of them, "arises enmity in the heart" against God. "And therefore as God withdrew spiritual communion and his vital, gracious influence

¹ Nature of True Virtue, Ch. VI.

² Original Sin, Part IV. Ch. II.

from the common head, so he withholds the same from all the members, as they come into existence; whereby they come into the world mere flesh, and entirely under the government of natural and inferior principles, and so *become* wholly corrupt, as Adam did."¹ Can language express more decisively the truth that our lower principles, which left to themselves become the infallible occasions of sin, are yet in and of themselves *not* sin? This great father of New England Theology asks: "Is there anything in nature to make it impossible but that the superior principles of man's nature should be so *proportioned* to the inferior, as to prevent such a dreadful consequence as the moral and natural ruin and eternal perdition of the far greater part of mankind?" And he answers his own question in this emphatic style: "If we are Christians, we must be forced to allow it to be possible in the nature of things, that the principles of human nature should be so *balanced*, that the *consequence* should be no propensity to sin in the first beginning of a capacity of moral agency."² Here he not only asserts that our inferior principles of action might exist in a perfectly sinless being, but he sanctions the phrase that our sin results from a disorder, a wrong *balance*, a bad proportion of our sensibilities. These are Edwardean phrases, and yet men who never read him with care, if at all, denounce them as "German" and "Pelagian."

We are now prepared to notice a singular fact. The very reasons adduced for proving that our New England writers do not believe sin to consist in act, prove that they do thus believe. For example, the Treatise of Edwards on Original Sin has induced our Reviewer to say, that "the world-wide fame of President Edwards, as a theologian, rests mainly on his thorough refutation of"³ the doctrine that all sin consists in sinning, and that power equals and limits duty. It is true that, in some particulars, this treatise of Edwards is alien from the spirit of New England divinity, and contains a number of phrases incongruous with the prevailing style of Edwards himself. Still, it is the leading doctrine of that treatise, that all sin is an act, committed in our own persons, or else in the person of him who infolded us within himself. Why does the prince of metaphysicians make such gigantic efforts to prove that our sin is the same with Adam's, not only "in kind" but also "in number," if he deemed it right that we should be punished for anything other than our own action? He says that infants, as "all know, never committed any sin in their own

¹ Edwards on Original Sin, Part IV. Ch. II.

² Ib. Part I. Ch. I. Sect. IX.

³ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 694.

persons.”¹ Are they, then, guilty for ‘a nature which, apart from its motions, is truly and properly sin’? No; for he declares that they “could be sinners *no other way* than by virtue of Adam’s transgression,”² and he expressly denies that the children of Adam “come into the world with a *double* guilt; *one* the guilt of Adam’s sin, *another* the guilt arising from their having a corrupt heart.”³ — “The guilt a man has upon his soul at his first existence is *one and simple*; viz. the guilt of the original apostasy, the guilt of the sin by which the species first rebelled against God. This, and the guilt arising from the first corruption or depraved disposition of the heart, are not to be looked upon as *two* things, distinctly imputed and charged upon men in the sight of God.”⁴ He repeatedly affirms, that “the *first* existing of a corrupt disposition” in the hearts of men, is the same *identical* thing with Adam’s first corrupt disposition; is the “extended pollution of that sin;” is “the consent and concurrence with it,” is a “participation” in it.⁵ Now what was Adam’s first sin but an act? Edwards says, that “the first evil disposition or inclination of the heart of Adam to sin, was not properly distinct from his first *act* of sin, but was included in it;” and as we are identically the same with Adam, so is our first evil disposition identically the same with his, and is not distinct from our first moral act. As Adam’s “guilt was *all* truly from the act of his inward man,” so is our guilt all truly from the act of our inward man; for our act is the same with his, just as the sap in a branch of the tree is the same identical sap which was once in the root.⁶ The idea of our literal oneness with Adam, is indeed a strange phenomenon in mental history, but so great a man as Edwards must commit great errors, if he commit any at all. For the sake of retaining the doctrine, that all our sin consists in our own active “*consent* of heart,” and also the doctrine that the sin of Adam is imputed to us, he seized on the astonishing theory, that as Adam’s rebellion was not imputed to him, until he had actively engaged in it,

¹ Edwards on Original Sin, Part II. Chap. IV. Sect. II. and Part IV. Chap. IV.

² *Ib.* Part II. Chap. IV. Sect. II.

³ These and many similar quotations, are from Part IV. Chap. III. of the Treatise on Original Sin. If their author had been asked, whether we had the natural power of avoiding Adam’s sin, he would have said, that in the sense in which we committed it, we had the natural power to avoid it. Thus Andrew Fuller (Works, Vol. II. p. 472. Ed. 1845), cites the following objection to Edwards’s theory: “We could not be to blame, for what we could not avoid;” and replies, “Very true; but if the notion of a union between Adam and his posterity be admitted, then it cannot properly be said, we could not avoid it,” i. e. the sin in Adam.

so our rebellion is not imputed to us until we have actively engaged in it; and as we are one moral person with Adam, so our rebellion is one moral act with his; and, therefore, his act being ours is of right imputed to us as our act; and "the first existing of a depraved disposition in Adam's posterity, I apprehend, is not distinct from their guilt of Adam's first sin."¹ But, the objectors reply, Edwards does speak of a confirmed evil principle as imparting a distinct additional guilt to the soul. True, but he adds, "this confirmed corruption, by its remaining and continued *operation*, brought additional guilt on his [Adam's] soul,"² and does the same on the souls of his posterity. But our opponents inquire, Does not Edwards speak of an evil disposition, propensity, tendency, which precedes our own personal action and is *itself* not only sin but also a *consequence* of the imputation of Adam's sin? No, we reply. Our opponents have mistaken a theory of Dr. Hodge, for the exactly opposite theory of our New England divine. Edwards reiterates his belief: "The first being of an evil disposition in the heart of a child of Adam, whereby he is disposed to approve of the sin of his first father, as fully as he himself approved of it when he committed it, or so far as to imply a full and perfect *consent* of heart to it, I think is not to be looked upon as a *consequence* of the imputation of that first sin, any more than the full consent of Adam's own heart in the act of sinning; which was not consequent on the imputation of his sin to himself, but rather *prior* to it in the order of nature. Indeed, the derivation of the evil disposition to the hearts of Adam's posterity, or rather the coexistence of the evil disposition, implied in Adam's first rebellion, in the root and branches, is a consequence of the union, that the wise Author of the world has established between Adam and his posterity; but not properly a *consequence* of the *imputation* of his sin; nay, rather, *antecedent* to it, as it was in Adam himself. The first depravity of the heart, and the imputation of that sin, are both consequences of that established union; but yet in such order, that the evil disposition is *first*, and the charge of guilt *consequent*; as it was in the case of Adam himself."

Such remarks give a key to Edwards's otherwise enigmatical

¹ All the quotations in the text of this page are from Edwards on Original Sin, Part IV. Ch. III.

² It is useless to pretend that Edwards uses guilt in these passages as denoting a legal exposedness, and not a moral stain; for he expressly declares that "men are really, in themselves, what they are in the eye of the law, and by the voice of strict equity and justice." Part I. Ch. I. Sect. III.

Treatise on Original Sin. When we read in it of our evil propensities, we are either to understand, first, that they are real *choices*, and thus real sins; or, secondly, that they are the *effects* of our having transgressed the law in Adam, and are thus metaphorically sins, just as our wrong outward actions implying a wicked motive are sins by a figure of speech; or, thirdly, that they are sinful by a like metaphor, as they are *occasions* of our personal disobedience to law; or, fourthly, that they are sinful by a double metonymy of cause for effect and effect for cause. How else can we explain many expressions like the following: "Man's nature or state is attended with a pernicious or destructive tendency in a moral sense, when it *tends to that* which *deserves* misery and destruction." This evil propensity is odious and detestable, "as, by the supposition, it *tends to that* moral evil *by* which the subject *becomes* odious in the sight of God, and liable as such to be condemned." It is "a tendency to *guilt and ill-desert* in a vast overbalance to virtue and merit." Part I. Ch. I. Whether our personal sins be induced by an inward propensity to them, or by animal appetites, etc., the occasion of those sins is pronounced to be equally "evil, corrupt and dreadful." Part I. Ch. I. Sect. IX. But are our animal appetites literally disapproved by conscience? Is it not plain that Edwards discriminates between real guilt and the guiltless occasion of it?¹

¹ Against all such modes of interpreting Edwards, our Reviewer and others are fond of quoting his remark: "It is not necessary that there should *first* be thought, reflection and choice, *before* there can be any virtuous disposition." Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 685. But why does Edwards make this obviously true remark? He is opposing a theory that our choices must be self-determined; that before a preference can be right or wrong, we must think of it, of its good and evil influences, and then must choose to exercise it, and must thus make the preference an effect of a foregoing choice. He denies, as we all deny, that we must choose to choose, that "thought, reflection, and choice must go *before* virtue, and that all virtue and righteousness must be the fruit of *preceding* choice." Treatise on Original Sin, Part II. Ch. I. Sect. I. He teaches, that virtue need not be *preceded* by a distinct choice, but that virtue is the "leading choice." Again, Edwards is opposing a theory that virtue and vice consist, primarily, in subordinate and imperative volitions, which do not involve the "leading choice." In his intense aversion to this theory, he says: "The act of choosing that which is good, is no further virtuous than it proceeds from a good principle or virtuous disposition of mind." Treatise on Original Sin, Part II. Ch. I. Sect. I. But he here means by "good principle or virtuous disposition," precisely what he elsewhere means by the "original," "determining," "leading," "governing," "regulating act," or "choice." Inquiry on the Will, Part II. Sect. X. and Part III. Sect. IV. It is this regulating choice in which, primarily, virtue consists, and not in any choice preceding it, nor in any subsequent choice not including it.

It has been already stated, that Edwards's work on Original Sin is not a perfect exponent of what is now termed the Edwardean faith. Perhaps no two of our eminent theologians have adopted its theory of our sameness with Adam. Very few of them have imitated all of its intense expressions. It was written amid the constant alarms of an Indian war, under many embarrassing influences of its author's frontier parish, and with a constitution shattered by the fever and ague. Ill health prevented his revising it as faithfully as he had revised his other works, and when he had published only a few sheets of it, death ended his labors. Accordingly, it bears more signs of hurried composition than are to be found in some of his writings, which had lain by him for years. The principal regret which he is said to have felt in prospect of his untimely death, arose from his inability to modify some things which he had written; and there are several reasons to believe, that he meant to remove some verbal incongruities from the work which he had not finished with his wonted care, and which he had deemed it needful to publish with more than his usual haste. Were it not for his sudden decease, he might have explained a few remarks, which in the fervor of composition he had left unqualified, and thus he would have saved a class of men from wrongly imputing to him the error, that sin lies in something beside moral agency—an error hostile to the whole spirit of his creed.

In the fifth place, New England Theology is a comprehensive system of Biblical science. Hopkins says of President Edwards: "He studied the Bible more than all other books, and more than most other divines do." "He took his religious principles from the Bible, and not from any human system or body of divinity. Though his principles were Calvinistic, yet he called no man father. He thought and judged for himself, and was truly very much of an original."¹ What had an Indian missionary, on the very bounds of civilized life, to fear from church authorities? The distance of our fathers from the old world, made them cleave to the Word of God as their dearest standard. Who was ever more inwardly and thoroughly Protestant in

This "governing," "habitual" choice is the "virtuous disposition or principle." It is love of being in general. It implies "thought and reflection" on being in general, but not thought and reflection on itself before it is exercised. Still less does it imply a distinct choice of itself, before it is exercised. This is Edwards's theory of virtue, and the same, *mutatis mutandis*, is his theory of sin.

¹ Hopkins's Life and Character of the late Reverend, Learned and Pious Mr. Jonathan Edwards. Ed. 1799. p. 47. It was Edwards's own opinion, that he had developed some new truths from the inspired volume.

his rule of faith, than Samuel Hopkins? He expounded the entire Scriptures three several times to his congregation at Newport. Altogether too sternly would he have frowned upon the remark of Dr. Hodge: "If the point assailed can be shown to be a part of the *common faith of the church*, then we think the necessity for further debate is, in all ordinary cases, at an end."¹ Altogether too severely would he have reprimanded the spirit of this remark, as leading its author into the unreasoning dogmatism of Rome. The more recent divines of New England have felt a similar preference for the Bible above creeds. They have, accordingly, given such an impulse to Scriptural investigation as was previously unknown to the English world. Their mode of interpreting the sacred volume, is the only mode which will save consistent thinkers from Romanism. The principles of exegesis on which our Reviewer proceeds in defending a limited atonement, inability, etc., are the very same on which the Romanists proceed in defending the Real Presence and the Supremacy of Saint Peter. If he stands, they stand. Indeed, the hypothesis that all men sinned in Adam, had never found currency in the church, if the Vulgate had not mistranslated the $\epsilon\phi' \phi$ of Rom. 5: 12. The Calvinistic theories which oppose the New England Calvinism, are founded either on the scholastic metaphysics, or on a literal interpretation of oriental metaphors; and these are the fruitful sources of Papal error. Painful, indeed, is the violence which those theories have done to such clear sayings as, "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father;" and Christ is the propitiation, "not for ours only,

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 677. There is a truth in this canon of our Reviewer. Yet he is wont to carry his reliance on church authority too far. In the present controversy, for example, his principal argument against us has been derived, not from the Word of God, but from the opinions of men. In citing these opinions, however, he has been unfortunate. He appeals to the Romish standards on the nature of sin, etc. But the Council of Trent, at their fifth session, decided that our inborn proclivity to sin is called sin, only because it arises from and tends to moral evil, and "cannot hurt but him that consenteth to it." See Paul Sarpi's *Historie of the Council of Trent*, p. 184. See also Möhler's *Symbolik*, Theil I. Kap. III. § XIII. and Theil II. Kap. VI. § XCIII. Our assailant has labored with rare assiduity, to prove that we agree with Schleiermacher. Suppose that success had crowned his toils. What then? Has he shown that the great German is in error? He has merely appealed to authority, and said that "such men as Hengstenberg regard [Schleiermacher's system] as subverting some of the essential doctrines of the Gospel." Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 692. But Hengstenberg also says, that Dr. Dwight is a Rationalist, on the very topics now controverted; and our Reviewer avows that he agrees with Dwight on these topics.

but also for the sins of the whole world." Those artificial theories are useful, so far forth as they are symbols of great truths. Viewed as poetry and eloquence, they pertain to the form of presentation suited to earnest feeling; but viewed as doctrines literally expressed, they pertain to a theology of a "bewildered" reason, and not to the theology of a sound head or heart.¹ They may be regarded not as true theories, but as the poetry and eloquence which give to accurate statements a readier power over the feelings. The Princeton Review has spoken, once at least, of "a true thought in a false expression."² A rare merit of the New England system is, that it has looked through the metonymy and the hyperbole of the oriental expression, and seized the "true thought" intended by it; while many of its opposers have clung to the false theories which that expression literally denotes. These theories have often repelled the inquirer, into infidelity. He has mistaken figures of rhetoric for a literal creed, and has therefore revolted from that creed. The first sentence of Dr. Smalley's sermon on Original Sin, betokens one grand aim of the New England system, to preclude all occasion for infidel schemes, by so interpreting the Bible as to make sensible men confide in it.

The New England system is not only scriptural, but is scriptural science. Are its advocates condemned as too inquisitive? they *do* search for the truth; as too metaphysical? they *do* reason against a philosophy falsely so called; as too fond of novelties in speculation? they *do* love to "grow in knowledge;" as too ready to examine the

¹ See Convention Sermon, Bib. Sacra, Vol. VII. p. 563. This sermon has been represented as implying that certain doctrines literally expressed by words like "Imputed and Passive sin," belong to the theology of feeling, and that the New England faith is suited to the intellect only. One aim of that sermon is, to show that these doctrines belong to the theology of feeling, when they are viewed as *symbols, illustrations*, of the real truth; and that the New England system will adopt all truth, be it expressed in the prosaic style fitted for speculation, or the poetic style fitted for emotion. It will allow the theology of the intellect and also the theology of the heart, which are the same substance in two forms. The doctrines *literally* denoted by words like Passive Sin, Guilt of Adam's Offence, and regarded as truths plainly expressed, do not belong to the right theology in either form. But the mass of Christians who contend for them, have not practically viewed them as credible in a literal interpretation. One of the best preachers in this or any age, has styled those doctrines, as they are treated by the multitude, "the theology of the tympanum; for if the words which express them tinkle well in the ear, they are loved, let them mean anything or nothing." We have chosen to call them by a more reverential name, and partly because the phrases suggesting them are associated with the venerable piety of ancient days, and thus have a goodly sound.

² Vol. XIII. p. 81.

foundations of their faith? they are not afraid of "open questions," nor of exposing their creed, in all its parts, to a rigid scrutiny. They know themselves to be imperfect. Free inquiry has made them humble; and can an arrogant temper, disdainful of all improvement, be either the seed or the fruit of science? They have borne much of abusive criticism. Two of their most eminent champions had not lain long in their graves, before they were publicly declared, even in the city of Brotherly Love, to have made their bed in hell. One of the men, thus humanly condemned, was the sainted Hopkins himself. But have our divines retaliated such calumnies? In reading the seven or eight volumes of Emmons, would any one suspect that he had ever been defamed? Would not the immortal ancestors of Dwight have frowned upon him, if, in one of his eleven volumes, he had returned railing for railing? The New England divinity can defend itself without personal vituperation, and in the purity of its argument it breathes the spirit of a divine philosophy. It has developed its scientific temper in systematizing those old truths on which, as a broad, deep basis, many varying superstructures have been reared. By its accordance with the sensibilities of our race, it authorizes an intelligent use of the tropes which those sensibilities demand; demand not as faded, but as rhetorical figures; suggesting their original images, but understood in their rational import. It unfolds the meaning and the fitness and the power of that style, in which we summon the blind, deaf, dead, and twice dead, to see, hear, rise, walk, and take heaven by violence; in which we assert that God sits, and rests, stands up, and returns to his place, rises betimes, and plucks his hand out of his bosom; is wounded and is comforted, grieved, afflicted, and eased; considers and wonders; turns violently and tosses his foe like a ball; is quiet, or jealous, or angry, or forward; punishes the innocent, and beholds no sin in the vile; exacts impossibilities from the weak, condemns them for a misdeed of their ancestor, and smites his hands together and causes his fury to rest; and whets his glittering sword, and yet is love without change and without end. All these expressions are found in the hymns of our worship or in the tracts which are welcomed to our houses, and they are all admired as symbols of the truth explained in our dogmatic treatises.¹ In uncovering the profoundest philosophy that lies under the richest of the inspired poetry, and in illustrating the self-consist-

¹ "A slavish adherence to systematic divinity has much injured some of the finest passages of Revelation; and which were intended to be *felt*, rather than *criticised*." *Jay's Exercises for the Closet*, Oct. 21.

ent character of the inspired volume, our theological system claims to be a true science.

Because it is a science, it is comprehensive. A Unitarian opposer shrinks "with a feeling approaching horror," from the "stern and appalling theology" associated with the name of Hopkins.¹ A Calvinistic opposer, as early as 1817, mourns over the Hopkinsian Seminary at Andover, because the doctrines taught there "do, in their nature and necessary consequences, lead to the Socinian ground."² The vane of the Princeton Review points to Emmonism on one day as Pelagian, and on another day as ultra-Calvinistic. What is the source of these charges, that nullify each other? It is the comprehensiveness of the Edwardean scheme. This scheme unites a high, but not an ultra Calvinism, on the decrees and agency of God, with a philosophical, but not an Arminian theory, on the freedom and worth of the human soul. Its new element is seen in its harmonizing two great classes of truths; one relating to the untrammelled will of man, another relating to the supremacy of God. Because it has secured human liberty, it exalts the divine sovereignty; and its advocates have preached more than others on predestination, because they have prepared the way for it by showing that man's freedom has been predestined. They have insisted on an eternally decreed liberty, and on a free submission to the eternal decrees. Their faith ascribes to man a noble structure of mind, and sinks him the lower for abusing it. In reprobating his wickedness, it exceeds all other systems; because it exceeds them all in unfolding the equity of the Sovereign against whom the subject, so richly endowed, has so needlessly rebelled. When its opposers think of its efforts to justify the ways of our Heavenly Father, they hastily accuse it of Arminianism; and when they turn their minds to its description of the Supreme, Universal Governor, they hastily accuse it of hyper-Calvinism. In these alternations between conflicting charges, they copy old replies to old theories, and misdirect them to a new doctrine. They overlook the element which Edwards disclosed to the church, the union between certainty and spontaneous choice. They forget the very genius of his system. This genius is, to blend the loftiest truths concerning the Creator, with the most equitable truths concerning the creature; to heighten our reverence for God, by disclosing his generosity to man, and to deepen our penitence for sin, by showing the ease with which it might have been avoided. A pious heart longs to glorify God;

¹ Channing's *Memoir*, Vol. I. p. 142; and *Works*, Vol. IV. pp. 342 seq.

² Willson's *Historical Sketch*, p. 184.

a sympathizing heart would arouse men to free action; a comprehensive theology teaches in order to exhort freely, and exhorts freely in order to teach. If Cecil had been familiar with the New England scheme, he never would have felt the necessity of oscillating between his own speculative creed, and the speculative creed of his opposers. He betrays the disproportions of mere Calvinism, and its consequent failure to satisfy a practical Christian, in the following apothegms:

"The right way of interpreting Scripture is, to take it as we find it, without any attempt to force it into any particular system. Whatever may be fairly inferred from Scripture, we need not fear to insist on. Many passages speak the language of what is called Calvinism, and that in almost the strongest terms. I would not have a man clip and curtail these passages, to bring them down to some system: let him go with them in their free and full sense; for, otherwise, if he do not absolutely pervert them, he will attenuate their energy. But, let him look at as many more, which speak the language of Arminianism, and let him go all the way with these, also. God has been pleased thus to state and to leave the thing; and all our attempts to distort it, one way or the other, are puny and contemptible."

"No man will preach the Gospel so *freely* as the Scriptures preach it, unless he will submit to talk like an Antinomian, in the estimation of a great body of Christians; nor will any man preach it so *practically* as the Scriptures, unless he will submit to be called, by as large a body, an Arminian. Many think that they find a middle path: which is, in fact, neither one thing nor another; since it is not the incomprehensible, but grand plan of the Bible. It is somewhat of human contrivance. It savors of human poverty and littleness."¹

Mr. Simeon, also, whom the Princeton Review so justly extols, would have found the Edwardean scheme sufficiently copious and liberal to satisfy his many-sided heart, and to save him from adopting one speculative creed for one purpose, and an opposite speculative creed for another purpose. He says:

"Here are two other extremes, Calvinism and Arminianism (for you need not be told how long Calvin and Arminius lived before St. Paul). 'How do you move in reference to these, Paul? In a golden mean?' 'No.'—'To one extreme?' 'No.'—'How then?' 'To both extremes: to-day I am a strong Calvinist; to-morrow a strong Arminian.'—'Well, well, Paul, I see thou art beside thyself: go to Aristotle, and learn the golden mean.'"²

¹ Cecil's Remains, pp. 162, 163. Boston edition. There is nothing in a late Convention sermon that approximates to the license of these remarks; yet the Princeton Review says, "Cecil is one of our classics," and it recommends him as tending "to cure young men of the hum-drum or *Blair* method." (Bib. Repository, Vol. XVII. p. 639.)

² Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M. A. By the Rev. William Carus, M. A. London Ed. 1847. p. 600.

Is it possible to conceive, that either of the Edwardses, or Hopkins, or Emmons, would indite such an apology for Antinomianism or Arminianism? They dreaded each of these creeds, as an angel of death. Yet they have been condemned for sanctioning both; condemned, because they have been misunderstood; misunderstood, because their system is original and novel; original and novel, because it combines the one-sided truth which the Antinomian had distorted, with the one-sided truth which the Arminian had distorted; separates the two truths from the errors with which the Antinomian and the Arminian had intertwined them, and harmonizes the two into one capacious system; a system rigidly accurate in form, and still indulgent enough to allow many bold, hearty expressions of its own truth; a system the *minutiae* of which Calvin and Augustine would have consistently defended, if they had lived when the laws of interpretation and the philosophy of common sense had been as clear and prominent, as they have been during and since the time of the Edwardses.

In the last place, the Theology of New England is the only system of speculative orthodoxy which will endure examination; and it is, therefore, destined to prevail. It is impugned by men who are often forced to own its "radical principles." They are driven to it, and soon they disavow it, and then come to it, and leave it once more, and afterwards flee back to it, and as soon abandon it, only to return another time, and so forsake it yet again. Dr. Hodge often appears upon its ground, either as a friend or foe; and our only complaint is, that, in either capacity, he stays too short a time. In his onsets and retreats, he represents the character of all opposition to the truth. He writes condemnatory words upon our creed, and then we quote from him other words, in which he has uttered the identical sentiments which he now controverts. We produce against him the very Essays, from which he has mainly derived his fame, as an "accomplished Reviewer." He replies, that we impute to him Essays, "some of which [he] probably never even read."¹ This is to be re-

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 688. We have ascribed to Dr. Hodge's authorship, not more than four Articles in the Bib. Repertory, and those are the Articles which have been long admitted to be his, by "common fame;" an authority which ought not, since 1837, to have been "excised" from his remembrance. We have quoted other Essays, indeed, as expressing opinions, which he is known, from other sources, to entertain; but we have been careful to mention him as the author of not more than four, and those, the very Essays, which have been most unanimously imputed to him. Their spirit and style bear a marked resemblance to the spirit and style of his assault upon a harmless Con-

gretted. He has enjoyed, for many years, the ovations of a party for those bold Reviews; and now, when their self-nullifying character is exposed, he never read them, "probably." For twenty years, has he been shining in borrowed plumage? The Conductors of the Biblical Repertory have virtually avowed themselves responsible for two of the four Essays which we referred to our assailant; and is he prepared to assert, that he was not then a Conductor of the work, which one of his admirers has denominated "Professor Hodge's Biblical Repertory?"¹ He says, that we have "gone back twenty years," for the self-contradictions which we have collated from his reputed writings.² What! Does "Gibraltar" crumble into the Mediterranean, within a span of twenty years? Has it come to this, "that those old walls, which have stood for ages, even from the beginning,"³ turn out to be made of a substance, which will not keep so long as a third part of a man's life? This is a frail plea, since all the more important Essays, which we cited, have been republished within five years, and are even yet applauded, as the very Ehrenbreitstein of our Reviewer's theology; a brittle theology, indeed, when the stoutest defences of it are not to be touched, because they were put up "twenty years" ago! Our critic has condemned us for having opposed the Augustinian doctrine of Imputation. We have adduced the most decisive words of renowned Augustinians, to prove

vention sermon, and are the legitimate results of a faith which shrinks from being investigated. Thus, in one of these Articles, he accuses Dr. Beman of reviving the "often refuted slander of Socinians and Papists;" of having made a "wicked misrepresentation;" of writing a book, according to which "the atonement must be rejected, as either incredible or worthless;" of leaving out "the very soul of the doctrine," etc. The Reviewer adds: "That Dr. Cox, in his Introduction, should applaud such a book, neither surprises nor pains us. We are all aware, that he knows no better." Bib. Repert. Vol. XVII. pp. 117, 137, 138. Was it not natural for us to infer, that the author of such phrases is the same gentleman, by whom we are accused of having an alembic for evaporating the doctrines of the Bible, and by whom we are likened to a Frenchman trying to teach English, and our words are said to be "kept going up and down, like a juggler's balls," etc.? Bib. Repert. Vol. XXIII. pp. 675, 687, 695, etc. We shall be happy to hear an unequivocal statement, that not one of these sentences came from the writer on the "Way of Life." We are sorry to say, however, that the four Essays which we have ascribed to him, are marked with his well-known facility of controverting himself, and with his tendency to pervert the quotations which he ascribes to his antagonist, and with what we may call, "for want of a better name," his *striking* style.

¹ See Dr. Brown's Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, Supplementary Notes, p. 17. See also Bib. Repert. Vol. II. p. 431.

² Bib. Repert. Vol. XXIII. p. 688.

³ Ibid. p. 319.

that our critic himself has often opposed it. He replies, first, that we are ignorant; and, secondly, that we quote authors of whom he has never heard.¹ Yet these very authors are cited by Rivetus, as the standard-bearers of orthodoxy, and the Princeton Review has translated one part of their testimony, and expressed a desire to see the remainder "translated and published in a volume;"² and just so soon as we have begun to comply with the wishes of that Review, it turns round, and protests that it never heard of the authorities, which it has recommended once and again. And in the same breath, it accuses us of turning a "corner," and performing a "pirouette."³ Rivetus "was the greatest theologian of the age," says that same Review, and the Treatise from which we have quoted our authorities, is the most celebrated of his works, and Turretin (Pars I. p. 691) has recommended it as containing the standards of orthodoxy; and still the Review has never heard of some of those standards, and advises us to read Turretin, and condemns us for having "read up," *already*,⁴ and pretends, withal, that its course is self-consistent. In our critic's endeavor to evade the responsibility of Essays, which have been so long regarded as the exponents of his dogmatic system, in his not having heard of the authors who have been so celebrated for avowing the old Calvinism in the plainest words, he has betrayed the vacillating character of the faith which he would set up against our own. We asked him for the bread of instruction; and he has given us back the stone of reproof, charging us with having misunderstood the Augustinian doctrine of Imputed Sin. But this very charge is a sign of his precarious position; for we have represented the Augustinian doctrine, just as it has been portrayed by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Smalley, Dwight; by Neander, Bretschneider, Marheinecke, Hahn, Hase, Knapp, Reinhard, Doederlein, Meier, Schott, and, indeed, all the more eminent theologians of Germany.⁵ But while Dr. Hodge avows his agreement with the old Augustinians, and denies that their doctrine involves an identity between ourselves and Adam, what is his reason for passing over, in ominous silence, their argu-

¹ Comp. Bib. Repert., Vol. XXIII. pp. 678, 679, 682, 695.

² Bib. Repertory, Vol. XI. p. 579.

³ Ib. Vol. XXIII. p. 687.

⁴ Comp. Bib. Repertory. Vol. XXIII. pp. 678, 695.

⁵ We have repeatedly asserted, that the doctrine of our having literally sinned in Adam, was the prevailing doctrine of the Augustinians, and that there were subordinate parties, who held other theories. See various theories stated in Hahn's *Lehrbuch des christl. Glaubens*. Theil II. § 81, Bretschneider's *Entwickelung*, § 89, vierte Auflage. Knapp's *Theology*, Art. VI. § 57 and Art. IX. § 76. Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus*, §§ 82—87.

ment, that we are doomed not unjustly, but justly, to our earliest spiritual death; and therefore we deserve that death, and hence must have deserved it before we were visited with it, that is, before we were conceived in sin; and, accordingly, we must, ere we were shapen in our penal iniquity, have participated in Adam's offence? This is a standard argument. Our critic is logically bound to explain its origin and meaning. Instead of doing so, he busies himself in discoursing about Schleiermacher. The notable argument which he thus neglects, is useful in illustrating the old phrases, which pervade the Augustinian metaphysics. And why has not our Reviewer accounted for those phrases, if they do not, when used in philosophical prose, imply that we are morally blamable for Adam's transgression? Why do we read, in the most unimpassioned metaphysics of Calvinism, that "the sin of Adam is ours by propagation," by imputation, and *also by participation*;" that "as children are a part of their parents, so children are, in a manner, partakers of their parents' sin" (Pareus); that Adam's offence was "transferred," "brought over," "transmitted" to us as *persons*, because we had, as *natures*, previously existed and sinned in him."¹ The mental state which led philosophers to the use of these as logical phrases, is a marked phenomenon; it demands an explanation from our Reviewer. No wonder, then, that he threatens to retire from the controversy, unless we confine ourselves to his freshly compiled "anti-Augustinian" creed. Why has he forbore, in all his hundred pages against us, to write one paragraph on the astounding theories which have been formed, for explaining the mode of our participation in the sin of Eden? He avers, that the old Calvinists were guiltless of believing in our moral demerit for that offence. What, then, was the need of their herculean efforts to prove that we were voluntary in the primal transgression? What necessity was there for the doctrine of "spermatic animalcules," by and in which we, who have grown up from them, were contaminated in the person of our ancestors? What induced men to invent their phenomenal explanations of personal identity, if they did not regard the entire race as morally identical with the first ancestor? And why has our Reviewer, seeing these old doctrines rise before him in such a questionable shape, refused to look at them, and turned

¹ Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. pp. 609—614. That many of these phrases were originally poetical, and are often now dissolved into the same, we have stated. But what is their meaning in logical formulas? How will our Reviewer interpret Gerhard, Loci Theol. Tom. IV. § 52, p. 316, and Marckius, Theol. Cap. XV. §§ 31, 32? He has quoted these authors, and therefore heard of them.

away his eyes to what he calls the "Paine light" in a Convention sermon, and imitated Tully in the "public-place," who "spoke Greek," while "those that understood him smiled at one another, and shook their heads."¹ And why has the learned Reviewer been so unwilling to explain the difference between the Calvinistic doctrine of Imputed Sin, and that of Imputed Righteousness? There has been a difference. The tomes of Calvin and his disciples are pervaded by the sentiment, that the sin of Adam is imputed to us "deservedly," but the righteousness of Christ "undeservedly;" the former, "justly;" the latter, "gratuitously;" the one, "*after* and *because* we had sinned;" the other, *before* we had been holy. What does this difference mean? And over and above his eloquent silence on these grave questions, why does our critic shrink from confessing, that the old Calvinists believed in our moral identity with Adam? Why does he not believe in it himself? What if we could not have been present in that garden? "Power does not limit responsibility." What if we could not have known the law of Paradise? "We may sin without any knowledge of law." What if we did not act, in eating the apple? "All sin does not consist in acting." If we may be blamable for events which preceded our choice by one hour, we may be blamable for events which preceded our choice by six thousand years. And the only reason why our worthy critic recoils from the hypothesis of "ante-natal" sin, is, that he practically believes in the three radical principles, which he intermittently disapproves. Once overlook the axioms, that power must equal duty, that knowledge is essential to holiness or sin;—then, we have nothing to hold us back from the faith that we ought to have obeyed the law in Eden, and to have performed a thousand unknown and impossible deeds. Our assailant cannot write a page on this theme, without betraying his regard for those principles of common sense, which undermine his theories.

Take an example. He describes us as saying, that "a man is put to death by a sovereign act;" and he describes himself as gainsaying us by the assertion, that a man is put to death "with the trifling, intermediate links of guilt and just condemnation."² But hold him close to this word "guilt;" he will at once try to escape, with the plea that he does not mean *moral* guilt: fasten him to the word "just condemnation;" he will struggle to get free, with the apology that he does not mean "morally just." What, then, does he mean? Nothing more than this: men, without any sin of their own, are subjected

¹ Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, Act. I. Sc. II.

² Biblical Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 680.

to evil, because they are "exposed" to it, by Him who designs, in this exposure, to express his abhorrence of sin in Adam. This is the New England representation, in all things except its verbiage. The Reviewer does, indeed, call our first suffering "penal," and "judicial;" but he has divested these words of their moral import, and thus given up the theoretical life, while he retains the dead letter of the ancient system.¹ He has reduced the words to *trifling* ambiguities. 'Pregnant with meaning' is his assertion, that he connects the first suffering of men with their previous state, by "the *trifling*, intermediate links of guilt and just condemnation."² They are trifling links, when he has burned out their pristine temper. On many other doctrines, as well as on this, he is led astray by his favorite words; and he alternately disclaims and acknowledges their ancient meaning. He builds up a platform of metaphorical terminology; but no sooner does an examiner step on it, than it caves in. It is out of joint, and will not bear the weight of a lexicon. It cannot stand. In the hour of trouble, its advocates always flee to the New England system. This system is sustained by argument, and not by suspicious intimations about Schleiermacher. It is a system which will bear to be looked at, and is not a theology of mere "Dissolving Views." The science of the world is in favor of it. The spirit and plain import of the Bible, are in favor of it. The moral instincts of the race are in favor of it. The common sense of common men, is in favor of it. They can be kept back from it, only by the incessant roll of a polemic drum, which alarms them by its discordant sounds.

More than thirty years ago, an eager antagonist announced, that "the grand enemy of truth, the most to be dreaded, because the most insinuating and the most to be opposed, is Hopkinsianism;" and that "a very large majority of the professors of religion in the United States, are either Hopkinsians or entire Arminians;"³ and he invoked the genius of Princeton against the creed which drew its life from

¹ In his last Review (p. 679), he represents us as saying, that the difference between the ancient theory of Imputation and our own, is merely verbal. He mistakes. We said the very opposite. We represented as merely verbal the difference between our theory and that which our Reviewer adopts in those better hours, when he abandons the old Augustinism.

² Bib. Repertory, Vol. XXIII. p. 680.

³ Willson's Historical Sketch, pp. 210, 215, 191 seq. On pp. 184, 185, this writer quotes the Pastoral Letter of the Synod of Philadelphia, dated Sept. 20, 1816, and warning the churches against "Arian, Socinian, Arminian and Hopkinsian heresies." According to Hopkins, he says (p. 158), "the atonement really amounted to *nothing*."

Edwards, Bellamy and Hopkins. Nor was his invocation idle; for, many a time, has Princeton declared, that the evils of Hopkinsianism may be traced to Edwards, who is said to have rejected the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel. Only six years ago, it spoke of "that pitchy cloud of religious and philosophical heresies, that covers the land of the Puritans;" and, after proclaiming that "the New England Theology has stood now almost a hundred years," characterizes it as "a system that had its origin in opinions, too much like 'another gospel;' although its teachers seemed, indeed, scarcely less than angels of God."¹ But, "*laborant, cum ventum ad verum est.*" The "northern heresies" are suddenly shut up to a "small coterie." "That pitchy cloud" has become no bigger than a man's hand. The stars that rose in the eastern sky, to shed disastrous light on half the church, have now only one "aberration," and that "in the direction of ultra-Calvinism." "The father of Hopkinsianism" now lies entombed in the confidence of theologians who once viewed him with dread. They have garnished the sepulchre of Bellamy, and embalmed "the other great men of New England." Through much tribulation, did those great men enter into the kingdom of truth. Their royal genius is now honored by their foes. Well, then, may we do homage to our fathers' memory. How can we be recreant to their faith, when its past successes are but an earnest of its future triumph?

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

I. PATMOS, AND THE SEVEN CHURCHES.²

THIS work is intended as a contribution to the Sacred Geography of the New Testament.

The modern name of Patmos is *Patino* or *Patmosa* (not *Patimo* or *Patmosa*, as in some of our helps); the ruins of Ephesus are near the Turkish village of *Aja-suluk*, thought to be a corruption of *hagios theologos*, 'Holy

¹ Bib. Repertory, Vol. XVIII. pp. 25, 26.

² Patmos, and the Seven Churches of Asia; published by Rev. Josiah Brewer of Middletown, Ct. and John W. Barber of New Haven, 1851.

Divine;’ Smyrna is the modern *Ismir*; Pergamos is now *Bergamo*; Thyatira is now called *Ak-hissar*, ‘white castle;’ Sardis is called *Sart*; Philadelphia is called *Ala-shehr*, ‘high city;’ and Laodicea, *Eski-hissar*, ‘old castle.’

These localities are fully described by Mr. Brewer, who visited them all personally, excepting Thyatira. He has also entered into their ancient history. The description has been embellished by Mr. Barber with suitable engravings to illustrate the general appearance of these places, and the most interesting objects in them.

The stern and desolate character of the island, and the tradition existing on the spot, are vouchers that Patmos was the *actual*, and not merely the *ideal* seat of the visions.

The identification of Patmos and of the Seven Churches in Asia, as exhibited in this work, is a general confirmation of the scriptural notices concerning these places. There is no reasonable doubt in respect to any one of them. There is no dissonance between what is said of them in the Bible and what is learned from historians and travellers. The points of accordance are not indeed very numerous, not very minute; yet some of them are interesting.

1. The tradition of the Greek church still points out a grotto or natural cavern in Patmos, where St. John is said to have received his revelation.

2. The Seven Churches are in the neighborhood (within about 200 miles) of Patmos, and are named in the Apocalypse in the order in which they might be most conveniently visited from that island.

3. The seven localities appear in early Christian times as the seats of important churches. The only exception is Laodicea; but for this church we have the joint testimony of Paul and John. See Col. 2: 1. 4: 13, 15, 16.

4. Ephesian coins are still in existence, on which is exhibited a figure of the goddess Diana. Comp. Acts 19: 23.

5. A temple of Esculapius, who is usually represented under the image of a serpent, is said to have existed at Pergamos. To this Rev. 2: 13 has been thought to allude.

6. An inscription in honor of Antonius Claudius Alphenus has been discovered at Thyatira, on which mention is made of a company of dyers; and Thyatira is famous for dyeing, even at the present day. Comp. Acts 16: 14.

7. Jews are represented in an ancient epistle of the Smyrneans as being present at and aiding in the martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. Comp. what is said of Jews, Rev. 2: 9.

Why St. John chose exactly these churches (not Collosse, Hierapolis, Magnesia, Tralles, Miletus, which would seem to have equal claim to be selected), does not appear. This, however, does not authorize us to assume, on the one hand, that the Seven Churches are merely symbolical of the Church universal, or of seven periods in the history of the same; or, on the other hand, that only the churches named have an interest in the visions. The correct view to be taken is that of De Wette, ‘that St. John, out of the churches of Asia Minor with which he was most closely connected, selected

seven most needing his exhortations, in order through them to dedicate his work to the whole church.' G.

II. HENDERSON'S COMMENTARY ON JEREMIAH.¹

THE venerable author of this Commentary has been favorably known to the religious public for many years. As the indefatigable agent of the Bible Society, he traversed the northern and central parts of the continent of Europe, and became versed in some of the most important living languages. His *Travels in Iceland*, and his *Observations on the Vaudois of Piedmont*, are full of valuable information, and are written in a very agreeable style. His *Commentaries on the Minor Prophets* and on *Isaiah*, are probably the best specimens of exegetical talent and learning which have ever appeared in England. The author manifests an intimate acquaintance with the original text and with the versions in the cognate dialects, an independent judgment, profound reverence for the inspired Word, power of condensing much matter into little space, and often a very happy tact in eliciting and expressing the shades of thought.

The work on *Jeremiah* is preceded by a short Introduction, in which the author considers the life and times of the prophet, the style of his writings, the arrangement of the prophecies, and the Septuagint version of the book. The notes are in general brief, usually filling not more than one third of the page; the remainder is taken up with the text. As usual with the author, numerous and valuable illustrations and analogies are drawn from the early versions. While he admits and acts upon the fair principles of criticism in regard to the text, yet he has no sympathy with the reckless and arbitrary handling of it, which has been recently so fashionable. The union of scholarship and of unaffected reverence for the Scriptures is rarely seen to better advantage than in Dr. Henderson's writings. The Notes, we think, are in some cases, too brief. Ampler illustrations, especially on the more difficult passages, would have been acceptable. The translation fails, in some cases, in simplicity. Modern words and those of Latin origin are used, where monosyllables or Saxon terms would have been in better taste. We quote a few instances, and mark the objectionable words by Italics. "To whom the word of Jehovah was *communicated*," p. 1; "shall the calamity be *disclosed*," p. 4; "all who devoured him *contracted* guilt," p. 8; "a land of *sterility*," p. 9; "*apostate* deeds," p. 12; "thine iniquity is *ingrained* before me," p. 14; "go *powerless*," p. 281; "no hands *attacked* her," "they are not *recognized*," and "their skin *adheres* to their bones," p. 298. In these passages, the words marked are not essential to express the sense.

¹ The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of Lamentations, translated from the original Hebrew; with a Commentary, critical, philological and exegetical. By E. Henderson, D. D. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1851, pp. 303. 8vo.

III. LIFE OF BISHOP COPLESTON.¹

DR. Copleston was one of the best representatives of one of the best colleges at Oxford. He was wholly identified with the university system. Between thirty and forty years, he lived at Oxford as a student, tutor, fellow, professor, or provost. While fellow of Oriel, he was associated with men like Whately, Davison, Arnold, Keble, Hampden and others, who shed such lustre on that college. When he became provost, he carried out with enlightened zeal the reforms begun by his predecessors, and, with the harmonious coöperation of the fellows, made the college most eminent in the university. He seems to have united talents that rarely meet in one individual; financial skill and business habits, powers of abstract reasoning with a taste cultivated almost to fastidiousness, the manners of an accomplished gentleman, with profound and various scholarship. The three works by which he is most known are his *Inquiries into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, his *Academic Prelections*, delivered when he was professor of poetry, and said to be written in almost faultless Latin; *Replies to the Edinburgh Reviewers in their attacks on the English University system*, written with a mastery of the subject, with pungent sarcasm, in a polished and vigorous style, and yet with the candid acknowledgment that there were defects in the system. One of his opponents afterwards confessed his errors and asked Dr. Copleston's pardon. Parts of these *Replies* are well worth reprinting, as they defend truths, with consummate ability, which it is now the fashion in this country to assail. "Dear old Aristotle," as Dr. Arnold was accustomed to call him, never had a more loving defender than Dr. Copleston. As a bishop of a retired Welsh diocese, Dr. C. labored with great industry, with remarkable pecuniary liberality, and with much success. The *Memoir*, though the materials are rather scanty, and though the biographer has no great skill, will be read with profit by all who are interested in the employment of great talent and learning for the best good of mankind.

IV. RECENT WORKS ON CHURCH HISTORY.²

THE fourth volume of Torrey's translation of Neander's *Church History* has recently been published by Crocker & Brewster of Boston. All those parts of Neander's historical writings which Prof. Torrey has translated, are the best which that author has written, and Prof. Torrey thus far is his best English translator. Everywhere we see Neander himself, with his capacious, well-stored head, and his great, loving heart, and his blind-fold, heavy, but most mighty movement. This *Church History* is the book of books for

¹ *Memoir of Edward Copleston, D. D., bishop of Llandaff. With Selections from his Diary and Correspondence*, by William James Copleston, M. A. London: John W. Parker & Son, West Strand, 1851, pp. 345. 8vo.

² *Neander's Church History*, translated by Torrey. *Gieseler's Church History*, translated by Davidson. *Schaff's Kirchengeschichte*.

the thoughtful scholar; and it will have a predominating influence in moulding *the church of the future*. The most pernicious errors of this great and good man, his views of inspiration and the Christian Sabbath, are not prominently seen in these volumes, while all his numerous good qualities shine like the noon-day sun. His *Life of Christ* and his *Apostolic Church* Mr. Torrey has not translated, and it is in those works that his mistakes most painfully appear. They so fall in with the corrupt tendencies of the age, and are so sanctioned by his great name, that they are all the more mischievous. In regard to these parts of church history, we altogether prefer the excellent volume of Prof. Schaff, recently published; and we cannot but recommend to Prof. Torrey to translate that as the introductory volume to his *Neander*. The work would then be complete as far as it goes.

Neander does not often refer to his authorities, nor does he give many quotations from the original sources. In these respects, Gieseler does just what Neander does not; and every scholar should have and use Gieseler as *notes and authorities*, or *proofs and illustrations* to Neander. The two together make up, what neither is or can be separately, a *full and finished church history*.

A very good English translation, from the older editions of Gieseler, was made by Mr. F. Cunningham, and published in Philadelphia in 1836. Dr. Davidson has recently made another translation from the last German edition, extended to A. D. 1093; and the two volumes have been very handsomely printed by the Harpers in New York. The high regard which is due to Dr. Davidson's excellencies as a man and his merits as a scholar, makes us the more regret that he did not take more time to revise his translation and carefully correct it before submitting it to the public. There are infelicities in it which can be accounted for only on the supposition of extreme haste and a pressure of other cares and labors.

In looking over the last half of the second volume, we find the preposition *ror* translated by the noun *preface*, p. 183 of the translation; *Extravaganten* made *extravagancies*, p. 216; *Engern* translated *Hungary*, p. 250; *Christann* made *Christianity*, p. 362; and other blemishes of the same sort. The work needs a careful revision.

C. E. S.

V. SELECT DISCOURSES OF SERENO EDWARDS DWIGHT, D. D.¹

THERE would have been an obvious impropriety in withholding from the public these memoirs, with the accompanying sermons, of the late Sereno Edwards Dwight. His merits as a scholar and a preacher, the important services which he achieved for the church and the world, his character as a man and a Christian, imperiously required the preparation of this volume.

¹ Select Discourses of Sereno Edwards Dwight, D. D., Pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, and President of Hamilton College, in New York; with a Memoir of his Life, by William T. Dwight, D. D., Pastor of the Third Congregational Church, Portland, Me. Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster. pp. 382.

The accomplished Editor has executed his task in a skilful and felicitous manner. The fraternal interest which he took in the work, has not betrayed him into any exaggerations. Most readers would probably be glad, had the events of Dr. Dwight's life been narrated with more fulness and minuteness of detail. This remark applies especially to the period of eight years in which he was Pastor of Park Street Church. His connection with that church at so early and critical a period of its existence, the state of permanent prosperity in which his ministry was instrumental in placing it, the conspicuous part which he bore in the ever memorable conflict between the Evangelical and Liberal parties and in all the important religious movements of the time, would seem to have rendered desirable a more copious narrative. We, however, appreciate the motive which prompted the writer to study brevity, — a feature unfortunately so rare in biographical sketches.

The narrative of Dr. Dwight's life is followed by a selection from his sermons. The discourses on the Death of Christ comprise the larger portion. These were delivered and published in 1826. They well deserve a republication. They are constructed on a somewhat peculiar plan. The facts connected with the death of Christ are first given. The phraseology in which its purpose is set forth in the Bible, is then subjected to a rigorous examination. After specifying the different erroneous theories that have been framed of the purpose of Christ's death, it is shown that no one of these theories gives an adequate solution of the facts connected with it, nor harmonizes with the language in which the Bible sets forth its purpose. A comparison of what the author esteems the true theory with these facts and with the phraseology of the Scriptures, is then instituted and the conclusion arrived at, that inasmuch as the evangelical view of Christ's death most satisfactorily explains the facts and agrees best with the scriptural phraseology, it is the only correct theory. This method of discussing the subject has the advantage of novelty and impressiveness, and affords scope for much ingenious and conclusive reasoning. Its great evil is the sameness of manner in which each error is combated; causing the reader to become sensible of a degree of weariness. With this abatement, the public will doubtless attach a high value to these discourses; although many of the errors which are discussed in them, have long since ceased to be anything else than objects of dim remembrance.

For most purposes which a scientific theologian has in view, sermons, designed to produce their whole effect while listened to, have not the value of regular treatises on separate doctrines. Yet the preacher and theological student may often derive much benefit from noticing the means, by which those who have preached effectively on doctrinal subjects, have succeeded in doing so. These Discourses, in this point of view if in no other, will reward a close examination.

The remaining sermons in the volume are of a practical character. The reader would not hesitate to infer what is stated in the Memoir, that Dr. Dwight studiously aimed in his preaching, not to win admiration by the charms of his style, but to convince his hearers of sin and be an agent in

their conversion. The modesty of the Editor will be thought, however, by many to have led him to underrate the merits of these sermons in respect to style. With the exception of here and there a word or form of expression which elegant usage perhaps does not approve, there is little to offend a fastidious taste. The truth is presented in a direct and forcible style, simple and by no means destitute of elegance; and with a remembrance of the oratorical talents of Dr. Dwight, it is easily seen how his auditories must have been powerfully moved by his sermons.

Notwithstanding the great number of books of this character which are at present published, no injury can be apprehended from even the indefinite multiplication of well executed biographies of good men. Let the dead speak as well as the living. And let us be allowed, in order that we may become wise, sometimes to walk with the wise men who have departed.

VI. THE PALACES OF NINEVEH AND PERSEPOLIS.¹

THIS is one of the monographic treatises that naturally follow in the train of the recent explorations in Assyria by Botta and Layard.

The architecture of ancient Assyria and Persia, as developed by Mr. Fergusson in this work, is thought by him to throw light on the architecture of southwestern Asia, particularly on that of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem, and thus indirectly to elucidate the sacred Scriptures. We propose to exhibit some of the details.

1. Mr. Fergusson considers certain distyle halls, found among the ruins at Persepolis, as being cells or rooms in front of the main building, corresponding to the *propylæa* of the classic writers. These halls appear to be called *duwarthim* (accus. case) in the inscriptions. If we suppose the gate, where Mordecai overheard the conspirators, where he refused to bow to Haman, and where he could not enter clothed in sackcloth (Est. 2: 21. 3: 2, 3. 4: 2, 6.), to be one of these gateways, and not a mere gate or entrance, these passages of Scripture will acquire increased significance. See Fergusson, p. 112.

2. Some of the pillars found at Persepolis have capitals of seven feet, and even of sixteen and a half feet in height. These dimensions make the chapiters or capitals of the pillars Jachin and Boaz, which measured five cubits (1 K. 7: 16.) quite conceivable. See Ferg. p. 159, 160, 220.

3. The staircases of the ancient Persians were highly ornamented with sculptures and paintings, as was their architecture generally. If we suppose the same of the ascent or stairway into the house of the Lord (1 K. 10: 5. 2 Chron. 9: 4.), it will easily explain how these steps could excite the great admiration of the queen of Sheba. See Ferg. p. 248.

4. The cells or guard-chambers surrounding the palace of Darius at Per-

¹ The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored: an Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture. By James Fergusson, Esq. London. 1851. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 368.

sepolis, explain the nature of the side-chambers (1 K. 6: 5, 6.) in the temple of Solomon. See Ferg. p. 178, 179, 221.

5. The inner halls at Persepolis are found to be square. This agrees with the temple of Solomon, as described in the Bible, and by Josephus and the Talmudists. See Ferg. p. 221.

6. Stages, with canopies, on the roofs of houses are supposed to have been used by the ancient Persians for the worship of the heavenly bodies, perhaps also by the ancient Israelites (2 K. 23: 11, 12. Jer. 19: 13. 32: 29. Zeph. 1: 5.). See Ferg. p. 126 ff, 181.

7. The architecture of the ancient Assyrians and Persians was decorated with figures of composite animals, as the Hebrew architecture was with cherubic figures. See Ferg. p. 351.

8. Mr. Fergusson finds in Assyrian architecture a throne supported by figures of men and animals, which accords with the throne of God supported by cherubs, as in the vision of Ezekiel. See Ferg. p. 184.

These results show that the author has not labored in vain.

G.

VII. ARNOLD'S GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION. PART II.¹

THIS work is offered to the public by its author as a completion of his "Practical Introduction to Greek Prose Composition," the first part of which was published several years ago, and has been reproduced in this country by two different editors. One of these was Mr. Spencer, the American editor of the present volume; the other, a Mr. Harris, an undergraduate of Waterville College, whose early promise was soon after blasted by death, before the completion of his college course. The author apologizes for the delay which has attended the completion of his work, on the plea partly of ill health, and partly of more pressing engagements. No one who has endeavored to follow the track of his successive publications will think of charging him with tardiness or indolence. Among the announcements of the last three months, we have an edition of the *Philippics* of Demosthenes, with English notes, by T. K. Arnold; and an edition, nearly ready, of the whole of *Homer's Iliad*, with copious English notes, by the same author; besides an edition of *Cicero's Tusculan Disputations*, with a Commentary translated from the German by another person, but announced as edited by T. K. Arnold; and lastly, a *New Handbook of Grecian Mythology*, from the German, by the same indefatigable hand. With such a list before us, we could more readily allow the excuse of pressing engagements, than credit that of ill health. It deserves to be ranked with the achievements of Mr. James and M. Dumas, among the prodigies of book-making.

In the present work, the Greek particles are arranged in alphabetic order, each with a description of its various uses, and one or more illustrative exer-

¹ A Practical Introduction to Greek Prose Composition. Part II. (The Particles.) By Thomas Kerchever Arnold, M. A. First American Edition, revised and improved. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 248.

cises, to be turned from English into Greek. The alphabetic arrangement, though not without its convenience, has the disadvantage of separating many things, which belong properly together. Thus the connectives *καί* and *τε* are found in different parts of the volume. The exercises consist of sentences or paragraphs, taken from the Athenian classics and rendered into English; the business of the pupil, therefore, is to reproduce as nearly as he can, the form of the original. We are thus secured against the intrusion of modern objects and conceptions, such as could not well be expressed by the resources of an ancient idiom. The pieces are taken for the most part from Xenophon, Plato, Thucydides and Demosthenes. They are amply sufficient, as regards both variety of forms and complexity of construction, to test the power of the most capable and thorough scholar. The American editor has regarded it as not expedient to attempt to supply an English-Greek vocabulary; he refers the student to "the excellent English-Greek Lexicon of Yonge," adding that it will soon be accessible to the American public in an edition by Professor Drisler. We cannot help thinking, however, that a table, containing at least the most remarkable peculiarities of idiom and construction, which the exercises present, would have contributed materially to the convenience and usefulness of the work.

A noticeable desideratum, but one easily supplied, is a list of the abbreviations. The letter *M.* found at the end of several remarks, refers possibly to Matthiae's Grammar; but so far as we have seen, there is nothing to prevent the reader from thinking of Madvig, or any other grammarian, whose name may begin with *M.* A simple *H.* leaves us in doubt whether we have the authority of Hoogeveen, or Hermann, or Hartung, or some one else, for the statement in question. Kühner, Krüger and Klotz are generally so cited as to keep them distinct; but we are puzzled occasionally by a *K.* which would answer for any one of them.

A large proportion of the peculiar idiom of the Greek language stands connected with its numerous and finely-shaded particles. At the same time, there is much, which does not admit of being placed in such a connection. Many points, therefore, not less important than those treated in this work, are excluded from its plan. In this respect the book, though intended by its author, as a completion of his Introduction to Greek Prose Composition, has not all the completeness that could be desired. Of course, however, this fact does not impair its value as a copious description and illustration of the particular subject to which it relates.

ARTICLE IX.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from Rev. Dr. J. Perkins, Orûmiah, Aug. 9, 1851.

"I recently (though not for the first time), passed an ancient sculpture of interest, in Salmas, which, you will recollect, is on the eastern border of ancient Armenia, and on the western boundary of modern Persia. The Plain of Salmas is sixty miles north of the city of Orûmiah. It is from ten to fifteen miles broad, and at least twenty miles long, and almost a water level; its eastern end lying on the lake of Orûmiah, and its western end and north and south sides being bounded by the Kûrdish mountains. On the southern border of this beautiful plain, about four miles west from the shore of the lake, is the sculpture in question. It is on the southern face of an isolated, craggy cliff of dark colored limestone, that rises abruptly from the plain, just at the foot of the mountain range on the south. It is not more than one hundred feet north of one of the roads, which lead from the upper or western portion of Salmas over the mountains to the Plain of Orûmiah, the road here passing between this isolated cliff and the mountain. The sculpture is perhaps forty feet above the plain. It is carved on the perpendicular face of the rock, which is hewn to receive it. It consists of two figures, or rather, clusters of figures, three or more feet apart, each, a horse on which is mounted a noble rider, armed with a sword, and a humbler footman at the head of the horse, facing the rider and grasping his right hand, as if to receive a pledge or implore pardon. The figures are as large as life. The horses and riders face the west. The riders are beautifully clad; their heads being mounted with ample turbans having streamers flying from them. The work is very finely executed. Every feature is distinct, spirited and life-like. The figures are entire and perfect, with the exception of a slight injury on the face of one of the riders, caused by the weather. The rock itself being hard, and the sculptured face perpendicular, and on the southern side of the cliff, and thus shielded in a great measure from the common direction of storms, the work remains almost uninjured from age to age. The face of the cliff is broken around the hewn surface on which the sculpture is carved, so that it is impossible to determine in what relation the work originally stood. It may have formed a portion of the interior of a palace, hewn from the natural rock; but any such supposition is of course conjectural. There are no inscriptions on this cliff, nor in the vicinity. The sculpture may probably date from the early periods of the ancient kingdom of Armenia.

"Near the northern side of the old town of Salmas (without the town), now containing about three thousand inhabitants (Jews, Mohammedans and Armenians), which is situated quite at the western end of the plain, are two

old brick towers, of venerable appearance, on which are inscriptions, all, however, in the Arabic character.

"On my late journey to Erzurûm, in passing Mt. Ararat (an object always new as the fresh snow on its summit, though old as the world, and always intensely interesting, as the impressively august chronicler of the flood), I was struck more than once with the distinct outlines of the ancient craters, on the tops of both great and little Ararat; and a thing that never before arrested my attention, I now observed a *third peak*, though much lower than little Ararat, rising from the same mountain range, in the same direction with great and little Ararat (a somewhat longer distance intervening between it and the latter than between those two), and in like manner partially truncated and bearing every appearance of an ancient crater on the top. The three peaks thus appear to the eye of the traveller in an irregular gradation in point of height, the range running in the direction of south by east. This third crater is of course another proof of the volcanic character of Mt. Ararat, were any proof needed, additional to the blocks of lava, scattered thickly over the face of the earth for many leagues around, and the almost countless thermal waters that boil from its surface all through that region.

"A few months ago, a weekly newspaper, 'The Journal,' in the Persian language, was commenced at the Persian capital, under favorable auspices, by an Englishman, Mr. Bargen, who has long been a resident in this country, and is familiar with the language and every way well qualified for the undertaking. It is the only periodical in the empire, except our humble monthly (the RAYS OF LIGHT), in the modern Syriac. A very good geography has recently been prepared and published in the Persian language, by a young Frenchman. Printing Mohammedan books, in Persian and Arabic, is vigorously prosecuted at Tabreez; and works of modern science, when desired, are printed, without 'let or hindrance,' at the same press. The cause of civilization is thus gradually advancing in this remote Eastern land.

"An interesting sign of the times, under the efficient government of the young king of Persia, Naser-i-dui Shâh, is the breaking down of hierarchal power. Formerly, a high Mullah, by a word, could contravene, or annul, any order of government; his weapon being the rabble, excited to the fury of a phrenzied mob, ready to carry terror and bloodshed in any direction. But a few months ago, the highest Mullah in Azerbijân was seized and hurried off, a prisoner, from Tabreez to the capital; and the second one in rank hastened thither of his own accord, to forestall the mortification of an arrest, both having become obnoxious for the same offence, opposition, by means of popular excitement, to the operation of government. Other hierarchs, in different parts of the country, have taken warning from these examples, and greatly lowered the arrogant tone of their pretensions.

"The present prime minister of Persia, a *self-made man*, as truly as President Fillmore, being the son of a donkey-driver, and having risen by the strength and energy of his character to be the second man in rank (and

really the *first* in power) in the empire, is a very enlightened and intelligent man, and admirably qualified, for a Persian, to be at the helm of the government. He is introducing a regular police in the large towns and attempting many other innovations and improvements, highly beneficial to the country. Such changes are of course the work of *time*, in these staid oriental lands, and must not be expected to avoid all obstacles in their commencement, or reach their consummation in a day. No intelligent spectator can view them with indifference, nor mistake the point toward which they are tending. The young king of Persia bears a good character; in the familiar parlance of Europeans who know him, he is a *good boy*. He seems as earnestly to desire the welfare of his subjects, as the young Sultan of Turkey, who is so much respected abroad.

"A few weeks ago, the annual examination of our Female Seminary occurred. It was to us an occasion of intense interest. The pupils had made great advance during the year. The charm of this, as well as of our male seminary, is, that most of the pupils are, as we trust, 'plants of righteousness,' preparing to be transplanted to a celestial garden.

"Our printing of the Old Testament is steadily advancing. The work, in both the ancient and modern Syriac, proves to be a heavy one for our rude native printers. We have taken great pains to prepare an accurate copy of the ancient Syriac, by comparing it with the most ancient copies of the Peshito which we find among the Nestorians, as well as a good translation into the modern; so that the work may be interesting and valuable to scholars, as well as unspeakably useful to the fallen people for whom it is designed.

"Have I ever sent you a specimen of our Nestorian monthly, the Rays of Light? I have the impression that I have done so. We find this humble organ a very valuable auxiliary in our missionary work, especially in our seminaries and schools. Our printers are occupied three or four days in a month in printing it. The work of preparing the matter, being shared by several members of the mission, is easily accomplished.

"We are endeavoring to extend our operations into the mountains as fast as practicable. The bloody Kûrds have been subdued, and law and order have taken the place of plunder and bloodshed, in Nestorian Kûrdistan. But we shall probably for some time be obliged to encounter more or less of opposition from Turkish officials, jealous of the introduction of too much light for their convenience in the remote parts of the Sûltan's dominions—though the *written ordinance* of the Sûltan so amply pledges religious toleration."

From Mr. Pischon, a pupil of Neander, and now Private Secretary to the Russian Embassy at Athens.

Athens, July, 1851.—"In commencing the archaeological communications which you desire me to send you for the *Bibliotheca Sacra* from this ancient metropolis of Grecian art and science, I am happy in being able to open with an occurrence, which is perhaps destined to make an epoch in the his-

tory of Athenian topography. I cannot begin, however, without expressing my deep regret, that here on the old classic soil, the means and resources employed for the investigation of antiquity, are so extremely scanty. In the unhappy financial condition of the Grecian State, a State which young as it still is, shows already the decrepitude of age, it is impossible to make appropriations from the public treasury for carrying on excavations. The *école Française*, a kind of archaeological Academy, established in this place by the French government, contents itself with sending its young members on tours through the provinces, and thus employing them for political more than for scientific ends. Hence all that is done for the knowledge of antiquity is left to the zeal and enterprise of private individuals. Among these an archaeological Society has been organized for a considerable number of years. Since the year 1843, when the German scholars left, rewarded with ingratitude for their services (among them the deservedly esteemed Professors Ulrichs and Rosé), this Society has consisted almost exclusively of Greeks. Among these the most prominent till lately were Pittakis, a man of much zeal as a collector, who as early as the war of independence was often to be found with his *touphéki* (firelock) on his shoulder, among the ruins of decayed places, copying ancient inscriptions, and gathering remains of statues or of coins — a pendant to Walter Scott's Antiquary — and Rizo Rangabís, Professor of Archaeology in the University at Athens, and unquestionably the most learned and variously cultivated among the Greeks of this place. Unfortunately a growing jealousy between these two *Coryphaei* led at last to the separation of the latter from the Society; and its activity has thus received no inconsiderable check. As its pecuniary means were at the same time extremely limited, it had contented itself for the last twelve-month with undertaking some excavations and repairs about the steps leading to the Parthenon, when in April of the present year it received information, that remains of tablets containing ancient inscriptions had been discovered in the old city (*ágora*) not far from the Stoa of Hadrian. This quarter of the city has been much built over and is covered with the most miserable hovels; and here it often happens that in repairing old houses or putting up new ones, pieces of pillars or of statuary are discovered, which, however, have in general no great value as works of art. In this instance it was a German washerwoman who gave occasion to the discovery. Not knowing what to do with her dirty soap water, she fell upon the idea of carrying it off into a pit upon the premises of a female neighbor. The sharp lie worked its way to the surface of the marble slabs, and washed them white; when characters in good preservation made their appearance and attracted the attention of a young man living in the neighborhood. By him Pittakis, of whom I have just spoken, was informed of the facts, and led to make a close examination of the inscription; while the Society, so far as its means allowed, carried on excavations in the same spot, where pieces of inscriptions had already been found several years before. The results of these investigations were with a certain affectation of importance, withheld for some time from the public. At length, however, at the end of June, they were brought out by the So-

ciety, on the anniversary of its foundation, in an oral report of the President's. This was followed by a pamphlet of Mr. Pittakis, with explanations and lithographs, entitled *ἐπιγραφαὶ ἀνέκδοται ἀνακαλυφθεῖσαι καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ συλλόγου* (which has hitherto appeared only in manuscript, and is not to be found in the booksellers' shops). I have compared these explanations on the spot with the actual condition of things, and this is the result. The two pits which have been opened measure scarcely 20 rhenish square feet; they have been laid open to a depth of 8 or 10 rhenish feet. In them have been found a number of heads of statues, as well as torsos and parts of extremities; some of the greatest beauty, in the ancient Attic style. Among them are two bearded heads of Dionyeos, which evidently belonged to Hermæ; two female heads of exquisite workmanship show by the rolls which they bear, that they belonged to Cariatids, and therefore, with a lion's head of burnt earth, must have been intended for the decoration of some important edifice. Other things have been discovered which probably belonged to the same building; such as pieces of cornice and frieze, of Ionic style and of Pentelic marble; a large Ionic capital of the same material; and finally the beginnings of four large pillars (0.80 and 0.70 French metres in diameter) of marble of Hymettus, seemingly monoliths, which however are not yet fully excavated, and which lie singularly side by side in a horizontal position. We find besides many rectangular blocks of tuff, which seem in part to have been used at a later period in the construction of a wall, now buried under the earth. But the part of the excavation, which is to us the most important, consists of *forty-nine fragments of inscriptions on marble of Pentelicus and Hymettus*, some of which were found to match with fragments discovered two years ago in the same place, so as to furnish a connected sense of considerable length. The longest piece, which has been thus put together, is represented in the pamphlet before mentioned on Plate I. It relates to the formation of a league (*συνμαχία*), in Olymp. 100, 3 = 378 B. C., at the head of which, Athens during the Boeotian war rose again to political importance in Greece, and in the battle of Naxos, Olymp. 101, 1 = 376 B. C., under the command of Chabrias completely annihilated the Spartan navy.

After the introductory words *Ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκο(ν) ἀρχοντος Καλλίβιος Κηφισοφώντος Παιανιεύς ἐγραμμάτευσεν*, we find next some gaps and disconnected words. But the writing soon continues: *Ἀπὸ δὲ Ναυσινίκο(ν) ἀρχο(ν)τος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε ἰδίᾳ μήτε δημοσίᾳ Ἀθηναίων μηδεὶ ἐγκτήσασθαι ἐν ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων χώραις μήτε οἰκίαν μήτε χωρίον μήτε πριαμένῳ μήτε ὑποθεμένῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ μηδεμί.* Ἐὰν δέ τις ὠνήται ἢ κτᾶται ἢ τίθεται τρόπῳ ὀτφούν, ἐξεῖναι τῷ βο(ν)λομένῳ τῶν συμμάχων, φῆναι πρὸς το(ν)ς συνέδρου(ς) τῶν συμμάχων οἱ δὲ συνέδρου ἀποδόντων τὸ μὲν (ἡ)μισυ τῷ φήναι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο εἰς τὸν θεὸν τῶν συμμάχων. Ἐὰν δέ τις (ἤ) ἐπὶ πολέμῳ (ἐπὶ) τ(ο)ς ποιησαμένο(ν)ς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίο(ν)ς καὶ το(ν)ς συμμάχο(ν)ς τούτοις καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ

κατὰ θάλατταν παντὶ σθίνει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. Ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτης παρὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ὡς λύνει τι ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι εἰρημέν(ων, ὑπαρχέτω μὲν αὐτῷ ἀτίμω εἶναι, καὶ τὰ (κτ)ήματα αὐτῷ δημόσια ἔστω καὶ τῆς (θεοῦ) τὸ ἐπι-
 (δέκα)τον καὶ κρινέσθω ἐν Ἀθη(αίο)ις καὶ τ(οῖς) συμμαχοῖς ὡς δια-
 λύνων τῇ(ν) συμμαχί(αν). Ζημιόντων δὲ αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ἢ φυγῇ, ὁ(που) Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κρατοῦσι· (ὅς ᾤν) δὲ θανάτῳ τιμηθῇ μὴ ταφῆται ἐν τῇ (Ἄττι)κῇ μηδὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν συμμαχόν. Τὸ δ(ὲ ψήφ)ισμα τὸδε ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆ(ς ἀναγρ)αψάτω ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ καταθέ(τω) παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἑλευθέριον· τὸ δὲ ἀρ(γύ)ριον δοῦναι εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στ(ήλ)ης ἐξήκοντα δραχμας ἐκ τῶν δέκα τα-
 (λάντ)ων το(ῦ)ς ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ. Εἰς δὲ τὴν στήλην ταύτην ἀναγρά-
 φειν τῶν τε οὐσ(ῶν) πόλεων συμμαχίδων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ (ῆ)τις ἂν ἄλ-
 λη σύμμαχος γίγνηται. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγράψαι, εἰλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον πρέσβεις τρεῖς ἀντίκα μάλα εἰς Θήβα(ς, ο)ῖτινες πείσο(ν)σι Θηβαί(ο)ις ὅτι ἂν φαίνεται ἀγαθόν. Οἶδε ἤρεθισαν (Ἀριστοτέλ)ης Μα-
 ραθώνιος, Πύρρ(α)νδρος ιος, Θρασύβο(ν)λος Κολλυτεὺς. Here follow on the same slab the names (only in part preserved) of the members of the league, among which besides many Thracian towns, and islands of the Archipelago, we find the Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Κεφαλλήνιοι, Ζακύνθιοι, Χαλκιδῆς, Ἐρετριῆς, but above all, the Θηβαῖοι. Fragments of words of Ἀριστοτέλης, which form the conclusion, refer perhaps to the negotiations between Athens and Thebes, which brought the latter state to join the league.

The foregoing inscription is of no inconsiderable value, as being the supplement to and confirming the notices, which we find in Diodorus XV. 27, relative to the formation of this alliance. The humiliating conditions, by which Athens herself engages to restrict the commercial enterprise of her citizens, in order to gain her place at the head of the confederacy, show clearly how little had been accomplished by a quarter of a century of peace since the liberation of the city by Thrasybulus, towards restoring that Athenian supremacy which had been shattered by the Peloponnesian War; while they explain, on the other hand, the dissatisfaction, of which the allies after the victory of Naxos, became continually more sensible, that, in spite of all conventions, Athens now, instead of Sparta had become their tyrant. Hence the war of the Allies, twenty years later, which exhausted the last resources of independent Greece, and paved the way by which the kings of Macedon rose to universal dominion.

In reference to Athenian topography, we have to consider that passage of the inscription, which speaks of it as being set up παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἑλευθέριον. Still more important, however, are the concluding words of another inscription, in itself of little consequence, among those previously found in this place; these words, which have only now begun to excite attention, relate to the position of the stone and require that it should be set up ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. From this expression, we may conjecture, that the edifice, whose foundation-walls have been thus accidentally discovered, is no

other than the Council-house of the Senate of Four Hundred, to which topographers hitherto have generally assigned a different location. The indefinite expressions of Pausanias in his *περίοδος* about the city, are understood by Colonel Leake in his "Topography of Athens," as though the Metroon, Senate-house, Tholos and other buildings of the Athenian magistracy were situated west of the Acropolis, south of the Areopagus, and north of the Museum; while the place of the present excavation is under the north-western declivity of the Acropolis, and east of the Areopagus. Professor Ross and Mr. Pittakis had before conjectured that those public buildings must have been situated in the latter region. What is most important in the matter is the hope, that excavations on the site of these official buildings will bring to light a rich store of inscriptions, relating to the polity and legislation of the city in the most different periods of its history. Yet as other stones found in this place bear the inscriptions *ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ*, and *στῆσαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ*; and further, as the horizontal position of the columns here discovered, shows that the very ground here must have been overturned by violence, the question is forced upon us, whether some caprice of the moment may not have flung these different relics on each other just as we now find them, and whether therefore those topographical inferences can be defended. At all events the question can only be decided by the further prosecution of the excavations, which in the mean time have been suspended from want of money. From the government, as before stated, although the occurrence has excited attention at the Court, a continuance of the work is not to be expected. And as the value of the ground has advanced in the interval from 5000 drachms to 15,000, the work will exceed the means of the Archaeological Society.

"I have only to add, that the pieces of inscriptions are set up in the little Museum of the Stoa of Hadrian, while the remaining objects discovered are still in the hands of Miss Psomá, the owner of the house."

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

WILKINS, CARTER & Co., of Boston, have published new and revised editions of Pickering's Greek, and Leverett's Latin Lexicons.

Among the classics recently published in this country, we notice The I, II, and III Philippics of Demosthenes, with historical introductions and explanatory Notes, by Prof. M. J. Smead; and Select Orations of Cicero, with English notes, by the Rev. P. Bullions, D. D., well known for his Greek, Latin, and English Grammars. A volume of selections from Ovid, belonging to the school series of Schmitz and Zumpt, has been republished in Philadelphia. A Horace, belonging to the same series, has recently appeared in England.

Appleton & Co., of New York, have lately published Arnold's First Latin Book, remodelled and rewritten, and adapted to the Ollendorffian method of instruction, by Albert Harkness, Senior Master in the Providence

High School. The same method has been applied to the Greek language in Professor Kendrick's carefully written manual, "Greek Ollendorff, being a progressive exhibition of the principles of Greek Grammar, designed for beginners in Greek, and as a book of exercises for Academies and Colleges."

GREAT BRITAIN.

New College, the consolidated Dissenting institution at St John's Wood, London, was opened, Oct. 1st. The building is on an eminence between Finchley Road and Bellsizes Lane. It is constructed of Bath Stone, in the Tudor style, is 250 feet long, with a tower in the centre. It contains ten lecture rooms, a library, museum, laboratory, and a residence for the Principal. Much taste is displayed in the interior of the building. The officers are:

John Harris, D. D., Principal and Professor of Theology.

William Smith, LL. D., Professor of Classical Literature.

Rev. Philip Smith, " Mathematics.

Rev. J. Godwin, " Mental and Moral Philosophy.

Edwin Lankester, LL. D., " Natural History.

M. Neuner, " Hebrew and Oriental Languages.

We apprehend that the English dissenters will at length discover that a mixed collegiate and theological course is not the best method with which to furnish themselves with an efficient and able ministry.

The Queen's colleges in Ireland seem to flourish, in spite of the strenuous opposition of many of the Catholic hierarchy. The college at Belfast reports 184 students; that at Cork 156, that at Gahsay 144. All the Protestant sects earnestly support them.

Prof. John Kidd, Radcliffe librarian at Oxford, and author of one of the Bridgewater treatises, lately deceased.

The British government have just given Col. Rawlinson £1500 to enable him to prosecute his researches in Assyria. He will immediately proceed to Bagdad. It is hoped that this grant will only be a precursor of more liberal allowances.

A tablet has been erected in Grasmere church-yard to the memory of Wordsworth; the inscription was written by the poet Keble.

Whittaker & Co., of London, announce a *Bibliotheca Classica*: the first volume contains Cicero's *Orations against Verres*, edited by George Long. The following works are likewise announced: a new edition of Porson's *Euripides*, edited by Professor Scholefield; a new and corrected edition of Paley's *Supplices of Aeschylus*; *Euripides' Hecuba*, with notes by G. B. Wheeler; an *Illustrated Classical Biography and Mythology*, designed as a popular manual for youth, by Dr. William Smith; a *History of Greek Classical Literature*, by the Rev. R. W. Browne, 2 vols., in which the subject is brought down to the time of Aristotle; the new edition of Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, vol. 6th.—Two vols. more of Grote's *History of Greece*, the 9th and 10th, are soon to make their appearance; they will bring down the history from the restoration of the Athenian Democracy in 403 B. C. to the conclusion of the Sacred War in 346 B. C. The author will have another half century to traverse, including the destruction of Grecian independence, the conquering career of Alexander, and the complicated wars of his successor, before he reaches the battle of Ipsus in 301 B. C., which he has fixed upon as the limit of his work. If he devotes two volumes to this period (and the proportion of his work would hardly admit of less), the whole will consist of twelve volumes, instead of the eight originally contemplated.

Owing to the unexpected length of some of the Articles in the present Number, several pages of *Literary Intelligence* prepared for it have been excluded.

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ARTICLE I.

INDIA AS A FIELD FOR INQUIRY AND EVANGELICAL LABOR.¹

By Rev. H. R. Hoisington, Missionary of the American Board.

IN addressing the Society of Inquiry in a Seminary whose sons, at the bidding of their Divine Master, have encircled the world, I need make no apology for calling your attention to *India as a field for inquiry and evangelical labor*.

The Hindûs, in some of their more important features, are yet to be known. The labors of missionaries and the researches of oriental scholars have, indeed, brought out a valuable collection of facts respecting that peculiar people. Still, those facts are but *a part* of the whole — in many cases, disjointed particulars, and mixed with many errors.

The *system* of Hindûism, like many of the temples of India, is of vast extent, and, in its exterior, highly imposing. It is often grotesque in its forms, and grossly absurd, or strangely enigmatical, in its developments. Its interpretation is to be sought *within*.

If we would *know* Hindûism, we must trace its historic lines, and study into its mystic science. We must apply to those works which are claimed to belong only to the initiated, to those who have been led into the light of their own *divine wisdom*. But those more scientific works are not yet available to the mere English student. Though somewhat familiar with the results of oriental researches,

¹ An Address before the Society of Inquiry of Andover Theological Seminary, Sept. 1, 1851.

I could never get a satisfactory view of Hindûism until I was enabled to trace it in Hindû authors, and in their own language. Most of the reputed standard works on the Hindûs, in the English language, oftener lead to error, than to any just view of that people. Even the *Purânas*, in the best view that can be taken of them, present only the exterior of the system, its more modern and popular form. They leave us uninformed on those fundamental principles which are the life and strength of the whole.

All that I can attempt on the present occasion, will be to cast a hasty glance along the outlines of this interesting field of inquiry.

The origin of the Hindûs lies far within the misty regions of uncertainty. Yet we can catch some glimpses of it. The Hindûs were not the first inhabitants of India. Remnants of the aborigines of the country, are still to be traced in various tribes inhabiting the fastnesses of the hills and forests. They are known under different names. Their several dialects, in most cases allied to each other, have no affinity to the Sanskrit. Never incorporated with their victors, they have maintained their simplicity of manners, and a rude religious creed which bears no resemblance to Hindûism. As successive conquerors poured into the country, these aborigines betook themselves to the protection of the less accessible regions where they still exist.

Though the Hindûs were evidently not the first inhabitants of India, yet they are to be sought among the earliest conquerors. In process of time they embodied successive hordes of emigrants, among whom the *Brâhmans*, as a tribe, are to be included. According to the uniform testimony of Hindû records and tradition, all came in from lands west of the Indus.

There are some reasons to believe, that the aboriginal inhabitants of India, were of the family of *Shem*; and that they came into India by two routes; one, at the north-west, across the Indus; the other, by sea, into south-western India. But the successive tribes of conquerors were more probably of the family of Cush, and mostly entered India by the north-west passage. They first inhabited the Panjaub; and they were long confined to the countries between the Himâlaya and Vindya ranges of mountains.

The Brâhmans, in alliance with other tribes, fought their way into power and eminence. They were early identified, in many respects, with the *Solar line* of kings. The *Lunar line* was a branch from the *Solar*. In it arose the great civil war which forms the subject of one of the Hindû Epics, the *Mahâbhârata*. This division among the

earlier Hindûs existed, and the Lunar line had even become powerful, before the Brāhmanas had obtained any extensive footing in India. The *Buddhists* rallied under the banners of the Lunar line. Between these two rival powers there were frequent wars, recurring through a long period of years. The Brāhmanas were at length triumphant. The Buddhist power was completely broken. The priests, and other determined adherents of the Buddhist faith, being expelled from the country, took refuge in Ceylon and in countries farther east.

Buddhism was undoubtedly a prominent branch, or school of primitive Hindûism; at least it grew out of such a school. The leaders in this school obstinately resisted the encroachments of the Brāhmanas, rejecting their claims to preëminence and their proposed additions to the simpler and purer faith held by them. Hence, the long and bloody contests referred to above, which resulted in the ultimate expulsion of the Buddhist branch of the early Hindû family.

The Brāhmanas, aided by their royal allies of the Solar line, having thus either subdued or expelled all the opposing tribes of northern India, naturally turned their attention to religious matters. They now set themselves to carry out their peculiar notions into a *system* of their own. Here commences what I call *Brāhmanism*, or *Brāhmanical Hindûism*.

Whether the Brāhmanas were originally a section of the Hindû family, has been doubted. But it is certain, that, at this stage they professed the Hindû faith as they explained it. But they evidently did not hold it in its pristine simplicity. They gradually engrafted upon the existing doctrines, the marvellous system of Hindû idolatry which has shaped and controlled the mind of millions for many ages. To their system belong almost the whole genealogy of incarnate deities, both male and female, with their thousands of temples and multiplied rites and ceremonies; and also, the distinction of caste, which makes the Brāhmanas the head, and gives to others, respectively, a relative preëminence over the more docile and dependent classes.

The origin of Hindû castes can be satisfactorily explained by a reference to the history of India in these earlier times, and, I believe, in no other way.

One ruling purpose, or aim, on the part of the Brāhmanas, is everywhere prominent in their doings, viz. To *establish themselves as the hierarchy*, supreme in church and state. For this they planned, for this they fought. And when their victories were complete, they disposed of their acquisitions in accordance with their ruling passion.

The existence of but *one caste* in the age of purity, the *Krêta Yuga*,

or Golden Age, is abundantly admitted in the *Purānas*. The meaning of this is, that in the first age of Hindūism, the distinctions of caste were not known. This, of course, is incompatible with the legend which represents the four castes as springing from parts of Brahmā's body. But this legend belongs to the age of caste, and has its explanation in the extravagant and baseless pretensions of the Brāhmins, which underlie all their marvels. Besides, in the same Brāhmanical authorities, which present the inconsistency above mentioned, we also find the separation of men into castes to be ascribed to different individuals, at different periods, and for various reasons. All this goes plainly to show, that the distinction was at first of a social or political character.

Let us, then, glance at some of the facts which bear on the origin of caste as a Brāhmanical institution.

Prominent among the tribes, with whom the Brāhmins contended for supreme domination, were the Kshatriyas. They seem to have been of Scythian origin, and to have obtained strong footing in north-western India. The struggle for supremacy between them and the Brāhmins, continued for a long series of years. They were eventually subdued by *Parasurāma*, the most distinguished defender of the Brāhmanical pretensions in that eventful period. In the *Mahābhārata*, one of the two Great Epics above mentioned, it is stated of this Rāma, that "thrice seven times did he clear the earth of the *Kshatriya* race." Again, the Earth is represented as saying: "The fathers and grandfathers of these *Kshatriyas* (i. e. successive generations) have been killed by the remorseless *Rāma* in warfare on my account."

The Kshatriyas being thus humbled, many of them became Brāhmins. But in the final adjustment of affairs between the contending parties, as the condition of peaceful alliance, the mass of Kshatriyas seem to have been constituted a privileged class, or *caste*, bearing the name of their tribe, being made second only to their victors, the sacerdotal or Brāhmanical caste.

This view of the Kshatriyas or military caste, harmonizes with what is said of them in the Brāhmanical writings, with the exception, of course, of the mythological legend, which, in accordance with the whole tenor of Brāhmanism, gives to all parts of the system a divine origin.

The *Vāīsyas* constitute the caste next below the Kshatriyas. This term is also found in the *Purānas*, as designating a tribe or nation, who inhabited the south-eastern part of the Panjaub. They seem to

have been one of the *Sacas*, or *Seythian* tribes. They were allied to the Lunar line, and, consequently, opposed to the Solar interests.

This people, after a long and severe struggle, were, at length, subdued by *Sagara*, the sea king of India. Of them it is stated in one of the *Purānas*, that they were "separated from affinity to the regenerate tribes [i. e. the two higher castes], and from the duties of their castes."

Here is sufficiently clear indication of the way in which the castes were originally formed. They were evidently the result of conspiring circumstances, which singularly favored the ambitious designs of those aspiring warrior-priests, the *Brāhmans*. But it was a result gradually attained, as one point after another was gained by the *Brāhmans*, and their schemes became matured into a complete system. It is certainly a device well adapted to consolidate and establish in one expansive system, the various and hitherto conflicting tribes of northern India.

The origin of the *Sūdras*, the fourth and lowest caste, can be traced with an equal degree of certainty. Hindū authors speak of a tribe, or nation, by the appellation of *Sūdras*, as inhabiting the western extremity of northern India, near the Indus. They have been supposed, with great probability, to be the *Oxydracæ* who formed the limit of Alexander's eastern conquest. The same people are called by Strabo, *Sūdrakai*, which is almost exactly the Sanskrit term. One of the *Purānas* states, that "*Sūdras* (or *Sūdrakas*), outcasts and barbarians, will be masters of the Indus," etc., which, at once, indicates the *existence* and *position* of the tribe; and, also, their more servile character, classing them with "*outcasts* and *barbarians*." Here, then, we have at once the *name* and the *nucleus* of the *Sūdra*, or servant caste.

It is not to be supposed, that the tribes which bore these three distinctive appellations, were the only persons arranged in their respective castes; but that, from their prominence, in one respect or another, they furnished the *occasion* for those particular designations.

The *Kshatriyas* were a powerful race, or, more probably, a combination of the earlier warlike tribes, allied in their leading interests, and in opposition to *Brāhmanical* rule. Being a more civilized and a superior class of men, compared with other tribes, they would naturally have, next to their victors, the superior position in the new system. The idea of bringing other tribes into subordination and servitude, was not new to them; and they were, probably, not second to the *Brāhmans* in the original arrangements which ultimately re-

sulted in the institution of caste. Yet we must ascribe to the Brāhman the *religious moulding* of that system.

The *Vāisya*s were less aspiring, and more mild and docile; and yet they were a very respectable tribe. There are indications that they belonged to the purer classes of the earlier Hindū religionists, and were chiefly devoted to agriculture. They are represented as "diligent in their occupations, and *submissive*." All, therefore, of similar occupation and like condition, of whatever tribe, might, in the ultimate adjustment of the system, well be arranged in the very respectable *caste* of *Vāisya*s.

With the *Sūdras*, who were originally a ruder race of men, and who are represented as having been more completely subdued and humbled — with *these*, all the less pretending in the several tribes, the more humble classes of laborers, etc., would naturally be associated, forming the *Sūdra*, or servile caste.

The combination of such heterogeneous and hostile tribes into one politico-religious organization, might well be expected to be attended with mutual interference and contentions. That such was the case is but too manifest from the Brāhmanical writings. In the *Vāyu Purāna*, *Brahmā* is represented as assigning to "these castes *their several occupations*, to prevent their *interference* with one another, which HAD OCCURRED as long as they recognized NO DUTIES PECULIAR TO CASTES."

This implies, what is elsewhere clearly taught in the Purānas, that the distinctions of caste, or rather, the division into four great classes, existed before any distinctive duties and privileges for the several castes had been laid down. The *Vishnu Purāna*, in full accordance with other authorities, states, that "The beings who were created by *Brahmā*, of these four castes, were at first endowed with righteousness and perfect faith;" that "they abode wherever they pleased, unchecked by any impediment;" that "their hearts were free from guile;" that "they were pure, made free from soil, by observance of sacred institutes. In their sanctified minds *Hari* dwelt; and they were filled with perfect wisdom, by which they contemplated the glory of *Vishnu*." Observe, all this is stated respecting the *four castes*. How different from what they now are, or, are even allowed to be!

Let us look again at the same author: "After a while . . . the innate perfectness of human nature was no more evolved; the eight kinds of perfection . . . were impaired; and these being enfeebled, and sin gaining strength, mortals were afflicted with pain," etc.

Then, in view of this *later condition* of men, it is stated, that Brah-mā *prescribed laws* suited to their station and faculties, the duties of the several castes and orders," etc. And this was to prevent *conflicts* which had already arisen between the existing castes.

However inconsistent with this *legendary origin* of castes, we find, in the *same authorities*, "the distinctions of caste ascribed variously to voluntary election, to accident, and to the positive institutions of different princes."

From all this, it is plain that caste was at first a mere social and political institution, designed to facilitate intercourse and coöperation among the tribes, in their earlier compacts, both before and after the institution of Brāhmanical rule.

But as Brāhmanical authority advanced, and those far-sighted sacerdotal warriors found themselves in circumstances favorable to the development of their designs, they seem to have devoted themselves more exclusively to their professional duties; to religious matters, to which they made all others subservient. Here began the more distinctive development of Brāhmanism as a system of religious faith and practice. Into this system everything was gradually woven; until, at length, the distinctions of caste formed a part of the very texture of Hindûism. Caste, thenceforth, became strictly a religious institution, enforced by all the sanctions of divine law. It has long been an essential part of Brāhmanism, a singular fact in the history of man.

The *general rules* of caste are given in the Purānas as follows:

1. "The *Brāhman* should make gifts, should worship the gods with sacrifices, should be assiduous in studying the *Vēdas*, should perform ablutions and libations with water, and should preserve the sacred fires. For the sake of subsistence he may offer sacrifices on behalf of others, and may instruct them in the *Sāstras*; and he may accept presents of a liberal description in a becoming manner (i. e. from respectable persons, in a proper way, and at appropriate times). He must ever seek to promote the good of others, and do evil to none; for the best riches of a Brāhman are universal benevolence (!). He should look upon the jewels of another person as if they were pebbles," etc.

2. "The man of the *warrior caste* should cheerfully give presents to Brāhmins, perform various sacrifices, and study the Scriptures. His especial sources of maintenance are arms and the protection of the earth. The guardianship of the earth is indeed his especial province; by the discharge of this duty, a king attains his objects, and

realizes a share of the merit of all sacrificial rites. By intimidating the bad, and cherishing the good, the monarch who maintains the discipline of the different castes, secures whatever region he desires," (i. e. in a future birth, or another world).

3. "*Brahmā*, the great parent of creation, gave to the *Vāisya* the occupations of commerce and agriculture, and the feeding of flocks and herds, for his means of livelihood; and sacred study, sacrifice, and donation, are also his duties, as is the observance of fixed and occasional rites."

4. "Attendance upon the three regenerate castes is the province of the *Sūdra*, and by that he is to subsist, or by the profits of trade, or the earnings of mechanical labor. He is also to make gifts; and he may offer sacrifices in which food is presented, as well as obsequial offerings" (i. e. he may perform these ceremonies through the agency of a *Brāhman*).

I need not enter upon the *subdivisions* of the four castes. They are as numerous as all the various trades and occupations of life.

The *evils* of caste are manifold. These distinctions, however, operate variously in different parts of India. Still caste exists in its full force over nearly the whole race of the *Hindūs*. But in Ceylon its power is greatly broken; and it is fast returning to its original character, that of a *social and civil institution*.

The palmy days of *Brāhmanism* were prior to the Mohammedan invasion of India. They extended thence, backwards, through a period of a thousand years.

Caste is but a part of the whole, an item in a vast and complicated system. *Hindūism* now spreads into every department of society, lays its injunctions on every act of life, appropriates to itself every phenomenon in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and every noticeable peculiarity in the physical universe. It consecrates to its service the mountain tops, the rivers, springs of water, holes in the earth, projecting rocks, and every form which may be distorted into a resemblance to any living being, or which may be made to shadow forth, as an emblem, any of the leading dogmas of its dark philosophy. To know India as the *Hindū* does, we must be able to read these emblematic inscriptions, and to look through them to their hidden and more sacred meaning.

But before we take a glance *within*, we must look again at some other historical facts of this gigantic structure.

The *original form* of *Hindūism* was probably that of the *Vēdas*. These works are the oldest of the Sanskrit writings; with them the

Sanskrit seems to have been first introduced into India. Whether the *Vēdas* were written in India, or whether they were written in some earlier seat of the Hindûs, west of the Indus, is a problem yet to be solved. I am, however, inclined to think that they had their origin where the Hindûs first arose, and where the Sanskrit was a spoken language, as it continued to be for some time after its introduction into India, and that they were brought into India by some of those conquering hordes which constituted the early Hindû race.

The Sanskrit of the *Vēdas* is so unlike the more modern and the more polished language of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, the two great Hindû Epics, that those who can read the more modern, cannot understand the more ancient style of that language which is found in the *Vēdas*. It is the more modern form of the Sanskrit that bears the strongest affinity to the existing languages of northern India, a fact which evinces that the Sanskrit may not have been the earliest language of the country.

Whatever may have been the *origin* of the *Vēdas*, it seems quite certain, that the worship inculcated in them was the earliest form of the Hindû religion in India. It was a worship offered to Fire, Air, the Sun, the Moon, etc. It was a branch of *Sabianism*, if not the earliest complete form of that system of worship; and, at once, connects the Hindû with the patriarchs of the Bible.

Another ritual has taken the place of that more ancient form of worship, a ritual found in those more modern works, the *Purānas*, which has so antiquated that ancient creed, that one who should follow the precepts of the *Vēdas*, would be regarded as an infidel. And yet the Hindû glories in his attachment to the *Vēdas*, the forgotten Oracles of his fathers.

The earliest seat of the Hindûs within the borders of Hindûstān, was the *Panjab*. There the two great Epics were doubtless composed, as also the Institutes of Manu, and probably some of the *Purānas*. The Epics and the Institutes furnish the principal materials for the mythological form of Hindûism in all ages. These works were doubtless composed, in most particulars, of legends of an earlier date, which were imported into India, and now for the first time collected and written. The two Epics were probably written about three centuries B. C. They are the chief sources from which the Brāhmans of later ages have drawn their materials, especially the authors of the *eighteen great Purānas*. Hence, in these comparatively modern works, we find materials which belong to a high antiquity intermixed with modern ingredients. In these works the impos-

ing mind of antiquity is distorted into unison with puerile modern inventions, and in such a way, as evinces a long period of successive innovations upon the ancient system of faith.

In these Brāhmanical writings we find unequivocal evidence of the previous existence of a system of Philosophical Religion. This was different from the religion of the Vêdas, being more metaphysical and argumentative. Yet both seem to have been embraced by all the leading schools of primitive Hindûism.

The early Brāhmins, like others of their time, ostensibly held the Vêdas as their Sacred Scriptures; yet they practically denied them; and, taking their stand on their mystic philosophy, they made it the basis of a marvellous system of incarnations, etc. This was the point of divergence between them and the priests of the Lunar dynasty.

The two Epics and the Institutes mark the period of Brāhmanical domination, and present to us the transition-stage of Hindû learning and religion. This will be manifest from an intelligent view of the *Bhāgavat Gêeta*, the very singular episode in the *Mahābhārata*. It is a discussion, on the nature of the Godhead, and on the nature and destiny of man, between the god Krishna and the hero Arjuna, occurring in the midst of a civil war, and on the very field of battle where the opposing hosts are just ready for the onset. The god encourages the hero to fight, which he is reluctant to do, as he perceives that the hosts of the enemy were composed of his kindred, his teachers, and his friends. The argument of the god is based on the doctrine, that mind and matter are entirely distinct; that actions are duties incumbent on every one, but which must be performed without the least regard to their consequences, such as pleasure or pain, profit or loss, etc.; that death and life are but unimportant modifications of the same being, and hence the massacre of the dearest kindred becomes a matter of indifference. Let us listen a moment to the reasoning of the god:

"Thou mourn'st for those thou should'st not mourn, albeit thy works are like the wise.

For those that live or those that die, may never mourn the truly wise.

Ne'er was the time when I was not, nor thou, nor yonder things of earth:

Hereafter ne'er shall be the time, when one of us shall cease to be.

The soul, within its mortal frame, glides on thro' childhood, youth and age;

Then, in another form renewed, renews its stated course again.

All indestructible is He that spread the living universe;

And who is he that shall destroy the work of the Undestructible?

Corruptible these bodies are that wrap the everlasting soul—

The eternal, unimagined soul. Whence, on to battle, Bhāratha!

For he that thinks to slay the soul, or he that thinks the soul is slain,
 Are fondly both alike deceived : it is not slain — it slayeth not ;
 It is not born — it doth not die ; past, present, future, knows it not ;
 Ancient, eternal, and unchang'd, it dies not with the dying frame.
 Who knows it incorruptible, and everlasting, and unborn,
 What heeds he, whether he may slay, or fall himself in battle slain ?
 As their old garments men cast off, anon new raiment to assume,
 So casts the soul its worn-out frame, and takes at once another form,
 Thus deeming, wherefore mourn for it ? " —

On inspection, we find that this philosophical poem, the Bhāgavat Gēta, presents a somewhat polemical aspect towards the Vēdas — "not rejecting them altogether, but representing them as falling short of the highest end, and devoid of true purity of mind."

The poem, also, is destitute of mythological imagery, and yet it lays a broad foundation for the whole monstrous system of divine incarnations.

Again, it positively discountenances the self-inflicted mortifications of the Yōghees, their excruciating penances, and their absurd and fantastic tortures ; and yet all the fundamental doctrines of Hindû asceticism are here involved ; and the whole poem goes to illustrate their importance.

Now, from such preparations, it was natural and easy to proceed to the full developement of the Hindû Pantheon, with all their grotesque mythology, and to the whole round of ascetic observances. The Purānas, in which these matters are drawn out in detail, are all comparatively modern ; the latest has been computed to be not more than 800 years old. The eighteen Great Purānas, with the almost innumerable and still more modern local Purānas, complete, what I regard, the series of Brāhmanical writings.

Brāhmins were, indeed, the authors of some of the philosophical treatises which belong to the arcana of Hindûism. But the subjects treated in these works are not distinctively Brāhmanical. They are essential parts of Hindûism in all its ages of existence. The principles in these works, having been appropriated by the Brāhmins to their own interests, now, of course, form a part of Brāhmanism, the more modern form of Hindûism.

Hindûism may be divided historically into three periods :

1. *The Patriarchal Period.* This embraces the time when the earlier legends and dogmas of the Hindûs were but partially systematized, and, probably, unwritten. It was the period when the notions of those aspiring men, portions of a dispersed race, held still some resemblance to the doctrines taught by the patriarchal "preacher

of righteousness," doctrines known also to the family of Abraham. This was the period of the *unwritten Vēdas*, or, of that original Vēda, from which, according to the general sentiment of the Hindūs, all the four written Vēdas were formed. The distinctive features of this period are to be sought in the Bible, in the history of the great Iranian Empire, and in the Vēdas.

2. *The Philosophical Period.* This was the period during which the principles and facts of the patriarchal age were still further removed from their primitive purity and simplicity; and when, in connection with other materials, they were moulded into a more recondite and philosophical form, and were, ultimately, wrought into a vast system of *metaphysical religion*. The mystic number "*five*," the five divine operations, the division of the universe into classes of fives, etc., all which are essential principles in modern Hindūism, were also among the fundamentals of that earlier system. Then, too, was conceived the idea of man as a miniature universe, in whom these mysterious "*fives*," with all their powers, divisions, relations, operations, etc., are fully developed. The mystic number "*three*," as in the Triad, etc., seems to have had a later origin, as also the device of the four castes. Both these seem to belong to Brāhmanism, or the next period. The chronological lines of this period cannot be so easily drawn. It must lie *back* of the Epoch B. C. 300, when the next period began to dawn. That there was then existent such a system of philosophical religion, is abundantly manifest from the earlier Brāhmanical works above mentioned. I had often looked into *Manu's Institutes*, and the *Bhāgavat Gēeta*, but I never understood them satisfactorily until I had become acquainted with some of the standard metaphysical works of the Hindūs; which are in fact the best commentaries we have on those ancient works, as well as on the whole system of Brāhmanical Hindūism.

3. *The third Period* is the *Purānic*, or *Mythological*. This is the period of Brāhmanical domination; when the existing notions were developed in a more imposing and popular form, a form monstrously hieroglyphical and fabulous. It is here that we find the whole genealogy of Hindū gods and goddesses, with all their mystic dress and accompaniments. To this period belong all the popular forms of temple-worship.

The earlier form of the Purānic system is found in the two Great Epics, and in the *Institutes*; but its present form is that of the *Purānas*, works of a much more modern origin, and the products of different ages. The eighteen great Purānas, in most of the materials

of which they are composed, are very similar to one another; and yet they are of a polemical character. Some of them claim supremacy for Brahmā, some for Vishnu, and some for Siva. Each supports its peculiar claims, by the great mass of mythological legends and mystic dogmas, all being shaped to the distinctive nature of the god it exalts, and to his worship. All these works claim to be supported by the authority of the Vēdas.

This shows that there have ever been different sects, or schools, among the Brāhmins. These various schools are now all embraced in two great divisions, the *Sāivas* and the *Vāishnavas*. These two bodies recognize each other as right, or orthodox, in most respects; the one necessarily involving the other in all their fundamental doctrines. On certain points they violently contend.

Many popular errors are prevalent respecting some parts of Brāhmanical Hindūism. These the Brāhmins like to have prevail, as they help to shield them in their penetralia. All such errors would be at once dissipated by a correct knowledge of their more sacred and concealed doctrines of philosophy. In their monstrous mythic system there is "*a unity in the midst of great diversity.*" The Brāhman can quote his Sāstras for authority in all his idolatrous practices, while he claims to be a worshipper of one god, in accordance with the doctrines of the same Sāstras. This is a great fact in modern Hindūism, without a knowledge of which the system is not understood. My limits will allow only a very brief illustration of this particular:

The doctrine of *one God*, in connection with almost innumerable objects of worship, and these of all varieties of character and relations, seems to be an inexplicable paradox. But the Hindū, whose transcendental powers have been developed through their divine Wisdom, finds no difficulty in the matter. How, then, do they explain it? To understand their explanation, we must glance at some of the leading doctrines in their theology. Respecting the Deity, they hold:

1. That there is but *one God*, who is eternal, self-existent, omnipotent, omniscient, all-pervading, formless, and unchangeable, even so as to exclude the exercises of desire, love, hatred, etc. Yet, he is capable of being developed, or manifest through material organism.

2. That this one god exists in a *twofold nature*, that of male and female. In the philosophical poems these natures or *Energies* are often designated by the terms *Purusha* and *Sakti*. In the English translation of the Bhāgavat Gēeta, the female nature or energy of

deity is obscurely brought to view under the term "nature." All the divine operations whatever, are performed through the coöperation of these *two Energies*. In order that they may operate, it is necessary that they be developed, each in its appropriate organism. This doctrine lies at the foundation of Hindû theogony, and leads to the whole genealogy of gods and goddesses. Every operative deity must necessarily be an incarnation, and must have his incarnate Sakti or consort. These two Energies and their *modus operandi* stand out to view in a great variety of symbols. These symbols, like the gods and goddesses themselves, are proper objects of worship. Of these, the most prominent, and the one everywhere to be seen, is, the LINGA. This is usually a compound symbol, designed to shadow forth the two divine Energies in coöperation. It is, accordingly, a higher object of worship than most of the idols of the land.

These views explain the worship of posts in certain cases, of stones of various forms, of univalve shells, holes in rocks, etc. The elephant's proboscis has the same hieroglyphical meaning as the Linga. Hence, that animal is sacred, and of great importance in the services at temples. Herein, also, we have an explanation of the god with an elephant's head, variously named *Ganpat*, *Ganêsa*, *Pilliyâr*, an idol worshipped more than any other one throughout India. He is the *god of action*, the operator in the reproducing processes in all organic beings.

It is also an established principle, that the two Energies may be developed in any form, at any time, and to any extent, or to any number of times; and that the form assumed is determined by the nature of the service to be performed, as the one must be adapted to the other. Hence the innumerable local deities which fill the land, such as Giants, Monsters, Men, Women, Beasts, Birds, Reptiles, Trees, Mountains, and the like.

The myths respecting these local gods, do not so much explain the character of the deity exhibited, as the occasion of his appearance. The specific characteristics of a local deity are to be sought in the distinctive attributes of the great family to which he belongs, either that of *Siva* or *Vishnu*, and in the nature of his organism, as having the benevolent, or malevolent propensities developed. These things are all explained in their "divine philosophy!"

3. There is another very important principle to be considered in deciphering the complicated system of Hindû idolatry. It is that which is involved in the mystic "*fives*" above mentioned. The specific doctrine here to be considered is, that the production and gov-

ernment of the universe involves *five distinct divine operations*. Each of these operations, in accordance with the preceding statements, requires that the operator have an organism adapted to the nature of his service. Hence the necessity and consequent actual existence of *five superior gods*. Both the *Sâivas* and *Vâishnavas* hold this doctrine, and have each their five gods; some of whom bear the same names in both schools, but others are differently denominated by them. The *Sâivas*, so far as my reading extends, are more precise in their designation of these duties, and in their modes of worship and meditation. Yet the existence and relations of the five can be distinctly traced in the earlier, as well as the later, works of the *Vâishnava Brâhmans*.

These five operative gods include the common Hindû Triad, as *Brahmâ*, *Vishnu* and *Siva*, and two others of a higher order of development. These two are more commonly denominated, the *Obscurer*, and the *Illuminator* or *Grace-giver*. Their prerogatives respect the more spiritual department in the divine government, being confined to intellectual beings, to their conduct, destiny, etc. Hence their organisms are of a more ethereal nature. They are not regarded as belonging to the catalogue of visible deities; they can be seen only by the illuminated eye of the Wiseman.

The other three, with their grosser organisms, are concerned in the management of the physical universe. Yet *Siva* and *Vishnu* are spoken of, each by his adherents, as supreme. But this is not strictly correct, and in the contests between these rival schools it is mutually condemned. In each of these schools the name of their distinctive deity is used in two senses; one, referring to his specific development and office-work; the other, to him as the representative of the whole class of operative gods, and hence as the index of the Eternal one. In this last sense he is, with them, the supreme God. They use these terms variously, somewhat as we use the term *Christ*, sometimes meaning the *Mediator*, and sometimes "God manifest in the flesh."

The order of development and relative standing of the five operative deities is as follows:

The first is the *Illuminator* or *Grace-giver*. His form, or *Rûpam* (a more comprehensive term than form), is a complete development of all the perfections of the five. In him *Gnânam* (divine wisdom) shines perfect over all. He dwells in light ineffable. When he reveals himself to the soul, then its vision is perfect, and all things are seen as they are. The soul has then escaped all the entanglements

of its organism, and will not be born again. Now clothed in light, it is "like his Lord."

The second is the Obscurer. He is born, as the Hindû expresses it, from the preceding. His Rûpam is deficient in the development of the organ of Gnânâ, which is the characteristic perfection of the Illuminator; but it possesses the attributes of the other forms. His characteristic propensity, or physiological bump, is that of *Action*. He prompts and guides the soul through all the courses of human action. The object is, that man may be made to eat the fruit of his own doings, and thus "work out" his ultimate deliverance from the bondage of the human organism, which is his salvation. As this *god* keeps men in their native ignorance as to spiritual things in order that they may be led on in their fated courses of action, both good and bad, he is called the *Obscurer*. But as this is necessary for man's ultimate good, even this administration is declared to be gracious.

The third deity is Rudra, or, less properly, Siva. He is born from the Obscurer. His Rûpam is wanting in the development of the characteristics of the first two; but in comparison with the last two, *wisdom* predominates in him. He is, collectively, the *Triad*. The three commonly named as the Triad are but an expansion of Rudra, by successive births, or developments. Rudra's province is, to secure the proper continuance of the physical universe. This of course is done in accordance with laws before mentioned; for everything comes and goes by the coöperation of the two divine Energies. Hence, in his department, there must be the work of generation, continuance or growth, and destruction, with reproduction. These are all illustrated in the case of a plant propagated from the seed. Rudra, or Siva, is commonly called the Destroyer, because the work of destruction is peculiarly his right, and is not performed by the other two below him. But he is more strictly the Regenerator, or Reproducer. He destroys in order to reproduce.

The fourth deity is Vishnu. He is born from Rudra, or Siva. His office-work consists in the agency which is required for the continuance and growth of organic beings, from the moment of generation until perfect maturity. He is hence called the Preserver.

The fifth and lowest of the five is Brahmâ. He springs from Vishnu. He is the Generator, and properly the agent of all the others. Hence he is not generally recognized as a distinct, visible deity. He is rather a metaphysico-physiological abstraction; and is one of the divine objects to be sought and seen by the devotee in his mystic studies and meditations. I once asked a learned Hindû, who, under

the motive power of money, had been imparting to me some of their secret dogmas, "Why do you have no temples to Brahmâ, and seem to pay him so little respect?" His characteristic reply was, "Sir, were I to visit your house, should I pay my respects to your servant, or to yourself?"

Brahmâ is in no proper sense a Creator; nor should he be placed first even in the common Triad. His name is displaced from the catalogue of the visible deities; and his proper office-work or agency, is carried on by developments bearing other and various appellations in the different schools. Among most classes, however, the elephant-headed god, *Pilliyâr*, or *Ganêsa*, is regarded as the acting deity in every production. In reference to the physical world, he is virtually Brahmâ, especially since the original production of things from their eternal entities. This god (*Pilliyâr*) is called the Son of Siva. By means of this development of his own physical organism, Siva effects the work of generation, as a part of his proper business in the management of the physical universe.

Here it seems in place to remark, that the distinctive nature and character of the gods depend entirely on the development of their organisms; just as the structure of the animal determines its kind, marking out one an elephant, one a horse, one a cow, etc.; and just as the physical conformation of a man has been supposed to determine his peculiarities of temper, mind, etc., i. e. to make him such a man as he is, rather than any other.

Hence Siva, being what he *is* by means of his organic development, must, in carrying forward his appropriate work, be everywhere present in his own proper form, either *visible* or *invisible*; both of which conditions are equally possible, and may be equally apposite.

On the same principle, Siva's son, the generating *Pilliyâr*, may be everywhere developed. Hence the multiplicity of this idol is regarded as quite consistent with the unity of the godhead. The cupidity of the priesthood has not been slow in discovering occasions for extending his visible presence. These considerations, *mutatis mutandis*, explain the multiplicity of other gods, all of whom, with very few exceptions, are but branches or children, from the family of either Siva or Vishnu, the two who head the catalogue of visible deities. As the agency of *Pilliyâr*, the Generator, is necessarily involved in the production of Siva's form, as really so as in any other developed existence, he has been shrewdly denominated, in their own poetic language, "The son that was born before his father."

These *fundamental doctrines*, and other assumed attributes of the

supreme deity, are variously drawn out and combined, so as to form, in fact, the very fabric of popular Hindûism. These radical principles are seen by the eye of the initiated, in the forms, vehicles and dress of idols; in the form, divisions and decorations of temples; in the number, the varied shapes and uses of sacrificial utensils; and in the articles offered in sacrifice; in the institution and performances of dancing women; in the nature, order and circumstances of the great periodical festivals held in temples throughout the land; in the Ganges and other sacred waters and sacred places, resorted to by pilgrims for bathing and other prescribed meritorious rites. My limits will not allow me to trace out these things to any great extent. A few additional particulars must suffice:

The Hindûs have several Triads, which are more or less distinctly to be seen in their popular forms of worship, as well as in various symbols. The commonly known Triad, Siva, Vishnu and Brahmâ, constitute, as above mentioned, the embodiments of the three natural or physical powers of the godhead. The prerogatives of these deities properly extend to no other departments of the divine administration, than what appertains to the physical universe. The government of man, as distinct from mere animal or inanimate existences, lies beyond their province. This is not the highest of the Hindû Triads. It does not enter so much into the spiritual relations and interests of the soul as others yet to be named.

Another Triad is composed of the first three of the five operative deities. In this case, Rudra, or Siva, is considered as embracing the two lower developments, which both his organism and office-work imply. The doctrine of this Triad is not published to the masses; but belongs to the mysteries which are to be known only by the regularly initiated. It is shadowed forth in many of the mystic hieroglyphics which adorn the temples, and in the forms of worship.

Still another Triad is seen in the three deities which are usually drawn on the cars, or carried in sedans, on "the *great day* of the feast" or festival, which occurs at stated times, in the several temples. The three idols presented on such occasions may sometimes be regarded as the representation of one or the other of the Triads above mentioned. But they more strictly and properly represent the SUPREME, or *Superior* DEITY, whose form or Rûpam embraces the two divine Energies, and the TWO ENERGIES separately developed and embodied. In all such cases, of which Jagganaut is a fair specimen, the *Superior* deity is A MALE, while the *two inferior* are A MALE and A FEMALE. These, to the experienced eye, at once

present to view the *unity of the Godhead*, and the *modus operandi* in all departments of divine administration.

This view of the subject shows the meaning and appropriateness of the name Jagganaut, or *Universal Lord*, as applied to the principal deity in that celebrated temple in Orissa; and also the propriety of all classes, all castes, mingling indiscriminately in his worship. He belongs equally to all, being the Lord of the universe.

So in multitudes of other temples we find substantially the same thing — Jagganaut under other appellations, and different schools mingling in the same worship. This is strikingly the case at Râmêsuram, a celebrated temple and bathing place, commonly called Adam's Bridge, between the continent and Ceylon. It is a place of great resort, at stated times, of all classes, and from all parts of India.

Hence, also, in smaller temples Sâiva priests not unfrequently conduct festivals in honor of Vâishnava deities, and vice versa. This is consistent when the service is viewed as offered to the Universal Lord, and to his two instrumentalities, or agents, ever employed in the divine operations.

These examples will be sufficient to show, how the whole system of Hindû theogony, and their mytho-symbolic worship may be deciphered and explained by the aid of their higher doctrines. They will also illustrate the declaration made, that, in that monstrous system of Brâhmanical religion, "there is a *unity in the midst of great diversity*."

I must now beg indulgence in a few remarks suggested by my subject.

In Hindûism we have the singular fact of a *living antiquity*, and that, too, of the highest order. The intellectual life and vigor, which have given such perpetuity and expansion to the principles that formed the ancient mind, are still manifest in the Hindû character. The principles which have thus operated to uphold such a vast and cumbersome system, have been equally efficient in sustaining the physical and intellectual powers of the people, in despite of the lowering and noxious influences of error and all the abominations of idolatry. The Hindûs, unlike the red men of our forests, or the inhabitants of the Pacific isles, are not dying out, but are a living people, as thriving as any other, where the chances of life are allowed to them in any reasonable degree.

We find in the character of the Hindû, and in his modes of life, an expression of what has been for many ages. As their fathers were, so are they in many things. The account given of the people in

Alexander's time, twenty-one centuries ago, is, with a very few exceptions, equally correct now. The earliest allusions, found in Brâhmanical writings, to the domestic and other customs of the people, have a perfect illustration in what now exists. Have we not here, then, an important and deeply interesting field of inquiry for the classical scholar, for the ethnologist, and for the Biblical antiquarian and interpreter?

The *Sanskrit* is now justly receiving much attention from European scholars, not only as a rich and finished language, but as holding a prominent place in comparative philology. The *Tamil*, which is the radical language of Southern India, is, in my opinion, equally deserving of attention. It is, perhaps, in its primitive character, farther removed from the Sanskrit than is the German. It is equally as rich, polished and pliant, as its northern neighbor. In it is found all the learning of the ancient Brâhmanical tongue. In its two dialects, the High and the Low Tamil, it possesses a peculiarity of great interest to the philologist. The High is the *poetical dialect*, and embraces nearly all the learning of the people. Everything is written in poetry, even their Arithmetic, their Dictionary, their *Materia Medica*, their Astronomy. The poetical dialect, in its words and structure, is so unlike the common Tamil, that one acquainted with the latter merely, cannot understand a line of the former. Hence, *interpreters*, men whose business it is to sing off and translate the Purânas and other works into the language of the people, are everywhere in demand. The native Grammar of the High Tamil is complete and well-formed.

Not only do these languages, these revealers of man as he has been and is, deserve attention; but the system also, which they embody, embracing, as it does, not only the religion of the people, but their whole encyclopædia of science and literature, is worthy of much more consideration than it has yet received from American scholars. The Hindû philosophical works, rightly understood, would, as I fully believe, form the best commentary on the ancient philosophy of the West, that we can have.

During the age of Grecian philosophy, more was drawn from that fountain of Hindû thought and scheme, than has been generally supposed. In the Philosophical period of Hindûism, the eye of the western philosopher was attracted to the East, to the Hindû hierophant, with whom he found not only new ideas in philosophy, criticism, and ethics, but a system already formed, and far surpassing anything previously known in Egypt or Greece. We have good

evidence that some of the earliest of the Greek philosophers visited India, and carried thence many oriental ideas. But Plato, perhaps, did more than any before him, in working up the products of the oriental mind, and giving them an occidental cast. Of him it has been well said: "At length the *balance soul* was born, who made the *East* his *BASE*, and *Europe* his *SUPERSTRUCTURE*."

Hindûism also hinges on Bible facts and Bible truths at many points. Its earlier periods stretch through Old Testament times, back to within a few ages of Nimrod's reign, while the forming period of Brâhmanism embraces the times of Christ and his apostles, and the first publishment of the Gospel among the nations. It is abundantly manifest, that the principles and movements of the people of God, during those eventful periods, had an important influence in India. In existing Hindû works the characters of Noah, Abraham, Moses, and other Bible worthies, are clearly discernible, appropriated, of course, to the interests of Hindûism, and metamorphosed into oriental myths. Many of the great truths of revelation undoubtedly lie in the foundations of that master-system of error; truths respecting God, the human soul, and the great work of Redemption. Some of these coincidences, or transcripts, belong to philosophical Hindûism, forming radiating lines, which lead us back to that central region whence sprung the post-diluvian race, and where cluster the great facts of the Old Testament Scriptures. Others belong to the Purânîc age. These give pretty clear indications of the existence in India of apostolic or other missionary labors of the early Christian church. There is much in the character of *Krishna*, a god who is often figured as crushing with his foot the head of a serpent, which is biting his heel, that bears strong resemblance to the New Testament view of HIM who came "to bruise the serpent's head." But in the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hindûs, and in their domestic customs, the Bible student will find much to interest him, much that will remind him of the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish temple, much that will closely correspond with the character and habits of the Jew, and things that will furnish ready illustrations of many passages in our more ancient Scriptures.

I would not, however, point to India as a field interesting to the scholar merely. More especially would I invite the attention of this Society to it as a *field for Christian enterprise*. Here is at least one fourth of the unevangelized portion of the human race, and in circumstances of great interest to the Christian philanthropist. I know of no class of unevangelized men, whose conversion to God would

seem to promise more for the interests of the church, than that of the Hindûs. Besides, they are enthralled in such a system of religious faith and practice, as leaves no hope of their deliverance, except help come to them from without, from the Gospel. That marvellous combination of truth and error, of influences, which has held these millions in bondage through so long a succession of generations, will hold them still if left unresisted.

And now, my brethren, shall this state of things continue? The only remedy, we know, is that presented in the Bible. The application of this remedy must be made by means of Christian missions. But where are the missionaries? India, all open to the Gospel, and already moving and heaving as if in its transition stage — yes, *India* has long been stretching out her hands to our “schools of the prophets,” saying, “*Come YE, and help us.*” And never was this call more urgent than now, never enforced by more encouraging considerations; and yet how few respond to it! *WHY is this so?* Has this Society, in a Seminary so honored in the records of Christian missions, duly entertained this question? Has it either *in fact*, or in the *plans* and *purposes* of its members, its full and fair representation in that wide and whitened field — men who shall speak for you among those teeming millions, and tell to those ready to perish, your love to Christ, and your sympathy for dying souls? Does not the command of Christ require this of you? Do not the best interests of this Seminary, do not the best interests of our country which we so much love, the best interests of our American Zion, yea, of all that is valuable in life, and precious in the kingdom of Christ; do not all these interests, so far as they depend on you, my brethren, demand that you *do your duty*, that you spread yourselves, in due proportions, through *the whole field*? I leave with you the question. I have time only to put it. Let each see to it, that *he does his duty*; let him so plan and labor, that he may make the *most of life*, in this eventful period of the world's history.

ARTICLE II.

THE GROTIAN THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT.

Translated from the German of Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur, Professor ordinarius of Evangelical Theology in the University of Tübingen, by Rev. Leonard Swain, Nashua, N. H.

[THE work from which the following extract is taken, is entitled : *Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung ; in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von der älteste Zeit bis auf die neueste.*]

It was a natural and almost necessary result, that two such opposite views as that of Socinus on the one hand, and that of the church on the other, should call forth a third one of intermediate character. And in this remark is indicated the place which Hugo Grotius and his well known treatise holds in the history of our doctrine ; since, although it was his design in taking ground against the Socinian view, merely to defend the satisfaction-theory which was held by the church,¹ the actual result was, that, instead of defending that theory, he substituted an entirely different one in its place.

The fundamental error of the Socinian view was found by Grotius to be this : that Socinus regarded God in the work of redemption as holding the place merely of a creditor, or master, whose simple will was a sufficient discharge from the existing obligation.² But as we have in the subject before us to deal with punishment and the remission of punishment, God cannot be looked upon as a creditor, or an injured party, since the act of inflicting punishment does not belong to an injured party as such. The right to punish is not one of the rights of an absolute master or of a creditor, these being merely personal in their character ; it is the right of a ruler only. Hence God must be considered as a ruler, and the right to punish belongs to the ruler as such, since it exists not for the punisher's sake but for the sake of the commonwealth, to maintain its order and to promote the

¹ Hence the title of the work : *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi.*

² De satisf. c. 2. § 3. p. 36. Vult Socinus partem omnem offensam esse poenae creditorem, atque in ea tale habere jus, quale alii creditores in rebus sibi debitis, quod jus saepe etiam dominii voce appellat, ideoque saepissime repetit, Deum hic spectandum ut partem offensam, ut creditorem, ut dominum, tria haec ponens tanquam tantundem valentia. Hic error Socini, per totam ipsius tractationem latissime diffusus — τὸ πρῶτον ψεύδος.

public good.¹ The act of atonement itself is defined in general as a judicial act, in accordance with which, one person is punished in order that another may be freed from punishment, or as an act of dispensation, by which the binding force of an existing law is suspended in respect to certain persons or things. The first question to be asked, therefore, is, whether such a dispensation or relaxing is possible in respect to the law of punishment. Grotius does not hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative, on the ground that all positive laws are relaxable. The threat of punishment in Gen. 2: 17, contains in itself, therefore, the implied right to dispense with the infliction of that punishment, and that too without supposing any essential change in God himself, since a law in relation to God and the divine will, is not something having an internal force and authority of its own (*nichts Inneres*) but is merely an operation or effect of the divine will. The objection that none but the guilty person himself can receive the punishment which is due to his crime, is answered by the distinction, that although every sinner as such, does, in accordance with the very idea of sin, deserve punishment, still, it is not a matter of absolute necessity that this punishment should be actually inflicted. As therefore the remission of punishment is a thing which is not in its own nature impossible, it must be left to the circumstances of each particular case to decide how far such remission shall really be admitted. If the authority of law is not to be dangerously weakened, it should be admitted only in cases of the greatest exigency. Such a case clearly, is that which is offered in the very instance which we are now contemplating, where, by the actual infliction of the punishment the entire race of man becomes devoted to death.² And, as on the one side, the possibility of the remission of punishment cannot be denied, so on the other it cannot be shown to be absolutely unjust that one person should be punished for another's sin. The essential thing in punishment is that it should be inflicted in

¹ Cap. 2. § 1. p. 34. *Poenas infligere, aut a poenis aliquem liberare, quem punire possis, quod justificare vocat scriptura, non est nisi rectoris, qua talis, primo et per se, ut puta in familia patris, in republica regis, in universo Dei. — Unde sequitur, omnino hic Deum considerandum ut rectorem. — Cap. 2. § 9. p. 41. At jus puniendi non punientis causa, existit, sed causa communitatis alicujus. Poena enim omnis propositum habet bonum commune, ordinis nimirum conservationem et exemplum, ita quidem ut rationem expetibilis non habeat nisi ab hoc fine, cum jus dominii et crediti per se sint expetibilia.*

² Cap. 3. § 6. p. 51. *Quia, si omnes peccatores morti eternae mancipandi fuissent, periissent funditus ex rerum natura duae res pulcherrimae, ex parte hominum, religio in Deum, ex parte Dei, praeceptuae in homines beneficentiae testatio.*

consequence of sin, not that it should be inflicted upon the person who committed the sin. If now it admits of no doubt that a superior may properly inflict upon a subject, as the punishment of another's sin, whatever he might properly inflict upon him irrespectively of another's sin, then may God, without incurring the charge of injustice, permit Christ to suffer and die for the sins of men.¹ This course, then, being in itself a permissible one, the only question is, why God actually determined to adopt it. As the Scripture says that Christ suffered and died for our sins, we are to infer that God purposed not to forgive sins so numerous and so great, without a striking penal example, in order to show his displeasure at sin by some act which should in strictest propriety be termed a penal act. And besides this inward reason, lying in the very nature of the Deity, and called in Scripture the wrath of God, there was the additional consideration that the less sin is punished, the more lightly it will be regarded. Prudence itself, therefore, must lead the Deity to exact the punishment, especially where such punishment has been expressly threatened beforehand. Thus in the penal example furnished by the death of Christ, there is exhibited at once the divine grace and the divine severity, the hatred of God against sin and his care for the maintenance of the law.² And this is the mode of relaxing the laws which

¹ Cap. 4. § 18. p. 63. Hoc proprie quaeritur: an actus, qui sit in potestate superioris, etiam citra considerationem delicti alieni possit ab ipso superiore ordinari in poenam alieni delicti. Hoc injustum esse negat scriptura, quae Deum hoc saepius fecisse ostendit, negat natura, quia vetare non probatur, negat aperte consensus gentium. . . . Nihil ergo iniquitatis in eo est, quod Deus, cujus est summa potestas, ad omnia per se non injusta, nulli ipse legi obnoxius cruciatibus et morte Christi uti voluit, ad statuendum exemplum grave adversus culpas immensas nostrum omnium, quibus Christus erat conjunctissimus natura, regno, vadimonio.

² Cap. 5. § 8. p. 69. Hoc ipso Deus non tantum suum adversus peccata odium testatum fecit, ac proinde nos hoc facto a peccatis deterruit (facilis enim est collectio, si Deus ne resipiscentibus quidem peccata remittere voluit nisi Christo in poenas succedente, multo minus inultos sinet contumaces), verum insigni modo insuper patefecit summum erga nos amorem ac benevolentiam, quod ille scilicet nos pepercit cui non erat *ἀδιάφορον* (*indifferens*), punire peccata, sed qui tanti id faciebat, ut potius quam impunita omnino dimitteret, filium suum unigenitum ob illa peccata poenis tradiderit. Cap. 5. § 11. p. 71. Justitiae rectoris pars est, servare leges, etiam positivae et a se latas, quod verum esse tam in universitate libera, quam in rege summo probant Jurisconsulti: cui illud est consequens, ut rectori relaxare legem talem non liceat nisi causa aliqua accedat si non necessaria, certe sufficiens: quae itidem recepta est a Jurisconsultis sententia. Ratio utriusque est, quod actus ferendi aut relaxandi legem, non sit actus absoluti dominii, sed actus imperii, qui tendere debeat ad boni ordinis conservationem.

jurists themselves pronounce the best, viz. by commutation or compensation; because thereby the least injury is done to the authority of the law, and the design with which the law was made is effectually secured, as when one who is charged with the delivery of a thing is free from his liability on paying its full value. For, the same thing, and the same value, are terms very nearly related.¹ Such a commutation may take place not only with respect to things, but also with respect to persons, where it can be done without injury to another.

In these few statements is contained the entire theory of Hugo Grotius. What is essential to it lies in this main proposition: God neither would nor could forgive the sins of men without the setting up of a penal example. This is done by the death of Christ. Hence the death of Christ is the necessary condition of the forgiveness of sin, and what it always actually presupposes. The theory, therefore, hangs upon the idea of a penal example, and of its presupposed necessity, and the question for us now to consider, is, how, by means of that idea, it stands related on the one hand to the theory of the church which it would defend, and on the other, to the Socinian theory which it would confute.

As to its relation to the satisfaction-theory held by the church, it will be seen at once, that it asserts the necessity of the death of Christ in order to the forgiveness of sin, in a sense wholly different from that which the church intends. If the death of Christ is necessary only as a penal example, then its necessity is grounded, not in the very nature of God himself, not in the idea of absolute justice, by which sin, guilt, and punishment are inseparably bound together, but merely in that outward relation which God holds to men as a ruler. The real object of consideration is not past sin, but future. The guilt of past sin may be removed immediately, for God has the absolute right to remit punishment; and a penal example is necessary only for the purpose of maintaining the honor of the law, and guarding against sin in time to come. The connection, therefore, between sin and punishment is not an inherent, internal connection, founded in the very nature of sin; the design of punishment is merely to prevent sin; or, in other words, it is connected with sin only in consequence of a positive law emanating from God as the supreme Ruler. Hence the final ground upon which Grotius goes back to prove the necessity of instituting a penal example, is merely the penal sanction contained in Gen. 2:17. The advocates of the satisfaction-theory indeed go back to the same sentence, but only to remark in it a ne-

¹ P. 68. *Proxima enim sunt idem et tantundem.*

cessary outflowing of the divine justice. Grotius, on the contrary, takes the absolute idea of divine justice entirely away; for, if he affirms, in opposition to Socinus, that justice is an attribute which belongs of itself to the very nature of God, but at the same time asserts that the actual exercise of the attribute depends on the will of God,¹ it is precisely the same as the assertion of Socinus himself, that penal justice is the effect of the divine will; and if he further says that God does what he does, not without a cause, still, the ultimate ground is not God's absolute nature, but his absolute will, which is, in itself, equally competent to punish or not to punish.

Here, then, is an important distinction between the theory of Grotius and that of the church. The best scale for the measurement of their mutual relations is furnished by the idea of satisfaction. The main point in the church's theory of satisfaction is this, that what Christ did was precisely the same thing which men themselves were to have done. If Christ had not made a strict and perfect satisfaction for men, they could not have been released from sin. Socinus objected to this, that satisfaction and forgiveness were contradictory ideas. This assertion, Grotius, as the defender of the church's doctrine of satisfaction, could not admit. He therefore replied that satisfaction and forgiveness were not strictly simultaneous; that according to the conditions established by God, the latter then first follows the former, when a man by faith in Christ turns to God and prays him for the forgiveness of his sins.² This distinction must certainly be made if the objection of Socinus is to be successfully met, and the two ideas are to be permitted to stand side by side. But Grotius could not stop here. If it is only a penal example that is furnished by the death of Christ, then the idea of satisfaction strictly speaking, has no further relevancy. As, however, Grotius wished to retain this idea, he brought to his assistance a peculiar distinction, which is

¹ Cap. 5. § 9. p. 70. *Justitia illa, sive rectitudo, ex qua nascuntur tum alia, tum poenarum retributio, proprietas est in Deo residens. Sed in hunc errorem inductus videtur Socinus, quod Dei proprietatum effectus quosvis esse credidit necessarios omnino. cum multi sint liberi, intercedente scilicet inter proprietatem et effectum actu libero voluntatis. Neque ideo, quia liber est Deo proprietatum istarum usus, dici potest, cum iis utitur, sine causa facere quod facit.*

² Cap. 6. § 8. p. 81. *Fuit et Christi satisfaciens, et Dei satisfactionem admittentis, hic animus ac voluntas, hoc denique pactum et foedus, non ut Deus statim ipso perpassione Christi tempore poenas remitteret, sed ut tum demum id fieret, cum homo vera in Christum fide ad Deum conversus, supplex veniam precaretur. Non obstat hic ergo satisfactio, quo minus sequi possit remissio. Satisfactio enim non jam sustulerat debitum, sed hoc egerat, ut propter ipsam debitum aliquando tolleretur.*

made in law between the two ideas denoted respectively by the terms *solutio* and *satisfactio*. If, said Grotius, the very thing which is owed, be paid either by the debtor himself, or, which is in this case the same thing, by another in the debtor's name, then the discharge of the debt takes place by that very act, but it is to be called a discharge, not a remission (*remissio*). Not so, however, when something else is paid than the specific thing which was due. In this case, there must be added, on the part of the creditor or ruler, an act of remission, as a personal act; and it is this kind of payment, that may be either accepted or refused by the creditor, which is properly called, in the technical language of the law, satisfaction. While, therefore, it was the original design of Grotius in all this, merely to prove, in opposition to Socinus, that the idea of satisfaction did not exclude that of remission, what he really did was to substitute in place of the common idea of satisfaction a totally different one.¹ For the common idea of satisfaction rests essentially on the supposition that Christ has rendered precisely the same thing which men themselves were to have rendered. If now such a payment (*solutio*) be, as Grotius asserts, no remission (*remissio*), but only a discharge (*liberatio*), then it must be conceded to Socinus, which was the thing contested by Grotius, that the ideas of satisfaction and remission mutually contradict and exclude each other, or in other words, that

¹ The principal passage which belongs here reads thus: Cap. 6. § 6. p. 78. *Alia solutio ipso facto liberat, alia non ipso facto. Ipso facto liberat solutio rei plane ejusdem, quae erat in obligatione. Perinde autem est utrum ipse reus solvat, an aliud pro eo, hoc animo, ut ipse liberetur. Ubi ergo idem solvitur aut a debitore, aut ab alio nomine debitoris, nulla contingit remissio. Nihil enim citra debitum agit creditor aut rector. Quare si quis poenam pertulerit, quam debet, liberatio hic erit, remissio non erit. Ac talis liberationis professionem in jure crediti proprie ac stricte ἀποχὴν, apocham (quittance), vocant Jurisconsulti. Alia vero quaevis solutio ipso facto non liberat, puta, si aliud quam quod erat in obligatione, solvatur. Sed necesse est, actum aliquem accedere, creditoris aut rectoris, qui actus recte et usitate remissio appellatur. Talis autem solutio quae admitti aut recusari potest, admissa in jure, speciale habet nomen satisfactionis quae interdum solutioni opponitur. Compare Cap. 6. § 8. p. 80, where he remarks in opposition to Socinus: Illud vero, quod dicit, satisfactione omnino et statim tolli debitum, ad rem quidem pertinet, sed verum non est, nisi satisfactio contra juris usum sumatur pro ipsius rei, quae debetur, ab ipso qui debet, facta solutione, de qua nos non agimus. In an essay in the *Evang. Kirchenzeitung* for 1834, p. 606, a doubt is very justly expressed whether Grotius was quite honest on this point. and a document is brought forward from the *Corpus Juris* to show that the distinction which Grotius assumed to exist between the terms *satisfactio*, and *apocha*, or *solutio*, as used in the technical language of law, is by no means of such a character as he has represented it.*

the satisfaction which was made by Christ does not deserve the name of satisfaction in the sense which the common theory of the church connected with that expression. But if Christ has not made satisfaction in this sense, if he has not truly and perfectly rendered for men what they were to have rendered for themselves, then the idea of satisfaction can be applied to him only so far as he has given to God something, whatever that something may be, in place of that which was to have been rendered by men themselves in their relation to God. This then is the precise meaning of the theory of Grotius, and the difference between it and the satisfaction-theory of the church. The idea of satisfaction is let down from its full and real import to the idea of a mere rendering of something (einer irgendwie geschriebener Leistung); Christ has made satisfaction so far as he has fulfilled a condition, of whatever kind it may be, upon which God has suspended the forgiveness of the sins of men; so far as he has given to God a something with reference to that end.¹ This *something* is that penal example, without the setting forth of which, God could not have forgiven the sins of men.

If it appears from what has been said, that this theory has no right to give itself out as the theory of the church, the following points will show also how little it differs in essence from that of Socinus himself:

1. Even supposing that in the language of law there is such a distinction to be made between payment (solutio) and satisfaction, as Grotius alleges, still he has by no means shown that the idea of satisfaction as held by the church is in itself untenable, and that it is in the nature of the case impossible to hold the legal idea of satisfaction

¹ Though Grotius is very careful not to bring forward this point into any position in which he could be expected to go into a formal defence of it, still it lies very clearly in his definition of satisfaction. See for instance how he expresses himself in reference to certain passages of Scripture. That we are according to 1 Cor. 6; 20. 7: 23, *bought with a price*, means merely, *solutio aliqua liberati sumus*. The expression ἀντίλυτρον 1 Tim. 2: 6, whose real meaning he proposed to maintain against the Socinian explanation of *impendium quaecunque*, he nevertheless himself thus explains: Est tale λύτρον (*pretium*), in quo liberator simile quiddam subit ei malo, quod ei imminabat, qui liberatur. In explanation of the words ἀντί πολλῶν he remarks p. 114, Erasmus mortis debitores. Ab hoc debito liberationem nobis Christus impetravit aliquid dando. Dare autem aliquid ut per id ipsum alter a debito liberetur, est solvere aut satisfacere. It is always of a mere *aliquid* that he speaks, never of an *equivalent*. Hence such expressions as, that in the death of Christ there was no solutio rei ipsius debitae, quae ipso facto liberet: nostra enim mors et quidem eterna erat in obligatione, can be regarded only as a direct contradiction of the theory of the church, it being an essential part of that theory that Christ has endured eternal death for men.

at the same time with the church idea of it. It is rather the definitions of Grotius himself which appear capricious and self-contradictory. The idea of satisfaction, according to him, does not rest upon the fact that another has made payment, but upon the fact that he has paid something else than the precise thing itself which was due. If now it be said in further explanation of this *something else*, that the obligation requires the punishment of the person himself who has incurred the guilt, according to the principle that guilt attaches to the person,¹ then it is clear that the second definition becomes identical with the first again, that he who pays for another, pays something else than the precise thing which was due, for the very reason that he is another, and not the person himself who was bound to pay. And still, in giving the definition of the term *solutio*, Grotius declares it to be indifferent whether the debtor himself pays, or another pays for him, if it only be done in his name. Either, therefore, one man can never pay another's debt without the payment (*solutio*) immediately becoming a satisfaction (*satisfactio*) because it is made by another, or else, if the possibility that one man should pay for another is not to be denied, the essential thing in satisfaction must be this, that one man pays for another, irrespective of the question whether what he pays is the same thing that the debtor himself was to have paid, or something different. The legal possibility, however, that one person should pay or be punished for another, cannot be denied by Grotius, since the essential thing in punishment, in his view, is, not that the sinner himself should be punished, but only that there should be in general a connection between punishment and sin. It is therefore an entirely wilful substitution of one thing for another, in which Grotius has here allowed himself. Instead of proving what was the main point, and what did not admit of being approached in any such stealthy and sidelong manner, viz. that Christ not only paid as *another*, but also paid an *other thing* (nicht blos als *alius solvit*, sondern auch *aliud solvit*), Grotius merely proved that, according to the common language of law, that which takes place in an instance of

¹ On p. 78, Grotius assigns as the reason *cur poenae corporalis vicarius ipso facto reum, solvendo poenam, nequeat liberare . . . non quia alius solvit, sed quia solvit aliud quam quod est in obligatione. Est enim in obligatione afflictio ipsius qui deliquit, unde dici solet, noxam caput sequi. Quod in aliis quoque obligationibus factum mere personalibus videre est. In his enim omnibus, si alius solvat, ipso facto liberatio non sequitur quia simul aliud solvitur. Quare ut ex poena unius alteri liberatio contingat, actus quidem rectoris debet intercedere. Lex enim, ipsum qui deliquit puniri imperat. Hic actus respectu legis est relaxatio, respectu debitoris, remissio.*

satisfaction, is not so much the payment by another (*das alius solvit*), as it is the payment of another thing (*das aliud solvit*). The real thing in question, therefore, is not proved; all that has been done is merely to assume the thing itself as already granted and apply to it a legal definition. But if Grotius thought himself compelled absolutely to assume the thing itself, can he have done it for any other reason than because he himself could not withhold his assent from the arguments which were urged by Socinus against the idea of a satisfaction in the strict sense of the word and as held by the church?

2. As Grotius rejected the common idea of satisfaction as held by the church, so also he declared himself against the idea of Acceptilation.¹ He objects to Socinus that he has applied this idea to the act of God in forgiving sin, an idea which can have no pertinence whatever in the case of a penal relation.² But here again he has entirely changed the point of view, and the legal definitions to which he once more resorts, are only a weak device to conceal the real state of the case. The idea of acceptilation can mean nothing to Socinus, for he holds that nothing was actually given to God by the death of Christ, but that Christ was only a promulgator of that which God, of his own good will, has imparted to men. On the contrary, there is no other theory to which the idea of acceptilation can be applied with so

¹ Acceptilation, according to the definition of Bretschneider (*Dogmat. II. pp. 338, 341*), is that which takes place when one consents to accept a thing as an equivalent, although it is not in itself really equal to that in place of which it is received; its sufficiency for the given purpose being constituted not by its own inherent worth, but by the receiver's determination to accept it. — *TR.*

² P. 79. *Nam accepto fertur ea res, quae accipi potest. At poenam corporalem rector revera exigit, sed non accipit, quia nihil ex poena ad ipsum proprie pervenit.* So little had Socinus to do with the idea of Acceptilation, that he never deals with it as Crellius properly observes in his Reply to Grotius: *Videre jam potest Grotius, etiamsi Socius dixisset, agi hic de acceptilatione, seu actum hunc Dei esse acceptilationem. eam tamen sententiam isto quo hic utitur, argumento, utpote invalido, non everti. Sed unde constat Grotio, ita sentire Socinum? Quod idem de ipso affirmat (cap. 6) nec scripsit id Socinus uspiam, nec cogitavit, sed tantum alicubi reprehendens doctos quosdam viros (in margine autem libri sui Bezam notat), qui vocem imputandi apud Paulum exponentes dicunt, id nobis acceptum ferri, quod non ipsi exsolvimus, sed alius pro nobis, ostendit, illos non recte locutos: siquidem actus quo quippiam acceptum fertur alteri, qui acceptilatio dicitur, sit per sola verba obligationis liberatio, ita ut acceptum non possit ferri illud quod revera solutum est. Quod si ob haec verba (alia enim non reperio) Socinum et hic et infra reprehendit Grotius, ipsemet cernere jam potest vel Socini verba se non considerasse, vel inique reprehendisse.* This remark also, to which Crellius is fairly entitled, is another testimony to the equivocal dealing of Grotius.

much right as the very theory of Grotius himself. When he says, in explanation of that term, that it stands opposed to actual payment, that it is only figurative, a payment merely conceived to have taken place, it is obvious that there is a play upon the double meaning of the term payment (*solutio*); for the opposite of acceptilation can be only that particular kind of payment in which is rendered the very thing that was due, or else its perfect equivalent.¹ That acceptation presupposes something which can be accepted, is what Grotius himself alleges as a proof that something must really be given. If, therefore, it is called an imaginary payment, it is imaginary only so far as that which is given is imperfect, so as to require that what is lacking, whether more or less, should be regarded as if it were received. Moreover, this is the very thing which Grotius repeatedly puts forward as the peculiar point of his theory, that something was offered to God by Christ, through which satisfaction was rendered, and without which satisfaction, God could not have forgiven the sins of men. On this very ground it is obviously incorrect to say that the idea of acceptilation has no pertinence in the case of punishment. When Grotius himself, in speaking of Christ's death, says there was in it a giving of something (*einem dare aliquid*), he reduces the penal relation to the relation of the debtor and creditor, and with obvious propriety too, since punishment even may be regarded in the light of a debt which must in some way be removed before a man can come into favor with God.

The more undeniably the theory of Grotius is seen to agree fundamentally with that of Socinus in the two points abovementioned, the more necessary becomes the inquiry: in what then does the peculiarity of the Grotian theory consist? It can be found only in that idea of penal example, which Grotius transferred to the death of Christ; though even in this respect it cannot be concealed that there is a close affinity between the two theories. Although Grotius chooses to hold fast the idea of satisfaction in a certain sense, it nevertheless amounts to nothing else at last, but the idea of a penal example,

¹ With equal ambiguity Grotius expresses himself when he says, p. 107, *Ea est pretii natura, ut sui valore aut aestimatione alterum moveat ad concedendam rem, aut jus aliquod, puta, impunitatem*. If estimation is to be distinguished from worth in the objective sense, from equivalency, then it can be only the subjective estimate of a thing, that is declared to be sufficient, without reference to its objective value. But why did not Grotius explain himself more definitely on this point, and why does he to the last persist in using, as if it were the most appropriate expression, that most indeterminate of all formulas: *dare aliquid propter aliquid*?

through which, God, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of his law, declares, in the language of palpable fact, his hatred and abhorrence of sin.¹ For what other purpose, however, should the authority of the law be maintained, than that sin may be prevented at the same time that the pardon of sin is bestowed? The principal thing insisted on, then, both by Grotius and Socinus, is, the moral impression which is produced by the death of Christ; with only this difference, that this moral element is taken by Grotius in a negative sense, by Socinus in a positive sense; since, according to Grotius, the moral effect of Christ's death consists in the fact that it is a setting forth of the punishment which is connected with sin, while ac-

¹ This is especially evident from the following passage, in which Grotius maintains against Socinus, p. 86, *Duplicem Dei non liberalitatem (ea enim vox ab hoc argumento aliena et Scripturae inusitata est) sed beneficentiam nostra quoque sententia agnoscit, et quidem majorem multo, quam ista nupernata Socini opinio. Prior est beneficentia, quod cum Deus magno odio contra peccatum incitaretur, possetque tam nobis parcere omnino nolle, quam peccatoribus angelis parcere omnino noluit, tamen ut nobis parceret, non modo solutionem talem, quam admittere non tenebatur, admiserit, sed ipse quoque ultro eam repperit. Hoc certe beneficium multo est majus atque illustrius, quam si Deus plane iudicans nihil referre, exemplum statueretur aliquod nec ne, peccata nostra reliquisset impunita, quod vult Socinus. Non ergo clementia Dei poenae solutione evenit, cum talem solutionem admittere multoque magis invenire (the *solutio*, therefore, is only the setting forth of the penal example) ex sola clementia processerit. The second proof of the divine goodness is that God gave his Son to die ut eam solutionem, sive satisfactionem perageret poenas peccatorum nostrorum ferendo, to which Grotius adds still farther against Socinus, Dei caritatem a nobis majorem predicari vel hoc evincat, quod beneficia non ex solo impendio, sed pricepue ex utilitate, quae ex impendio ad beneficio affectum manat, par est aestimari. Nos autem praeter utilitatis, quas nobiscum Socinus confitetur, unam eximiam, quam ille abnegat, grato animo agnoscimus. Neque dicimus a Deo impensum esse filium, ut ipse Deus suum receperet (Grotius finds fault with this accordingly in the theory of the church) ac si Deum sordidum facimus, quod nobis exprobat Socinus, sed ideo id factum a Deo dicimus, ut peccati meritum suumque adversus peccata odium palam testata faceret, et simul quantum ejus nobis parcendo fieri poterat, rerum ordini legisque suae auctoritati consulere. All this again is only the idea of penal example, and yet it is called by Grotius immediately afterward a *finis superadditus satisfactionis*. Even the idea of active obedience Grotius cannot wholly relinquish. P. 87, *Negare nolumus vim satisfactionis esse etiam in ipsa Christi actione (obsequiosa). Solet enim saepe etiam actio grata admitti velut in poenae compensationem. Quamvis beneficium accipere Deus non potest, ipsius tamen summa bonitas quaecumque obsequium quasi pro beneficio accipit. Is this actio obsequiosa anything else than the moral disposition which was manifested by Christ in his death, and which, even the Socinian doctrine makes a condition (Voraussetzung) of the forgiveness of sin? The instrumental agency (das Vermittelnde) in either case, is the moral impression which is produced by the death of Christ.**

cording to Socinus, it consists in the moral disposition which was exhibited by Christ in his death. Even by Socinus himself, therefore, the bestowment of pardon is made dependent upon a moral condition which is connected with the death of Christ.

Although it is obvious that, if the death of Christ is once put under the moral point of view, and in accordance therewith, the attention be directed not so much to past as to future sin, it is not necessary to confine ourselves exclusively to any one mode of explaining its moral action, still it is just as undeniably obvious that, viewing the two theories of Grotius and Socinus from their common point of opposition to that of the church, we must regard the Grotian idea of a penal example as an essential improvement of the Socinian theory. Not only is the idea of punishment in itself a very essential element of every theory of atonement and redemption,¹ and, as such, unjustifiably omitted by Socinus, but there results from the fact the not inconsiderable advantage, that so many passages of the New Testament, in the explanation of which, the Socinian exegesis cannot escape the charge of caprice and violence, fall into easy and natural accordance with the idea of Grotius.² This, however, is the only advantage of which this theory can boast; in other respects, so far as it differs from the main points of the Socinian scheme, it is obnoxious to the same charge of incompleteness which is so seldom to be escaped by those theories which affect an intermediate position between two points of view that are essentially divergent. The Socinian system is at least entirely consistent, in this respect, that, as it takes a much lower view of the work of Christ than was taken by the church, so also it takes an equally low view of the person of Christ; while in the theory of Grotius, there is this marked disproportion, that, occupying the same position with the Socinian scheme, in its view of the work of Christ, it at the same time regards, as does the church, the person of Christ not as a mere man, but as the incarnate Son of God, and hence fails to explain in any satisfactory manner why the sufferings of such a God-man should have been necessary, if they were designed to be only a penal example. This defect, however, is only of a piece with the entire character of the Grotian theory, so far as it is distinguished

¹ P. 87. *Finis hæc satisfactionis, sive poenae ferendae, multo apertius, immo multo etiam certiore nexu cum morte Christi cohaeret, quam illi fines quos agnoscit Socinus. Nam testimonium doctrinae satis atque abunde praebere poterant miracula: gloria quoque coelestis conferri Christo, non interveniente morte, facile potuit: at poenae luendae mors, talis praesertim, proprie accommodata est et poena ipsa pariendae liberationi.*

² See on this point cap. 7—10 of the work of Grotius.

from the other two theories to which it is opposed. While they start from the *idea*, the church theory from the idea of the absolute Justice, the Socinian from the idea of the absolute Goodness, of God, or at least, put the historical fact, the death of Christ, into such relation to these respective ideas, as that our whole mode of conceiving that fact is to be determined by them, the theory of Grotius is founded upon exactly the opposite view. This theory cannot rightly be said to start from an *idea*; since, in the penal example which it beholds in the death of Christ, absolute Justice and absolute Goodness neutralize each other in such a way that the theory hardly has a definite principle left; except as we must confess that the idea of a penal example, of which it makes so much, distinguishes it from the Socinian, though even that distinction is rather formal than material. The more, however, the theory assumes the appearance of having for its only starting point, the historical fact, in its pure objectivity, in connection with the already existing idea of satisfaction, so much the more does it take its position over against that fact, with the confidence of being able so to explain it by means of the judicial definitions and distinctions to which it resorts, that there shall be as little necessity of endorsing whatever is harsh and inconceivable in the theory of the church, on the one hand, as of agreeing in full with that exact contradiction of this theory which is set up by Socinus, on the other. If, therefore, all that one has to do, is, to hold in this manner upon the mere historical fact, it is difficult to conceive how he can have any further interest in defending a theory which starts from a determinate idea. He has to do only with the fact itself, and he is to treat it exactly after the manner of a process in law, in which one understands himself as bound to nothing but that to which he is held by the existing legal forms, taken in their closest construction.

So also with the person of Christ. That the divine human dignity of the Redeemer is as necessary a presupposition for the theory of the church, as it is superfluous to that of Socinus, is obvious at first sight. The theory of Grotius, on the contrary, although it recognizes that dignity in form, really nullifies it in fact; since it is unable to explain what is the precise importance of that dignity in the work of redemption. How Christ should have been peculiarly fitted to stand as a penal example on account of the dignity of his person as God-man, it is not easy to see.¹ If he became incarnate for this end only,

¹ P. 72. Quod poena in Christum collata fuerit, hoc ita ad Dei et Christi voluntatem referimus, ut ea quoque voluntas causas suas habeat, non in merito Christi (qui peccatum cum non nosset, a Deo peccatum factus est), sed in sum-

which could with equal ease have been secured by him as a mere man, as the Socinians hold, and so includes in himself nothing which is in its own nature necessary, then there is, and will always remain, an irreducible disproportion between the means and the end. Instead of falling back upon the internal necessity of things, and drawing an argument from thence, as was done in the theory of the church, and instead of entirely renouncing an idea whose rational necessity cannot be acknowledged, as was avowedly done by Socinus, Grotius has given us a mere vindication, flattering himself that it has done all that can be justly demanded of it, when by suggesting some plausible end to be accomplished, it has relieved the presupposed fact from the charge of being absolutely inconceivable. Such is the difference between the formal, judicial point of view, having as its outward standard of reference, a given case in law, and the speculative, which goes back to the internal idea of things, or to the absolute nature of God.¹

ma Christi aptitudine ad statuendum insigne exemplum, quae tum in maxima ipsius nobiscum conjunctione tum in incomparabili personae dignitate consistit. This is all that Grotius can say on this subject.

¹ The externality and want of firmness which marks the Grotian theory, is very justly and strikingly indicated in the essay already referred to in the *Evangel. Kirchenzeitung* for 1834, p. 539: "The judicial mode of conception adopted by Grotius, is merely formal; i. e. those forms and conceptions which have their origin in mere positive laws, are transferred unchanged to the divine relations; or rather, the latter are subjected to the former, and fashioned and determined by them; a procedure which makes it appear very much as if the doctrine laid down by him in the first chapter, and the doctrine of the Scripture and the church which he defends, were two very different doctrines, or as if, in other words, his system led to a very different doctrine from that which he proposes and professes to defend." P. 595: "The partial and distorted character of this theory betrays itself first and most clearly in the fact that Grotius is not able, in consistency with himself, to point out any necessity (not even a moral one) for the satisfaction made by Christ." "Without satisfaction there is no forgiveness; was the fundamental maxim in the orthodox doctrine of redemption, first distinctly expressed by Anselm, but held by the church in all ages. So long as the adverse party opposed to this the mere proposition that forgiveness was possible even without satisfaction, no ground was gained against the actually existing, and therefore divinely appointed satisfaction, as a condition of forgiveness. They must go further, and prove that forgiveness was not possible *with* satisfaction. This was precisely what the everywhere-consistent Socinus attempted to do. Of course, the only thing which was now left to the defender of the church theory who would not accept the direct antithesis (without satisfaction there is no forgiveness), was, negatively, to prove that forgiveness was not impossible without satisfaction; i. e. that the satisfaction made by Christ, and planned by God, was entirely consistent with that forgiveness which might have taken place without it; or, to express it somewhat paradoxically, that God can forgive sin in spite of that satisfaction. This, and in fact nothing more, Grotius has proved by his

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ZUINGLI.

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[Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 699.]

Labors, Cares and Studies of Zuingli at Zurich, 1520—1522.

ZUINGLI, as has been previously intimated, was again in the pulpit before he had fully recovered from the severe attack of the disease by which he had been visited. He had even resumed all of his

book. But if the satisfaction of Christ stands in no necessary connection with the forgiveness of sin, then this could not have been the design of satisfaction, and neither forgiveness nor redemption in general, has any immediate dependence upon satisfaction; for to assign the forgiveness of sin as the object to be secured by satisfaction, and still to deny the internal necessity of satisfaction for the purpose of securing that object, is, so to say, a logical *contradictio in adjecto*. Accordingly, the question with Grotius assumes this form: whether God had not grounds for the penal sufferings of Christ although he could have effected the object in view without them?" The utmost which Grotius has done, is, to show the possibility, the fitness of Christ for the object in reference to which God employed him. Upon this point, however, his opponent had raised no question. The question rather was: Why God would not forgive sin otherwise than on account of the death of Christ? The answer which Grotius gives, stands in no necessary, or even real, connection with sin. Grotius himself acknowledges, that God, who in accordance with his love desired to spare, i. e. to admit the relaxation of the law, had also the power to do it without setting forth any penal example, but that he was desirous of showing his wrath at the same time with his love. But why any additional example, when a sufficiently strong one is given in the case of the reprobate and his final condemnation? And to what exceptions and objections does Grotius in this way expose himself? Is it not, for example, the grossest injustice, nay, the grossest cruelty, in God, if, merely for the purpose of exhibiting his wrath, he gives over his Son to the most excruciating tortures, when he might forgive sin without them, yea, when he actually does (according to Grotius) forgive men without them?" Just, as these last remarks are, it must still be said, when we consider the relation of the Grotian theory to the Socinian, and the relation of both to the teaching of the Scripture, that Grotius was right in regarding the death of Christ from the point of view which is furnished by the penal relation; only, he ought not to have found the whole design of it in a mere penal example. Only when the necessity of the death of Christ is explained on other grounds (as was done by Socinus), is it possible, without charging God with cruelty, to connect the idea of penal example with the death of Christ, so that the symbolic representation of punishment shall be considered as substituted for its actual endurance.

arduous labors while yet so weak that he writes to a friend: "It [the plague] has enfeebled my memory and prostrated my spirits. While preaching, I often lose the thread of my discourse. My whole frame is oppressed with languor and I am little better than a dead man." But as returning health gave vigor to his frame, and strength and elasticity to his mind, it became apparent that afflictions had not been sent in vain. His preaching was even more fervent and spiritual than before his sickness. The hearts and understanding of his auditors were appealed to with a power and discrimination, that constrained many of the magistrates as well as private citizens to cast in their lot with the people of God. The spacious cathedral could not contain all that now flocked to hear him.

Sometime in the year 1520, the influence of Zuingli in Zurich became more conspicuous from the measures which the Council of Zurich felt constrained to adopt. The priests and monks had become notorious for the effrontery with which they promulgated the most absurd tenets in their addresses from the pulpit. The council, in which there was at that time a considerable number of adherents to the cause of reform, felt that their influence was derogatory to the best interests of the community, and without much consideration in reference to the respective duties of the civil magistrate and the church, thought themselves called upon to undertake the reform of such abuses. They accordingly issued an ordinance, that nothing should be promulgated from the pulpit that was not drawn from the sacred fountains of the Old and New Testament. Thus the reformation became blended with the civil polity, and various were the results to Switzerland and the reformation, some of them propitious, and others adverse.

The action of the magistrates caused still more decided opposition. Many of the monks had never read the Bible, and how could they preach in accordance with its principles! The nature of the ordinance of the council proclaimed its origin in the teachings of Zuingli. As the natural result, more bitter enmity speedily followed him. Even plots were laid against his life; but through the watchfulness of his friends and the care of a kind Providence, he escaped unharmed.

Another event occurred in the year 1521, which caused Zuingli much anxiety. The war in Italy was just ready to break out afresh between the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. Pope Leo had sided with the former. Francis claimed the assistance of the Swiss cantons, and Zurich alone refused to respond to his call. But they were not allowed to remain neutral, although Zuingli lifted up his warning

voice. The eloquence and intrigue of the cardinal of Sion prevailed, and 2700 Zurichers marched forth to the assistance of the emperor and the Pope. Although Zuingli's voice was unheeded at this time, yet he was not disheartened; he was too well assured that his words of warning would come back upon the breezes that wafted information from the battle-field, with redoubled force. He accordingly went quietly and with renewed energy about his master's business among the Zurichers who remained at home.

Many, however, were roused by the truth to more vigorous opposition. They accused their pastor of concerning himself too much with the political affairs of Switzerland, and of placing undue stress upon particular doctrines and repeating them too often in his discourses. But we are unable at present to follow him through all the labors and perils of this and the following year. Opposition of every kind beset him both from open and secret enemies, from private individuals and civil magistrates; but wisdom and strength were given him sufficient for every emergency. Even when the assassin's hand was ready to fall upon him, he says: "God being my helper," "I fear them as the lofty crag the roaring waves that dash against its base." Accordingly, when exhorted by Hedio and Myconius to unite in preparation for more open and direct warfare upon his enemies, he mildly replied: "I could wish to conciliate those stubborn men by kindness and gentleness of demeanor, rather than to get the better of them in an angry controversy."¹ And indeed many encouragements were mingled in his varied life. The good seed was springing up and bearing fruit in many hearts about him. His silent study and meditation was interrupted by one and another of those from other cantons, who had caught something of his spirit, and were desirous of consulting with him whose words had fallen upon their ears as a light in a dark place. Among those who visited him and shared in his counsels, may be mentioned Berthold Haller and Henry Bullinger, names familiar to all who have interested themselves in the Swiss Reformation. Letters, too, not from the different cantons alone, but from abroad, frequently cheered him on in his manifold and difficult labors. Professor Vesse of Frankfort writes: "Oh how it gladdens my heart to hear with what boldness you are preaching Christ Jesus! Strengthen, I beseech you, by your exhortations those whom the cruelty of unworthy prelates has banished from our be-reaved churches."²

¹ D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, p. 373.

² Quoted from D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, p. 366.

During the year 1522 the bishop of Constance renewed his efforts to suppress the heresy which was becoming so prevalent at Zurich. Three of his emissaries appeared there. Late one evening, their arrival was announced to Zuingli, connected with the information that an assembly of the clergy was summoned for the next morning. There was great consternation among the more doubting adherents of the new doctrines. Zuingli himself appeared in the meeting, and the efforts of his enemies were unavailing. The smaller council, in which were the most violent enemies of the truth, was next appealed to, and in the absence of Zuingli, he might have been condemned without a hearing, if his friends there had not insisted that the matter should be brought before the council of the two hundred. The smaller council were unwilling that Zuingli should be admitted to this consultation, but he and his friends were firm in their demands, and the council finally decided that their pastor should be present. The coadjutor of the bishop first delivered his fulmination against the "men who teach newly invented, abominable and seditious doctrines," and exhorted the council to continue in the church where alone they could be saved. When Zuingli arose to reply, the deputies were already on their feet to leave the council, and could not be prevailed upon to remain until a murmur of disapprobation at such dastardly conduct ran through the assembly. When they were again seated, Zuingli proceeded with a most triumphant and Christian confutation of the aspersions of his enemies, and vindication of the Gospel. The council arose without taking any action upon the matter, but the rumor of the signal defeat of the emissaries of Rome was soon spread abroad, and enthusiastic congratulations were poured in upon Zuingli from every side. His enemies, too, were on the alert, and Hoffman assailed the reformer in a written discourse before the chapter. But Zuingli replied with so much pertinency and point, that the matter "ended in a peal of laughter at the canon's expense." Zuingli soon after, April 16th, published his Treatise upon the "Free Use of Meats."¹

The Bishop of Constance, supported by Faber, next attempted to accomplish by a letter to the Canons of Zurich what he could not do by his deputies. This letter, at Zuingli's request, was committed to him to answer, and the result was his Treatise denominated "Architeles," The Beginning and the End. This letter was written in the best spirit, and couched in respectful language to the bishop, but yet

¹ De Delectu et libero Ciborum Usu. See a more extended account of this whole controversy in D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, p. 364 seq.

it was a firm and decisive vindication of his course, closing with an aggressive attack upon popish superstition and a significant indication of the result that must follow from the present controversy. The Helvetic diet was next appealed to by the bishop, but the result was a renewed declaration on the part of Zuingli that he should freely preach the Gospel, and contradict those who preach error whenever opportunity should present itself. In pursuance of this resolution, and in accordance with the wishes of the Great Council, Zuingli visited the nunnery of Oetenbach, where the daughters of the first families in Zurich were accustomed to take the vows of celibacy upon themselves, and from the pulpit which had previously been occupied only by monks, pronounced a discourse "Upon the Clearness and certainty of the Word of God," which was afterwards published, and produced a very decided and salutary impression.

Zuingli was not without many significant testimonials of regard from the citizens of Zurich during the first years of his labor there. He was elected to a canonry in the cathedral which had been left vacant by the resignation of Henry Engelhardt, who however retained the pastorship of the abbey church, and was an aid to Zuingli in his work of reform. This appointment was accompanied by a "letter from the authorities of the city, bearing honorable testimony to his character and services." But this appointment added new cares and labors. An extract from a letter to Haller will show how much occupied his hands as well as his thoughts must have been at this time: "The hurry of business," he says, "and the care of the churches occupy me to such a degree, that Dr. Engelhardt lately told me, he wondered that I had not before this time become distracted. For instance, I have been ten times called off since I began this letter. From Suabia they write to me for what I am not competent to perform for them; though I do what I can. From every part of Switzerland I am applied to by those who are in difficulties for Christ's sake. If however anything occurs in which I can be of use to you, do not spare me, for I hope for more leisure," etc.¹ He seems sometimes to have almost given way to despondence from the anxieties and cares that pressed upon him. He writes: "Such are the storms that beat upon the house of God, and threaten to overthrow it, that, unless the Lord himself had evidently appeared to watch over it, I should long since have given it up for lost. But when I see that the vessel of the church is in every case piloted and controlled by him, and that he even commands the winds and the waves, I should be a

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 46.

coward indeed, and unworthy the name of a man, should I disgracefully ruin myself by quitting my station. I therefore commit myself entirely to his care and kindness."¹

In the midst of all his other duties, Zuingli did not neglect his study. He devoted certain hours to it, and did not allow himself to be disturbed, except to attend to important business that could not be deferred. From sunrise until ten o'clock, he employed himself in writing, translation, and his more severe studies, and always retained the standing posture in study. After dinner he gave audience to any who might have communications to make to him, or who wished for advice. When not detained, however, by such persons, he engaged in familiar intercourse with his friends, frequently walking with them, until two o'clock. On holy days he was often to be seen in the customary gathering places of the citizens, where he met the councillors and other leading men, and consulted with them upon matters pertaining to the borough or whole country. At two o'clock he again resumed his studies, which he continued until supper time. After supper, and a short walk, he wrote letters, which often kept him up until after midnight.

Marriage and Domestic Life of Zuingli.

Sometime during the year 1522 Zuingli seems to have claimed for himself the privilege which he maintained for others, and married a lady who resided near him, although, for some reason, the marriage was not made public until two years afterward. Anna Reinhardt had been wedded at an early age to a youth of noble extraction, John Meyer von Knonan, in opposition to the will of his father, on account of her plebeian birth, who accordingly disinherited him. After the death of the son in 1513, leaving three children, two sisters and a younger brother, to whose care and education the desolate mother devoted herself, the heart of the old father became softened toward his daughter and her orphans by a trivial circumstance. When the young Gerold was three years old, the maid-servant while on a walk with him, stopped in the fish market, where the graceful and joyous motions and beautiful face of the boy attracted the notice of the grandfather. When to the question, Whose child is that? the reply was made: "It is your own son's," the old man relented and immediately received the wife of his son and her little ones to their appropriate place in his heart.

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 46.

Anna had ever been highly respected at Zurich, and had been constant in her attendance on Zuingli's ministrations from the time of his arrival there. As she lived near him, her faithfulness in the intelligent discharge of all her duties, had not escaped the pastor's eye. Neither had her sufferings and years entirely eradicated her beauty. But perhaps no one circumstance contributed more to the mutual regard of both than the attachment and kindness that Zuingli had manifested to the young Gerold. He had not only aided and encouraged him in his studies at home, but had sent him to Basle where he supposed he would enjoy greater advantages for culture. And the gifted young man was destined not only to reverence and love him who had long been in the place of father to him, but also to fall by his side in the battle-field.

The married life of Zuingli seems to have been a very happy one, and it is to be regretted that we have not more extended notices of it. It would be pleasant to be able to turn occasionally in the life of struggle and conflict that ensued for him, to the joys and sorrows of home, but records of this kind were for the most part written only upon the hearts of those long since sleeping in the dust. Of his several children only two seem to have survived the days of childhood. The one, a son named Ulrich, trod in his father's footsteps, and was a canon and arch-deacon of Zurich. The other, a daughter, Regula, married "Rudolph Gnaeter, a divine of eminence, to whom we are indebted for the Latin translation of many of Zuingli's writings."¹

The enemies of Zuingli found ground for reproach in the rank² and wealth of the lady of his choice. He must, they contended, have been influenced in marrying by motives of avarice and ambition. In answer to this charge he gives us a picture of the simplicity of his mode of life, and the little desire that he felt for the accumulation of this world's goods. "People talk," he says, "of the rich benefices of the pastors of Zurich, but I can declare that mine this year would not have produced me sixty pieces of gold, unless the heads of our college (the chapter) had allowed me some advantages. My adversaries swell the amount from sixty to three hundred! I do not make this statement as complaining of poverty. God is my witness, that, if ever I feel uneasiness upon that subject, it is only because I cannot, to the extent of my wishes, relieve the number of poor people who need assistance. And, indeed, if I consulted my own ease I

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 101.

² The rank to which she had been elevated by her previous marriage.

should gladly resign every sixpence of my stipend, to extricate myself from the hazardous services in which I am engaged. But neither the state of the times nor the improvement of the talent committed to me, will allow me to retire. As for my wife, apart from her clothes and her ornaments, she does not possess more than four hundred pieces of gold in the world; and for her ornaments she so little esteems them, that she has never made use of them since her marriage with me. The children of her former marriage, indeed, are rich; (may God give them grace to use their wealth aright!) and from them she receives thirty pieces of gold per annum; I have forborne to claim any further dowry, though I might have done it."¹

The First Colloquy before the Council of Zurich; the Invocation of Saints, etc.

It will be recollected that Luther was summoned to appear before the diet of Worms as an enemy of the empire, a schismatic and an obstinate and perverse heretic in 1521. His forty-one propositions had been condemned by the Pope, his writings adjudged to the flames, and himself threatened with excommunication in the previous year, in which also Zuingli renounced his pension from the Pope. After this time, *Lutheran* became an appellation of all those who were considered as innovators, either in doctrine or practice, in politics and religion. The enemies of Zuingli did not fail to give this appellation to him, in order to render him odious. He protested against the injustice done him, not from any dislike of Luther, nor from a desire to deny a conformity of sentiment with him, but because he had derived his opinions from the Bible before he had heard of Luther. But the opposers of the truth were unwilling to forego so direct a means of defaming him, and the controversy waxed continually hotter and hotter. Preachers were interrupted in the midst of their sermons, and controversy ensued. Zuingli felt great solicitude in regard to the influence that such violent and rancorous disputes would have, in unsettling the minds of those who could hardly be expected to form a correct judgment for themselves in such circumstances. It was even to be feared that they would lose all respect for that religion whose ministers they saw thus divided and inimical. The influence of the present state of things upon the officers of Government, too, was not to be disregarded. They would soon feel called upon to interfere in order to put a stop to the contentions which were every

¹ *Swiss Reformation*, pp. 101, 102.

day becoming more bitter, and if they were not enlightened in reference to the doctrines of the reformers, their severity would in all probability be visited upon them. What was to be done? Should Zuingli and his associates keep quiet till the tempest was past? This they could not in conscience do, for their office was to preach the Gospel, and woe would be to them if they preached it not in sincerity and truth. Should all subjects of difference be submitted to a Council of the Church, convoked by the Pope and presided over by his legates? What hope of any fair adjustment of differences by such a tribunal, when the Pope and tradition were ultimate authority instead of the Scriptures. And besides, what had the council of Constance done a little while before, but decree "that faith with heretics was not to be observed," and condemn to the stake John Huss and Jerome of Prague, for no greater crime than all were guilty of, who faithfully advocated reform in the church? No, in no such snare was Zuingli to be taken. His resolution was finally and wisely formed.

In the beginning of the year 1523, he appeared before the supreme council of Zurich and requested a hearing before them. He was desirous, he said, to submit his doctrines, which were condemned as heretical and subversive of good order in church and state, to a rigid scrutiny. He only stipulated one thing, that the Scriptures and not tradition or decisions of councils, should be the ultimate source of appeal. Should he be proved to be in error, he was ready to retract, and suffer the consequences; if not, he claimed the protection of Government in the proper discharge of his duties. The council could not deny so reasonable a request, and accordingly appointed a meeting on the twenty-ninth of the same month (January), in the senate house. All persons who had allegations to make against the conduct or doctrine of the chief pastor were invited to be present, and freely make them. The bishop of Constance was specially requested to appear in person or by his representatives, and the diet of the Cantons then assembled at Baden were solicited to send deputies to aid in this discussion. To the ecclesiastics of the Canton a circular was sent, of which the following extract is all perhaps that is important in the present connection: "Great discord prevails among the ministers employed to announce the word of God to the people; some affirm that they teach the Gospel in all its purity, and accuse their adversaries of bad faith and ignorance, while the others in their turn, talk continually of *false doctors, seducers*, and heretics. In the meantime, the heads of the church, to which these matters belong, are

either silent, or exhaust themselves in fruitless exhortations. It is therefore necessary that ourselves should take care of our subjects, and put an end to the disputes that divide them. For this purpose, we order all the members of our clerical body, to appear at our town hall, the day after our festival of Charlemagne; and there we will that every one be free publicly to point out the doctrines which he considers as heretical, and to combat them with the Gospel in his hands."¹

As soon as the decree was made known, Zuingli, with that fairness which he ever exhibited, in order that his adversaries might have time for arranging their thoughts and arguments, and not have reason to complain that they were taken by surprise, published sixty-seven articles, embracing all the points in dispute.

"It is highly observable," says Mr. Scott,² "that precisely at this period, in the interval between the issuing of the summons by the council, and the meeting taking place, the Pope, Adrian VI. (who had succeeded Leo X. a year before), addressed to Zuingli, to his friend Francis Zingk, of Einsiedeln, and to the burgomaster of Zurich, highly flattering letters, holding out to them hopes of receiving distinguishing marks of his favor." The object of these letters is too plain even to require a remark. But the matter did not end here. The Pope attempted to exert an influence upon Zuingli through the intercession of others, and as D'Aubigne³ says: There was nothing, whether mitre, crozier, or cardinal's hat, which the Pope would not have given to buy over the reformer of Zurich. But mistaken man! What promise or offer of thine can avail anything with this true hearted and honest man, when it comes in conflict with the principles of the Gospel?

When the day appointed arrived, the council of two hundred assembled. The bishop of Constance was represented by the Chevalier d'Anweil, intendant of his household, Faber, his grand vicar, and some other persons of distinction. All the clergy of the canton, with many others from abroad, and a multitude of other persons were present. The burgomaster of Zurich, Reust, president of the council, opened the meeting by an address, explaining the object of the convocation as it had been set forth in the letter to the clergy of the canton. The Chevalier d'Anweil then arose and stated that the bishop had heard with great sorrow of the discords at Zurich, and in accordance with the invitation of the council had deputed himself

¹ Hess, p. 145.

² Calvin and the Swiss Reform., p. 69, 70.

³ Hist. Reformation, p. 497.

and colleagues to ascertain the real state of the case and aid in adjusting all differences.

Zuingli next addressed the assembly. Corruptions, he said, had crept into the church; the divine word had been confounded with traditions. The revealed will of God was little understood or heeded by professed Christians. An outward show of sanctity, external ordinances and ceremonies were relied upon more than the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Those who attempted in all sincerity to preach the Gospel, were treated as heretics and enemies of religion. He himself had for five years labored at Zurich, and his conscience bore him witness that he had endeavored to preach nothing but the Gospel of Christ as set forth in the Scriptures; and yet he had been treated as a seducer, corrupter, disorganizer. He was anxious to exhibit his doctrine before the assembled people and ecclesiastics, the deputies of his diocesan, and the Senate of his country, to hear what could be said against it; and if in error, to be corrected; although he felt prepared to maintain that which he believed to be the truth. This he was ready to do anywhere, even at Constance, if a safe conduct were granted him. Finally a summary of the doctrines that he proposed to defend, were contained in the sixty-seven articles recently published.

Faber, who from his name (*faber*) was called a *blacksmith* of lies, in a wily and courtier-like speech, replied, lamenting the ill treatment that his brother Zuingli had received, not doubting that he had faithfully preached the Gospel, "for who, that had been ordained by God, to the ministry of the word, could do otherwise than preach the doctrine of the holy Gospels and of the Apostle Paul? He himself had done and ever would do so, as far as other duties would permit. He could assure Zuingli that should he ever be called to Constance, he would be received and welcomed as a friend and brother. He had not come to Zurich to throw any impediments in the way of preaching the Gospel, but, if persons opposed or perverted it, to find it out, and help compose differences. If any one wished to attack "ancient rites and ceremonies, or customs handed down to us through a long series of ages," he should engage in no controversy with them, for a council of the church was expected to be held in that or the following year,¹ in which all such matters should be decided; or if not there, in some renowned university, as Paris, Cologne or Louvain."

But Zuingli was not to be thwarted by such artful evasions. The

¹ As a matter of fact, the council of Trent commenced its sessions twenty-three years and closed them forty-one years afterward.

question was not what is ancient, but what is according to Scripture. Besides, allowing that an impartial council could be obtained, would nothing be done before the decision of a council could be made? In respect to referring the question to universities, they had more men skilled in the Original Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, then resident at Zurich, than at any of the universities named; and there were then present many learned divines and members of universities. After this address, of which I have given but a meagre abstract, a profound silence ensued. The burgomaster again called upon all who had objections to Zuingli or his doctrines, to make them known. When no one arose, Zuingli himself called upon all who had made charges against him to substantiate them or he should feel compelled to call upon them by name.

As no one, after repeated and urgent requests, had the courage to speak, the meeting seemed nearly to be broken up, without any canvassing of the propositions of Zuingli. An incident, however, brought on a discussion. A minister of the canton arose and complained that a country priest had been illegally arrested, condemned and imprisoned by the bishop of Constance for not retaining one of the customs of the church, the invocation of the saints and the Virgin. Now the propositions of Zuingli were opposed to this, as denying the authority of tradition, and one or the other was wrong. If then no one was prepared to demonstrate the error of the doctrine of Zuingli, all were at liberty to disobey the bishop's edict, and pronounce the condemnation of Wyss unjust. This called up the vicar general, Faber, in defence of his master, and unfortunately for him, after disparaging somewhat the character of the prisoner, said that he had induced him to retract many of his errors; and, in particular, had convinced him from the Scriptures of the wrong in denying the propriety of the invocation "of the mother of God and the saints."

The unguarded and dishonest claim of Faber was forthwith seized upon by the reformers, and he was requested to bring forward the passages of Scripture which had produced conviction upon the mind of Wyss. But without effect. He was obliged to declare: "I see that this has happened to me which is said of the fool. He is entangled in his own words." Still he went on to discourse upon the authority of the church which in past ages and all countries had maintained the disputed doctrine, and expressing his firm belief in "the intercession of the Queen of heaven, the Virgin Mother of God."¹ "As to those who refer to the Scriptures in the three lan-

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation.

guages, I reply, that it is not sufficient to quote the sacred writings, it is also necessary thoroughly to understand them. Now the gift of interpretation is a precious one, which God does not grant to all. I do not boast of possessing it; I am ignorant of Hebrew; I know little of Greek, and though I am sufficiently versed in Latin, I do not give myself out for an able orator." He then goes on to repeat his belief in the authority of councils alone in deciding such questions, his disposition to be submissive to them, which he thinks others might imitate.¹

Zuingli still pressed him for Scripture proofs, and brought forward the same arguments for the fallibility of the Church in its councils, popes, and writers, which are relied on in all protestant countries to this day. But he adds, "there is a church that cannot err, and which is directed by the Holy Spirit. It is composed of all true believers . . . but is only visible to the eyes of its divine founder, who alone knoweth his own. It does not assemble with pomp; it does not dictate its decrees in the manner of the kings of the earth; it has no temporal reign; it seeks neither honors nor domination; to fulfil the will of God is the only care by which it is occupied."²

He also denied the antiquity which Faber claimed for the usages in question, and closed by saying that it was not a confession of his faith that they wanted from the vicar general, but Scripture proofs. Leo Jude and others then arose, and declared, that if proof from the Bible could not be adduced by their opponents, their course was plain; they should continue to teach with confidence the inutility of the invocation of saints.

After another urgent request from Zuingli not to trifle with the assembly or his own reputation, Faber proceeded to his Scripture proofs. They were: The words of the Virgin herself: "All generations shall call me blessed;" and the salutation of Elizabeth: "Blessed art thou among women. . . . Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and the words addressed to our Saviour in Luke 11: 27: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee," etc. Zuingli interposed: "We ask not for testimony to the *dignity* or *sanctity* of Mary, but to the *intercession* and *invocation* of the saints;" and when Faber perceived that his authorities provoked a smile, he said: "If what I say is esteemed empty and foolish, I have only to sit down in silence." After some more discussion by different individuals, of little importance to the question in hand, the

¹ Hess, p. 152.

² Ibid. p. 154.

assembly was dismissed, the members of the council remaining to consult upon the decision to be made by them. In the evening the meeting was again assembled, and the following decree communicated to them: "That as no one had come forward to substantiate any accusation against their preacher and antistes, Ulric Zuingli, though numbers had previously reproached him as a heretic, and though he had submitted his doctrine to examination in propositions or articles duly published, and had challenged any one to convict him of error; therefore the burgomaster, council and people of Zurich decreed and confirmed, that the said Ulric Zuingli should go on to declare and preach the holy doctrine of the Gospel, and the oracles of the word of God, as he had heretofore done; and that all persons should abstain from criminating one another as heretics and offenders, on pain of such penalties as should show the sense which the Government of the country entertained of their misconduct."

When the decree had been read, Zuingli rose, and with the warmest devotion said: "We give thanks to thee, O Lord, who willest that thy most holy word should reign alike in heaven and in earth;" and turning to the council, he continued: "And on you, venerable Lords, the same Lord of all will bestow that strength and determination of mind, which will be necessary for supporting and advancing the doctrine of the Divine word throughout your territories; and I doubt not that the Lord God will abundantly reward this your present act." The grand vicar, on the other hand, complained that the decision was hasty, and desired that the matter should be referred to the doctors of some university. But Zuingli would submit to no arbitrator but the Bible as explained by itself. After some further discussion which was favorable to the cause of Zuingli in proportion as the temper and spirit that he exhibited was more gentle and Christian than that of his opponents, the assembly broke up. The influence of this colloquy can hardly be estimated, as it deserves, in reference to the progress of the Reformation, especially in Zurich. The clergy of the canton and many out of it, were present. It could not be expected that even the eloquence and zeal of Zuingli should, in a few hours, make converts of the canton; but this discussion gave him an opportunity of disseminating to some extent his doctrines, and turning the attention of the clergy to the word of God; and as no answer was made to him, although some of the leading men in the church were present, the impression would naturally and justly be, that his opponents were in the wrong. He had infinitely the advantage of his antagonists, too, in the fearless yet kind and gentle spirit

in which he did and said everything. The relation of the Government to him was now changed. Instead of opposing, it afforded him protection and encouragement. But Zuingli did not, as some would perhaps think him bound to do, make precipitate changes in the form of worship. He and his two colleagues, Leo Jude and Engelhardt, devoted themselves unceasingly to preaching and teaching the true doctrines of the Gospel. Others in different directions imitated their example in promoting the same views.

The Second Colloquy at Zurich upon the Worship of Images, and its Results.

All, however, were not contented to go forward in the same sure path which Zuingli chose for his steps. They desired a shorter way to the reformation of abuses, and accordingly published at Zurich a tract, "full of vehement declaration," entitled: "The Judgment of God against Images," in which their worship was represented as gross idolatry. This was a sufficient incitement to some to exert themselves to purify the city by whatever means it might be done. Some persons "of the baser sort" assembled and pulled down a crucifix which stood at the gate of the city. A commotion ensued, and the council interfered and arrested the offenders. In the debate of the council in regard to the punishment deserved, Zuingli maintained publicly that the law of Moses prohibited the worship of images, and the law, as never having been repealed, was yet binding upon Christians. The accused were accordingly not guilty of sacrilege, but yet deserved punishment for acting without the authority of the magistrate.

The council now found themselves in a dilemma. They respected the opinion of Zuingli and were not prepared to discard it; and yet they were solicitous about the impression that would be made upon the other cantons if they dealt leniently with the offenders. They had already incurred the suspicion of favoring heresy. They finally concluded, before making their decision, to summon the cantons, the University of Basle, etc., to send their deputies to another colloquy upon the question: Is the worship of images authorized by the Gospel, and ought the Mass to be observed or abolished? On the 28th of October, 1523, the assembly convened to the number of about 900 persons, including 250 ecclesiastics, most of the cantons refusing to comply with a call, which had previously been so disastrous to their party. The colloquy proceeded and lasted three days; but our

limits do not permit us to trace its progress from day to day. It is sufficient to say that the character of the Colloquy was very similar to that of the preceding one in January. Few could be prevailed upon to open their mouths in favor of the Mass or the worship of images, and when they did so, they were triumphantly answered by Zuingli and Leo Jude.

Soon after the assembly had dispersed, the council liberated all the prisoners, except the leader Hottinger, who was banished for two years.¹ As a result of this colloquy, the reformation gained new adherents as well as some more active opposers. At Schaffhausen, for instance, the report of the deputies gained the abbot over to the side of the reformation, where he ever after remained. Dr. Erasmus Ritter, too, from a strong opponent, became a warm disciple of Zuingli. The council of Zurich did not, however, feel sufficiently confident to go forward very actively and openly in reforming abuses. Yet being sensible of the ignorance of the clergy in the Scriptures, they caused "A short Introduction to the true Christian doctrine" which Zuingli had prepared, to be printed and sent to all the clergy, "that by means of it they might learn to preach the truth sincerely and without adulteration," and left them to say mass or not, as they chose. The consequence was that it was much neglected both by clergy and people. They also sent the little book of Zuingli to "the three bishops of Constance, Basle and Coire, as also to the University of Basle, and each of the twelve cantons," asking them, if they could bring from Scripture any good reasons for retaining the worship of images or the Mass, that they would communicate to them, and, that their decision should be delayed until Whitsuntide, to hear from them. They were resolved after that time was elapsed, unless some satisfactory answer were received, to proceed to the abolition of those popish observances.²

The bishop of Constance alone made a reply, which, however, did not move the council; yet from the importance of the subject they requested Zuingli to answer it; which he did not hesitate to do. The impression of this treatise upon the council was so great, that early in the following year, 1524, they gave permission to all who had given pictures or images to the churches, to remove them. Soon after, an order was given, and carried into execution, to exclude all

¹ His banishment finally resulted in his death by violence, although contrary to the intentions and exhortations of the Senate of Zurich. See Hess, *Life of Zuingli*, p. 167, 168, and Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 91.

² Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, pp. 91, 92.

objects of superstition from the churches in the city. About the same time deputies from the other cantons, except Schaffhausen, assembled at Lucerne, and passed severe decrees against all the doctrines and innovations of the reformers. Zurich, alarmed at the violent spirit exhibited, sent in a remonstrance and asked an explanation of their conduct, but received little, besides vague assurances of friendship, in answer. The images and pictures from the churches were first deposited in a hall for preservation, but *intemperate* zeal was engendered by opposition, and the images were ruthlessly broken or defaced, and the pictures committed to the flames. The example of the capital was soon followed by a large part of the canton. Many other superstitious observances were abolished, or fell into disuse, very soon after this first step was taken. "They," says Mr. Scott, among other things, "abolished offerings for the dead, the blessing of palms, of holy water, . . . extreme unction," etc. The Mass was still allowed to be celebrated. Other expostulations and threats from the cantons followed, and firm and unequivocal replies from Zurich. The bishops finally in June sent a long answer to the application made to them in the previous year, but no new arguments were adduced, and Zuingli, to whom the task was committed, did not find it difficult to answer it. In the meantime the spirit of reform at Zurich was spreading more and more.

Reforms in Switzerland. Publication of the "True and False Religion."

A letter from Pope Adrian VI., soon after his elevation to the papal throne, commending their zeal, excited the cantons to another and severer reprimand of Zurich, and a warning to Schaffhausen and Appenzel not to follow its example. They assured them that they would tolerate no one in their borders who favored the Lutheran heresy. Several of the cantons went still further, and declared that they would neither call the Zurichers to the diet of the Helvetic states, or sit with them there. An occasion presented itself for them to put their threats in execution. Two men by the name of Wirth, father and son, were condemned to death, in reality, for favoring the cause of the reformers, although they had been given up by Zurich for trial on the express condition that their religious sentiments should not be taken into the account. Zuingli with others blamed the want of decision in the council in respect to this affair, and predicted fatal consequences.

This treatment of the cantons influenced the Government of Zurich to provide against other more direct measures of hostility, and to appeal to the cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen and Appenzel, who returned a favorable answer and were ever after more inclined to befriend her. The several parishes of Zurich were also assembled to find whether the people would sustain the magistrates in carrying out the changes they had begun to make. They expressed themselves ready for any emergency, and the council accordingly proceeded in its work with boldness. Instead of the recitation of the canonical hours, the practice was adopted of assembling five times a week for the public reading of the Scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and finally in German, and for listening to an exposition of them, beginning and concluding with prayer. Religious houses were also suppressed and revenues given to charitable purposes. The utmost watchfulness was maintained by Zuingli to prevent the embezzlement or abuse of church funds by individuals. His desire was only that they should receive a more enlightened and pious destination than before.

During this same year (1524), a public discussion was proposed by the Catholic cantons to be held at Baden, Dr. Eck taking the lead on their side, and Zuingli on that of the reformers. But the conduct of the cantons had been such of late that it was immediately suspected, that their object might be to get Zuingli away from under the protection of Zurich, in order to take his life. He accordingly declined going "either to Baden or Lucerne," although he was ready to meet his antagonists under their new leader "at Zurich, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen or Glaris." The magistrates even *forbade* Zuingli to go to Baden, and thus the colloquy was not held.

The Roman Catholic cantons even felt themselves called upon to make some reforms, so much had the attention been turned to multiplied cases of abuse and neglect in matters of religion. Their scheme of reform, however, had reference mainly to matters of external form, which, although they did not perceive it, could not be corrected without abandoning the dogmas, combatted by Zuingli, upon which they rested.¹ But Berne alone adopted the regulations, the other cantons preferring to wait for the long expected council. The new Pope, too, in the beginning of 1525, thought it best to try his hand at reclaiming its allegiance to the Holy See. But his flattering words and honeyed tones had little influence with those whose ears and eyes had drank in the sayings and reasonings of Zuingli. The latter in the last part

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 116.

of this year and in the beginning of the next, published several works. To Valentine Compar, public secretary of the canton of Uri, who had defended the church of Rome in sincerity, and as well as the nature of the case admitted, he replied with great courtesy and kindness, but showed, among other things, the extreme superstition in which the people had been living in regard to images and saints. Not even the pagans, he said, were ever guilty of more gross idolatry than that practised towards the Virgin Mary at Lausanne and Einsiedeln.

The most important work of this time, and perhaps the best of all his works, was the "Treatise on the True and False Religion." It explains the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, and points out their relation to the doctrines and practices of popery. Much of the work is taken up in the discussion of the errors of the times, and yet not more than we should naturally expect from the circumstances. There is, indeed, a striking similarity of many of the views of Zuingli with those now entertained in New England. The three reformers, Luther, Calvin and Zuingli, it is true, agreed *substantially* in theological views, and yet there were points of difference in character and habits that led to some dissimilarities in them as theologians. Zuingli was less impetuous than Luther, but more venturesome than Calvin. He was less rigid perhaps than the Genevan reformer, in some of his theological tenets, and less fond of strictly theological speculation and reasoning, and not so much prone as the Wittenberg professor to place an excessive stress upon some to the exclusion of other parts of the Christian system. He probably believed as sincerely and heartily in redemption by Christ alone as Luther; for he explicitly affirms that our Lord Jesus Christ, "very God and very man,"¹ purchased everlasting life for all who rely upon him with firm and unwavering faith; and again, "Eternal salvation proceeds solely from the merits and the death of Christ." Still, he did not dwell upon this doctrine in his preaching, as if it were the whole of the Gospel. On the other hand, some of his expressions upon predestination, and upon the salvation of the virtuous among pagan nations, would hardly have been permitted, although they had sought it long, to pass the lips of the more cautious Calvin. The Christian system as a whole was the object of far more admiration to Zuingli, but enthusiasm for certain phases of it was stronger in Luther, whilst the author of the Institutes could mark out the metes and bounds of each dogma with more accuracy than either of them. The active life and early death

¹ Christus, verus homo et verus Deus. — Opp. I. p. 206.

of the pastor of Zurich, if nothing else, would have prevented him from reducing his views to so rigid a system and fortifying them against attack on all sides, as his Genevan brother was permitted to do. Calvin was the profounder scholar, but Zuingli possessed in far higher degree a genial scholarly spirit. In culture, the latter was more nearly allied to Melancthon than either Luther or Calvin. Each of the three had his peculiar part to perform, and performed it well. Luther moved the passions especially of the lower orders in Germany; Zuingli won over and persuaded the youth, the magistrates, the better informed of the clergy, and the private citizens of the cantons; Calvin influenced Francis I., the dutchess of Jessura, the educated in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the world. Luther delighted more in depressing man, the poor, guilty subject of an enslaved will; Zuingli in elevating God. Indeed, in his views of God, there is a loftiness of sentiment and a simplicity of feeling well worthy of his piety and learning.

The views of Zuingli upon original sin have perhaps been more questioned than any of the other parts of his system. Still, he explicitly states his belief in the fall of man and its consequences: "Before the fall, man had been created with a free will, so that if he had been disposed he might have fulfilled the law; his nature was pure; the disease of sin had not yet tainted it; his life was in his own hands. But having desired to be 'as God' he died, and not he alone, but all that are born of him."¹ It is true he says: original sin is not properly sin, but a malady of our nature, consequent upon the fall; and yet he distinctly asserts the criminality and ill desert of our natural evil disposition, and says that it "deserveth God's wrath and damnation,"² which would seem to be enough to satisfy the demands of a strictly orthodox faith. Other passages almost without number might be referred to, did our limits permit, to show the substantial correspondence of his views of Christian doctrine with the approved standards of the present day.

Change in the Manner of Celebrating the Lord's Supper.

In the appendix to "The True and False Religion," Zuingli again discussed the subject of the Mass and the Eucharist. For some years he had not hesitated to declare his dissent from the doctrines of the Romish church in this particular. Jesus Christ, he said, died on the

¹ Quoted from one of his discourses.

² See Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 257.

cross and made a sufficient expiation for the sins of all men. There is therefore no need of further sacrifice, and the Lord's Supper should be only a commemoration of his death. He had submitted his views to the Senate in 1523, and proposed some changes in the canon of the Mass, still retaining some of its accessories, which he did not then think contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. They postponed a decision, and he now rejoiced that they had done so; for further investigations had convinced him that a more radical change must be made. With all his usual candor, which led him frankly to acknowledge a change in opinion, he writes subsequently: "My first advice was not followed, and I am thankful to providence that it was not; this would only have been substituting one error for another, and the rite newly established would have been much more difficult to abolish than that of our ancestors."

This discussion of Zuingli called the attention more directly to the necessity of reformation in this particular, and in the beginning of 1525, Engelhardt, Leo Jude, Myconius and others united with him in pressing upon the Senate a radical reform in the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper. The most of the Senate were prepared for action, but some few had doubt in reference to the reformer's explanation of the words: This is (represents) my body, and he was requested to defend his interpretation, which he did "so satisfactorily, that the Senate that same day passed a decree abolishing the Mass, and ordering the Eucharist to be thenceforward celebrated according to the institution of Christ and apostolical practice." Zuingli himself relates an experience of his, connected with this discussion, which is not without interest. He had not been able to refer to a passage entirely satisfactory to himself of the use of the verb *to be*, in the sense required in the disputed passage. This subject had occupied his thoughts during the day, and, when he laid himself down to rest, it mingled with his nightly visions. In his perplexity, suddenly a monitor seemed to stand by him (whether white or black,¹ he says, I do not remember, for it was a dream), who said: Simple man, why do you not answer from the twelfth chapter of Exodus; 'It (the lamb) is the Lord's passover.' He adds: I awoke immediately, sprang out of bed, and examined the words in the Septuagint, and the next day publicly discoursed upon them with so much success as to remove every doubt from the minds of all who sought to understand the Scriptures; and such sacraments followed as I never at any other

¹ A proverbial phrase which Zuingli frequently used, meaning "I can give no account of the matter."

time witnessed."¹ Zuingli was not probably the first or last, who has been helped out of a difficulty after a day of toil and anxiety by a suggestion in sleep.

It was on easter Sunday (13th of April) that the Eucharist was celebrated according to Zuingli's ideas. On the table, covered with a white cloth, a basket of bread and cups filled with wine were placed. One of the assistants of Zuingli read the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in the latter part of the eleventh chapter of first Corinthians, and our Saviour's words in regard to eating his flesh and drinking his blood, in John 6: 47—58. Zuingli exhorted the church to examine themselves carefully, so as not to eat and drink unworthily, and then, having offered a fervent prayer and repeated the words of Christ at the institution of the last supper, the elements were distributed, while the last discourse of our Saviour as recorded by the Apostle John was read. The whole service was closed with prayer and an appropriate hymn. Zuingli was not disappointed in reference to the influence of this change in worship. The churches could hardly contain the crowds that came to participate in it, and, says Hess: "The good works and numerous reconciliations that followed it, proved the sincerity of the devotion with which it was attended."

The Establishment of the New Academy at Zurich.

Zuingli was now desirous of placing the reform which he had commenced on a firm basis, and of leaving no incentives to a return to former superstitions. He took special interest in a Translation of the Bible into the Swiss-German for the use of his adherents. Luther's translation of the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament, was published in Germany in 1523. This was now revised by Zuingli and his coadjutors, Leo Jude, Caspar, Meyander and others, adapted to the Swiss dialect and printed in 1525. Of the rest of the Bible they made an independent translation, which appeared in 1527. The subject of educational institutions had naturally ever been one of interest to a man of so scholarly tastes as Zuingli. He now formed a project both for directly weakening the influence of the Pope, and building up sound and well endowed institutions of learning. The chapter of the cathedral of Zurich, which held a considerable amount of property, was entirely independent in its jurisdiction. Zuingli, who had been admitted as one of its canons, was desirous that its revenues should be devoted to establishments

¹ See *The Swiss Reformation*, pp. 113, 114, and other biographies.

for education, and that it should be brought under the control of the civil authorities. He wished, however, that it should be effected by the mutual consent of all parties. He represented to them the disgrace of living by the altar without serving it, and of the necessity of reform to prevent the magistrates from undertaking it. He finally effected a mutual convention of the chapter with the Senate. The most important points of the agreement were, that the chapter should yield obedience to the council as its sovereign. Salaries should be paid to as many pastors as should be needed for the public worship of the town. As many as should be supernumerary, if they were old or infirm, were to retain their benefices, but others should not be elected to their places; and as the benefices became vacant they should be employed in founding professorships for lectures whose instructions should be gratuitous. The provost of the chapter was still to retain the administration of its revenues, rendering an account to the Senate, which in turn should protect the chapter in all particulars. Some slight opposition was made to so great a change without the sanction of the bishop or pope, but it was easily overruled.

Some members of the chapter became useful preachers, others enjoyed their benefices until removed by death. Five only quitted the city and retired to the Catholic cantons. The example of the chapter was soon followed by the abbey of Fraumünster, whose disposable revenues were employed in supporting a seminary established by the council, where a certain number of young men, destined for the pulpit, were sustained and instructed gratis. The establishments of several mendicant orders were also broken up, and their funds employed for charitable purposes, as in the care of the sick, relieving of the distressed, etc.¹

By the means above referred to, the foundation was laid for what was called the New Academy. The arranging of it fell mostly upon Zuingli, who was best of all fitted for the task, and most heartily interested in it. It was only by means of thorough education that he hoped to banish and exclude ignorance and superstition, and thus bless posterity. It is to be regretted that his life was not spared to rear the structure upon the foundation that he had laid, but we ought perhaps rather to give thanks for what he was permitted himself to do, and to prepare for others to execute. A school for elementary instruction in the learned languages was already in operation when Zuingli went to Zurich, but its pupils were few, and there was need of reform there as well as in the church. Zuingli early directed his

¹ See Hess, p. 206.

attention to this object, and had much influence in encouraging the masters and inciting them to exertion, and of arousing the emulation of pupils. He had long been desirous that there should be a school, which could be entered by those who had gone beyond the elements, where they could go through a complete course of Latin and Greek literature, and he now had procured the means of establishing it. Two professorships of humanity were established, and from these chairs not only the grammatical analysis and interpretation of ancient authors was to be taught, but the higher branches of philology and criticism, which would enable the pupils to appreciate the works which they studied, and gain the highest cultivation therefrom. This was but a stepping stone, however, to the main object with him, the study of theology, especially biblical theology.

In this department the New Academy was made to differ widely from the universities, both in respect to the manner and objects of study. The Old and New Testaments, instead of the schoolmen, were the basis of instruction. The two professors intrusted with the interpretation of the Greek and Hebrew text, were expected "to compare the originals of the sacred writers with the best versions, as the Septuagint and Vulgate; to cite the commentaries of the Jewish doctors on the Old Testament, and the Fathers on the New; to apply a knowledge of the manners and customs of the Jews to the clearing of obscure passages; to establish the true sense of each by its connection and parallel passages; to show its relation to other truths of religion, and finally, to point out the application to be made of them to morals and the instruction of the people."¹ These lectures were held in the cathedral, and not only students in divinity but all the ecclesiastics were expected to attend. Others also were encouraged to do so, and such was the interest in these subjects at the time, that large numbers of all the classes of society were assiduous in their attendance on the theological lectures. The influence in favor of classical learning was also such, that "a taste for the ancient languages was so thoroughly diffused, that twenty years afterward, it was not uncommon to meet with magistrates and merchants who could read the Old and New Testaments in the originals."²

The four professorships above mentioned, two of ancient languages, and two of biblical interpretation, were first endowed; and as other benefices became vacant, professors in other departments were added. Yet the interpretation of the Bible was the prominent object with Zuingli, and it cannot be doubted that his care in this particular was

¹ Hess's *Life*, pp. 209, 210.

² *Ibid.* p. 210.

of incalculable benefit to Switzerland in subsequent ages, in producing a large number of enlightened ecclesiastics, who were vigilant in watching against the introduction of error, and steady in cherishing whatever of good might spring up around them.

At the time of the establishment of the New Academy, men of the right stamp, and of requisite qualifications, could not be found in Zurich to take the chairs of instruction. Zuingli therefore procured Conrad Pellican, an Alsatian, well versed in the Hebrew, and familiar with the writings of Erasmus and Luther, who for thirty years was a faithful servant of the church of Zurich, and died at an advanced age, much respected "for his piety, modesty and erudition." To the Greek professorship, Rodolph Collinus was appointed, and he performed the duties to the greatest acceptance, and with the highest success.

Struggles against the Anabaptists.

Zuingli, like Luther and Calvin, was not compelled to contend against the Catholics alone. Those appeared in the ranks of the reformed, who by their extravagance and fanaticism, were more troublesome than open enemies. It is well known, that the Anabaptists, after being partially suppressed in Germany, spread over Switzerland and France. It was as early as 1521, that Thomas M  nzer, after being driven from Saxony, arrived on the borders of the cantons. He was there met by Conrad Grebel, and Felix Mantz, from Zurich. These men were possessed of considerable learning, and had aspired to professorships in the Academy of Zurich. Zuingli had incurred their displeasure by not depriving some canons of their benefices, which had been promised them during life, in order to endow the chairs which they aspired to. This circumstance, together with their own restless dispositions perhaps, inclined them to listen to M  nzer. Still Grebel soon attempted to gain over Zuingli, and probably would have succeeded, if Zuingli had been ambitious of becoming the head of a party, rather than of forwarding the reformation from love of the truth. "Let us," said Grebel, "form a community of true believers. They alone will be blessed. Let all communication with false teachers be broken off." Zuingli replied: "Christ commands that the tares should be allowed to grow with the wheat until the harvest, and shall we make a separation which he did not deem necessary? Rather let us labor to diffuse a knowledge

of the truth, and not to foment schism, and produce disorder and confusion."¹

This repulse, however, caused only a temporary suspension of the efforts of the Anabaptists with Zuingli. He had sometime before expressed an opinion unfavorable to infant baptism. They now represented that his agreement in this respect with Münster was a bond of union. Zuingli immediately replied, that further examination had convinced him of the error of his former opinion, and he proceeded to expound fully what he believed to be the true doctrine.² This was so contrary to their belief that the baptism of infants is a horrible abomination, a "flagrant impiety invented by the devil and Pope Nicholas II.," that they abandoned the attempt to gain over the "Old Dragon," as they called the reformer, to their way of thinking and acting.

They next attempted, after gaining some adherents away from Zurich, to influence the people by appearing in considerable numbers in the town, in fantastic apparel, denouncing Zuingli and exhorting to repentance, and proclaiming the speedy destruction of the town, were it not soon converted. Great alarm was thus caused, which probably would not have been quieted by a weaker arm or less determined will than that of Zuingli. The council, in order to prevent the recurrence of such scenes, appointed, as usual, in case of disagreement, a colloquy between Zuingli and the leaders of the fanatics, forgetting that reason or reasoning would be as utterly lost upon these demoniacs, as upon the veritable inmates of the mad house. Disorder, however, was for the time suppressed in Zurich, but in the country, where the influence of the leading spirit at Zurich could not be felt, partisans of the new doctrine increased, and the most ridiculous as well as painful scenes were witnessed. The anxiety of Zuingli at this time can hardly be imagined. The whole labor of anxious years seemed not merely about to be lost, but to be turned to the destruction of those whose life and salvation it should have proved. But he did not sink into inactivity from discouragement. Trusting in an Almighty arm, he was instant in season and out of season in opposing the evil that had come in upon them like a flood.

The excesses that ensued were such that the council felt called upon to use rigorous, coercive measures to restrain those who made obedience to a higher than civil law a cloak for all sin. Zuingli advocated the employment of gentle means first, hoping that the mis-

¹ See D'Aubigne's *Hist. Ref.* Book XI., and Hess's *Life*, pp. 226, 227.

² See a summary in Hess's *Life*, p. 228 seq.

guided might thus be restored to the use of right reason. At his request another colloquy was appointed, and some few yielded assent to the arguments employed, but by retracting, they lost all influence with their party. Finally, the Senate had recourse to imprisonment, and in one case, which seemed to threaten a general insurrection, even to capital punishment. Zuingli took no part in these severe measures, but exerted himself in every way to restore to all a proper state of feeling, in the emergency. He drew up in the form of a tract his views of baptism, and dedicated it to the council of St. Gall, which caused it to be read in the churches. "The spirit which is abroad among us," said he, "is like the waters of the torrents which rush from our mountains, hurrying with them everything within their reach. At first small stones only are put in motion, but these are driven violently against larger ones, until the torrent acquires such strength that it carries away everything it encounters in its course, leaving behind lamentations, vain regrets and fertile meadows changed into a wilderness; it occasions disturbances, banishes charity, and where it found fair and prosperous churches, leaves behind it nothing but mourning and desolate flocks." The Anabaptists, not thinking that they had been listening to the word of God by his servant, cried out: "Away with the book! away with the book. Do you keep the doctrine of Zuingli, we will have the word of God." Well might the council have replied: Our God is a God of order and not of confusion. In the pulpit, too, he lifted up his voice unceasingly, but it was exceedingly difficult to influence those who were not only exhorted not to attend the discourses of the reformed preachers, but even to avoid all communication with those without the bounds of their own party. Thus the minds of the proselytes seemed sealed up against all good impressions. Still, the influence of Zuingli in his writings, preaching and in private, together with the loss of their leaders by the execution of one, the death of another, and the banishment of others, soon put a stop to the outrages and violence of this sect, and with that a large number of its adherents were soon no longer to be found.¹

¹ Zuingli, Opp. Tom. II. p. 230. Bullinger, adv. Anabb. et alii.

[To be concluded.]

ARTICLE IV.

THE WRITINGS OF RICHARD BAXTER.¹

By George P. Fisher, Resident Licentiate, Andover.

It is a remark of Mr. Hume, that John Locke was the first person who ventured openly to assert that Christian Theology is a reasonable science.² But the wary sceptic would not deny that the principle had often been tacitly assumed by the defenders of religion. Whether it had been announced before, in so formal and explicit propositions, we need not now inquire. Nor would one be competent to decide the question without a wider acquaintance with the literature of theology than Mr. Hume possessed. It is an interesting fact, however, that while Locke, a youthful scholar, was revolving the themes of those Essays, which have made his name forever dear to the lovers of knowledge and freedom, and soon after Chillingworth had built up his impregnable defence of the right and necessity of private judgment, against the Romish dogma of an infallible church, the Puritan divine, whose works we now review, wrote these words: "Is not faith a rational act of a rational creature? and so the understanding proceeds discursively in its production. And is not that the strongest faith, which hath the strongest reasons to prove the testimony to be valid, on which it resteth, and the clearest apprehension and use of those reasons? And the truest faith, which hath the truest reasons, truly apprehended and used?"³ "The probability of most things, and the possibility of all things contained in the Scriptures, may well be discerned by reason itself, which makes their existence or futurity the more easy to be believed. Yet before the existence or futurity of anything beyond the reach of reason can be soundly believed, the testimony must be shown to be truly divine."⁴

These are pregnant sentences. Who, among the recent writers, has more clearly described the relation of reason to faith? Who will now have the boldness to accuse Baxter of a sinister desire to degrade revelation, by exalting reason? He felt that he could best honor the Bible, by insisting on its agreement with an enlightened

¹ The present Article is designed as the complement of an Article in the *Bib. Sacra* (Vol. IX. p. 135) on "The Theology of Baxter."

² Hume's Works, Vol. II. p. 434. See Locke's *Essays*, p. 456.

³ Works, XXII. p. 251.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 267.

intellect. And he realized the peril incurred by those who would place the Bible in antagonism to the fundamental laws of our belief. He saw that the infidel could wish for nothing better than the short-sighted concession, that the truth of Christianity cannot be established by evidence. His doctrine, which may now be familiar, had then a novel sound. The asperity with which it was assailed is indicated by the severity of his replies.¹

Yet no one of his opponents received with a more hearty deference the testimony of God. He declares that he would not exchange four chapters of John's Gospel for all the books in the world. Who sought with greater industry to learn the mind of the Spirit? or studied with keener delight the pages of Inspiration? He did not overlook the moral causes which pervert the intellectual faculties. Hence he frequently points to pride and prejudice, as the causes of error, and in an able treatise exposes the "Arrogancy of Reason against Divinity." He enforces the duty of approaching the subjects of religion with an humble disposition. Such earnest and just declamation against the vices which blind the mental vision, as we find in his writings, has been an important, though unhappily not always the sole ground for the charge of infidel writers, that Christians have sought to impose their doctrine on the minds of men, without furnishing proof of its truth, and have disparaged the very faculties to which a religious system must appeal for credence. The import of these passages of Baxter, and of similar passages in kindred writers, is little different from what is expressed by Lord Bacon, when he demands a "true and genuine humiliation of the human mind," as a prerequisite for successful study. Their meaning is compressed in the aphorism of Coleridge: "there is a small chance of truth at the goal, where there

¹ In a note to the "Saint's Rest," after developing his doctrine with remarkable precision, Baxter says to his opponents: "Doth not your doctrine teach men, in laying aside reason, to lay aside humanity and to become brutes? If faith and reason be so contrary as some men talk; yea, and reason so useless, then you may believe best in your sleep, and idiots, infants and madmen are the fittest to make Christians of." "By this much, judge of the ignorance and vanity of those men, who, when they read any that write of the reasonableness of the Christian religion, do presently accuse it or suspect it of Socinianism?" Works, XXII. p. 261. On the subject of Immortality, he alludes to "a sort of overwise and overdoing divines" who censured him for "appealing too much to natural light and overvaluing human reason." "They speak," he says, "against reason, even in the greatest matter which our reason is given us for. As much as I am addicted to scribbling, I can quietly dismiss this sort of men, and love their zeal, without the labor of opening their ignorance." Works, XXI. p. 415.

is not a childlike humility at the starting-point." We only claim that Baxter excels most of the writers of the Calvinistic school, in unfolding the rational sources of our belief, and in guarding his positions against the fatal inferences of the sceptic and the enthusiast. It is of course not implied that a writer whom the historians of English philosophy have deemed hardly worthy of a mention, is to be compared with the author of the *Essays on the Understanding*. Yet his striking hints, as well as sound reflections upon the mind, evince philosophical powers of no common order. While he cherished a piety not less devout than that of St. Bernard, he yet boldly affirms: "*Philosophia sacra est pars vera theologiae, religionis et pietatis.*"¹ In him, the inquisitive Abelard would have found a kindred spirit.²

Baxter's perception of the imperfection of language, as an instrument for conveying thought, evinces his discernment.

"My mind being thus many years immerst in studies of this nature, and having also long wearied myself in searching what Fathers and Schoolmen have said of such things before us, and my Genius abhorring confusion and equivocal, I came by many years longer study to perceive, that most of the doctrinal controversies among Protestants (that I say not in the Christian world) are far more about equivocal words than matter; and it wounded my soul to perceive what work both tyrannical and unskilful, disputing clergie-men had made these thirteen hundred years in the world." "Proud opinionators have striven partly about unrevealed or unnecessary things, but chiefly about mere ambiguous words and arbitrary human notions; and multitudes condemn and revile each other, while they mean the same things and do not know it." "And so taking verbal differences for material doth keep up most of the wretched academical and theological wars in the world."³

Impelled by his strong feeling, he exclaims: "What shadows of knowledge deceive the world, and in what useless dreams the greatest part of men, yea learned men, do spend their days: much of that which some men unweariedly study and take to be the honor of their understandings and their lives; and much of that which multitudes place their piety and hopes of salvation in, being a mere game of

¹ Meth. P. IV. c. 9. p. 418.

² Baxter attributes much of the obloquy which was heaped on him, to his zeal for study. "And so our hard studies and darling truth must make us owls, or reproached persons, among those reverend brethren, who are ignorant at easier rates, and who find it a far softer kind of life to think and say as the most or best esteemed do, than to purchase reproach and obloquy so dearly." Works, XVIII. p. 316.

³ Preface to Cath. Theol. See also Works, XV. p. 50. XVIII. pp. 322, 253.

words and useless notions, and as truly to be called vanity and vexation, as is the rest of the vain show that most men walk in."¹

Let not the reader regard these as expressions of scepticism. On the contrary, Baxter accords with Bacon, and with Descartes, whose attention to the illusions of language has been pronounced to be one of the chief merits of his philosophy.² So far from involving a sceptical feeling, such sentiments of Baxter grew out of his intense thirst for knowledge. He sought for truth, as for a hidden pearl of great price. "I have read," he says, "almost all the physics and metaphysics that I could hear of. I have wasted much of my time among loads of historians, chronologers and antiquaries; I despise none of their learning. All truth is useful."³ Theology, in his view, is the comprehensive science to which all knowledge is subservient. Hence theology is to be first and always taught. Physics is a barren science, except as it brings to view the Author of nature. Metaphysics is the humble handmaid of divinity. Every form of knowledge is to take its proper place and complete the symmetry of that solid and graceful edifice, whose pinnacles point to the skies. He did not fear investigation or shrink from submitting any opinion or system to a rigorous test. No dread of the dangers of speculation deterred him from exercising his intellect upon the high themes of religion. The uneasy suspicion that a favorite doctrine has a weak foundation, instead of inducing the timorous feeling which repels inquiry, leads him to examine with a more searching scrutiny the grounds of his belief. His zeal for improvement was tempered by a healthful reverence for the past. His unwearied study of their writings proved his respect for the great scholars and theologians of the church. But it was with no servile spirit that he engaged in these studies. He lived too soon after the Reformation to give up his private judgment; and when he had formed an opinion, he was sufficiently versed in the writings of Schoolmen and Fathers not to be much disturbed by an array of names. He complains that Protestants, while they have abjured the Pope, have too often retained the evils of the Papacy, by setting the authority of a few leaders above the authority of their own minds. He complains bitterly that "when a man hath read once the opinion of the divines that are in most credit, he dare search no further, for fear of being counted a novelist or heretic, or lest he bear their curse for adding to, or taking from, the common conceits! So that divinity is become an easier study than heretofore. We are already at a ne

¹ Works, XVIII. p. 324.

² Stewart's *Diss. on Eth. Phil.* p. 62.

³ Works, XV. p. 16.

plus ultra. It seemeth vain, when we know the opinion [which] is in credit, to search any further."¹

With an ardor which no misfortunes could dampen, he pored over the obscure pages of monks, perused the writings of every school, and compared them with the teachings of his own clear understanding. Those were winged hours, when he was wandering through the mazy tomes of Aquinas, or bending, till the eye grew dim, over the dark folios of Bradwardine. His beloved library is often in his thoughts, and it is one of his sad reflections at the close of life: "I must depart from the manly pleasures of my studies." "I must leave my library and turn over these pleasant books no more."²

We may here observe that the acuteness of Baxter did not wholly save him from the errors of his age. He thought that he himself had been more than once delivered from perils by miraculous interpositions. In the reality of ghosts and witchcraft, he was a devout believer. One of his last works was an attempt to prove the certainty of a world of spirits by "Unquestionable Histories of Apparitions." His sufficient apology is found in the simple fact that the laws of evidence were not then so clearly understood, as at present. Frauds could not be so easily detected. And the progress of medical science has explained, on natural principles, many phenomena, which were then inscrutable. At that time, incredulity on the subject of witchcraft was regarded as a sign of infidelity. Even Sir Matthew Hale, the ornament of learning and the pillar of justice, condemned two innocent females for this imaginary crime, and in his pious meditations mentions the transaction with complacency. Many theories were in vogue two centuries ago which the mental science of later times has dissipated. The metaphysics of original sin, by which a man is made really participant, and so literally guilty, of an action that was performed five thousand years before his birth, sound strangely to the students of Reid and Dwight. Seizing upon the

¹ Works, XXIII. p. 138.

² The libraries of the Puritan divines of the seventeenth century were such as a modern preacher might covet. In his record of marvellous deliverances, Baxter introduces us to his study by the narration of an amusing incident, which might have proved a tragedy. "As I sat in my study, the weight of my greatest folio books brake down three or four of the highest shelves, when I sat close under them, and they fell down on every side of me, and not one of them hit me, save one upon the arm; whereas the place, the weight and greatness of the books was such, and my head just under them, that it was a wonder they had not beaten out my brains, one of the shelves right over my head, having the six volumes of Dr. Walton's Oriental Bible, and all Austin's Works, and the Bibliotheca Patrum, and Marlorate, etc." "Reliquiae Baxterianae." P. I. p. 82.

great fact that the sin of Adam involved the certainty of the fall and condemnation of his posterity—a fact which has always been embraced by the feeling and faith of the church—Baxter adopted a common theory of explanation, that was elaborated in the darker ages, that prevailed until the philosophy of common sense was applied to the interpretation of the Bible, and still lingers to remind us of the crude speculations of a former day.¹ But in all his practical writings, the substantial elements of moral agency are strongly upheld. And although he preached his favorite theories about original sin, until the clamorous objectors were “as mute as fishes,” he was careful to make prominent the easy remedy which he found in the baptismal pardon and sanctification of infants.

The independence of Baxter as an inquirer, makes it important to determine his place in theology. By casual circumstances, the theological position of a man is often greatly modified. If a one-sided tendency is predominant, when he appears upon the stage, the force of reaction may drive him to an opposite extreme. And even when his own doctrine is well balanced, the vigor and constancy with which he contends against the perversion of truth in a particular direction, may give a partisan tone to his works. Hence subsequent times, and even his contemporaries, may conclude that he holds a partial view. Martin Luther, for example, while stoutly defending justification by faith, gives occasion for thoughtless or artful readers to infer that he forgot the necessity of a virtuous life. The mistake, to which we allude, is specially liable to occur, with respect to the subject of man's moral freedom, as it is related to the Divine government. According to their view of this subject, theologians have always been classified. The old problem of liberty and necessity is one which the theological student must confront at the threshold of his inquiries. Though he evade it once, its grim form reappears a hundred times. In the field of theological science, this question may be likened to the vertical stratum which goes down into the earth, only to pass under the surface and come up again after a short interval. If not in theory, yet practically, the theologian must solve the problem. There is danger that his solution may be one which loosens the tie of dependence on God, or that it may be such as weakens the feeling of moral obligation. Between these evil extremes, whole communities will sometimes vibrate. And hence many a man has been styled a Pelagian, for his strenuous and persistive opposition to fatalism; and many a

¹ See Bib. Sacra, Vol. IX. p. 144.

man has been pronounced a fatalist, in consequence of his zealous antagonism to a doctrine of lawless freedom. He must be deemed fortunate, therefore, who appears at a time, when the speculative and practical aspects of both these extreme theories are conspicuously held up to his view. And this is the case of Baxter. He had hardly commenced his career of authorship, when there appeared a writer, of whom it has been lately said, by one most competent to judge, that "among English — among modern philosophers, he towers, a shrewd and intrepid, an original and independent thinker."¹ In a style so pithy and luminous as to enchain the attention, without wearying the mind, Hobbes set himself to prove the inevitable necessity of our moral choices, and to deduce with unshrinking boldness the logical consequences of his doctrine. It is vain to deny that he gets support for his leading proposition from the theologians to whom he sometimes appeals.² It is true that in his own time there were teachers of Christianity, who held a doctrine, which is really not less repugnant to religion and at war with the moral sentiments of mankind. But the consciousness of freedom to choose aright, which no sophistry can eradicate, revolted, as it always will revolt, against the theory of necessity. It was natural that in the ardor of a revolt, men should be led to deny truths of vital importance, which they hastily judged to be contrary to the known fact of moral freedom. No wonder that men were found fighting for the liberties of "indifference" and "self-determination," when they were menaced by the chains of a compulsory decree. We are not surprised to hear them assert a chimerical liberty, inconsistent with the prescience and providence of God; or even deny the preordained certainty of moral events. In his youth, Baxter eagerly entered upon the study of the intricate questions in dispute between the Arminians and Calvinists. "My genius," he says, "was inquisitive and earnestly desirous to know the truth."³

The result of his studies, which he omits no occasion to avow, was

¹ Sir Wm. Hamilton. Ed. of Reid, p. 890, note.

² See Hobbes's Works, Vol. V. pp. 1, 2. The only mention of Baxter which we have found in the writings of this sturdy philosopher, is in a posthumous tract, entitled "Considerations upon the reputation of T. Hobbes." He speaks of himself in the third person, and says to his clerical opponents: "It is no argument of contempt to spend upon him so many angry lines as would have furnished you with a dozen of sermons. If you had in good earnest despised him, you would have let him alone, as he does Dr. Ward, Mr. Baxter, Pike and others that have reviled him as you do." Hobbes's Works, Vol. IV. p. 435. Doubtless Hobbes was feared and hated, more than he was contemned.

³ Preface to Cath. Theol.

the fixed conviction that the difference between the moderate Arminians and reasonable Calvinists was merely verbal. His sympathies were also divided. On the one hand, he approved the inflexible, God-fearing piety of the Genevan School, and the doctrines on which it was founded. On the other hand, he applauded the earnest pleas for freedom and responsibility which were put forth by the brethren of Episcopius. He could not therefore join in the indiscriminate censure of either school, but aimed to detect the ambiguity of terms and to propound statements of truth, so exact and complete as to gain the assent of the candid of all parties. He looked for a more generic formula, which should combine the fractions of truth and unfold apparently conflicting dogmas.

It is, therefore, difficult to affix to Baxter the badge of a school. Is he not one on whom such a badge would be an ungraceful ornament? Distinct as are his views of Church polity and of doctrine, yet no sect can claim him. He approached near to Presbyterianism, but he was not a Presbyterian, or an Episcopalian or an Independent. Notwithstanding that he professes to accord substantially with the Synod of Dort, he can hardly be styled a Calvinist. The only appellation, other than that of Christian, which they who insist on giving names, can attach to him, is that of Baxterian. He speaks with respect of the creeds of the church; but had he been less familiar with the history of councils and with "clergie-men's contentions," he would probably have bowed with more deference before the symbols of faith. He bestows a just encomium on the Westminster Assembly of Divines; but he did not hesitate to dissent, as well from some words of their Catechism as from some parts of their government.¹ Highly as he honored them, he would by no means have recognized them, or the Parliament for whom they acted, as the infallible expounders of the Christian religion to succeeding ages. He retained his place in the confidence of the nonconformist party as one of their best and ablest men. He rose to be their revered leader. Still, his independent course exposed him to much suspicion and reproach. When he is accused of departing from the received

¹ See "*Reliquiae Baxterianae*," L. I. p. 73. Baxter wrote a preface to the Assembly's Works. It contained the following words, which the editor, Dr. Manton, took the liberty to leave out, and which Baxter publishes that he may not be misunderstood. "I hoped the Assembly intended not all in that long Confession and in those Catechisms, to be imposed as a test of Christian communion; nor to disown all that scrupled any word in it. If they had, I could not have commended it for any such use, though it be useful for the instruction of families," etc. *Reliq. Baxt.* L. I. p. 122.

opinions, his reply is often marked by what one of his friends has called "a useful acrimony in his words." It is worthy of remark, that in his treatise on self-denial, he inserted a chapter on the duty of denying ourselves the reputation of orthodoxy; "for it commonly falls out," he says, "that the thing itself and the reputation of it are inconsistent." The opposition which he met with, is owing in part to his peculiar opinions. It is in part to be ascribed to his bewildering distinctions. But it was chiefly caused by his well-meant, though fruitless efforts, to strip theology of its technical garb, and to present its truths in a new dress. Probably his main views of religious doctrine nearly resemble those which have been more consistently taught by the calm and sagacious Andrew Fuller.

The liberality of Baxter does not spring from the foolish idea that opinions are unimportant. It grows out of his deep sense of the difficulties of theology, and the supreme importance which he attaches to religious affections.¹ Conscious of his own faults, he is not forward to condemn those whose speculative faith is different from his own. He is ready to recognize anywhere the image of his Master. Hence he zealously opposes the enlargement of the ancient creeds. A creed, in his view, is "not a snare to catch heretics," but "a test for Christian communion." He would only require a subscription to a few cardinal truths, expressed in scriptural language.² He longed for a visible unity of pious souls, and persisted, by his writings and example, in the attempt to secure a catholic communion among Christians. His doctrine on this subject seems to be as broad as that which has been so emphatically declared by Robert Hall. In this cause, he submitted to sneers and reproaches and more cruel persecutions. There was too much truth in his bitter acknowledgment, after his ineffectual efforts to unite the two principal parties in fraternal communion: "I have turned both parties which I endeavored to part in the fray against myself." To quote his own forcible words,

¹ Works, XXIII. pp. 127. 140.

² "Two things have set the church on fire and been the plagues of it above one thousand years: 1. Enlarging our creed, and making more fundamentals than ever God made. 2. Composing, and so imposing our creeds and confessions in our own words and phrases. When men have learned more manners and humility than to accuse God's language as too general and obscure, as if they could mend it, and have more dread of God, and compassion on themselves, than to make those to be fundamentals and certainties which God never made so;" "then, and I think not till then, shall the church have peace about doctrinals." Works, XXII. p. 237. Baxter, however, would require of ministers a pledge not to preach against the more important doctrines of the church. And he would not dispense with creeds, as expressions of the common belief.

"he made a wedge of his bare hand, by putting it into the cleft, and both sides closing upon it to his pain."

The acrimony of Baxter's controversial style may appear to be at variance with a kindly spirit toward those who held opinions diverse from his own. But his temper was naturally irritable and his physical system was tortured with cruel diseases. He often wrote hastily, while smarting from the blow of a hostile hand. He was often assaulted by troops of dunces and wily bigots. In his apology for his "provoking writings," he quaintly remarks: "I have a strong natural inclination to speak of every subject, just as it is, and to call a spade a spade, and *verba rebus apiare*; so that the thing spoken of may be fullest known by the words; which methinks is part of our speaking truly."¹ With all its blemishes, his controversial style is far above that of Milton, whose gross and fierce abuse of his opponents is in singular contrast with the tone of modern disputes, where biting severity is gracefully couched under more polite phrases. Critics have censured the harshness of Baxter in his disputes with Owen. Undoubtedly he was fond of breaking a lance with the great Independent. Their controversies, which began with the first printed work of Baxter, lasted until the death of Owen. Even after this event, there appeared, in reply to the posthumous work of the latter, the "Reasons why Dr. John Owen's twelve Arguments change not Richard Baxter's Judgment." As their habits of mind are different, so is their style. If Baxter is irritated, we expect from him a downright rebuke of his opponent. Owen conceals his feeling under a placid face, while a bitter stream of satire flows through his involved sentences. Baxter tries to hew down his antagonist, Owen prefers to use the stiletto. To a casual reader, the tracts of Owen appear to be the more decorous. They abound in expressions of profound humility. But it is a self-abasement before God and not before men. He is too apt to ascribe the opinions of his opposers to the depravity of their hearts. His feeling of compassion for his antagonists is a little too prominent to consist with genuine respect. He couples expressions of love with insinuations of fatal heresy. When we hear him deplore the "fleshly minds and dark understanding" of such men as Hugo Grotius, we cannot but suspect that, in his lamentations over the vanity of human reason, he unconsciously excepts the reason of himself and his special friends. We would not, if we could, detract from the solid fame of Owen. But let Baxter have justice.

¹ Orme's Baxter, p. 784.

If his plain dealing was sometimes indiscreet, let not his blunt words cause him to be depreciated in the comparison with his more learned and adroit, but not more able or charitable opponent. If he could not himself boast of discretion, he commonly inspired his adversaries with this "better part of valor," and they were loth to renew their attacks upon so dauntless and tireless a polemic.

It is to be regretted that Baxter, with his large charity, did not fully grasp the idea of religious toleration. He relied on the civil magistrate to suppress the most dangerous opinions. We look in vain through his writings for the noble spirit of freedom that glows in the *Areopagitica* of Milton. We miss the ringing note of that

— "voice whose sound was like the sea."

Indeed, the political course of Baxter is disfigured by mistakes. Skilful casuists are not the best persons to manage revolutions. Instead of fixing their eye upon the great questions at issue, and acting with prompt vigor, they waste time in arguing upon inferior points. Meanwhile they forget the demands of the hour, or cling with useless tenacity to some impracticable project. At the beginning of the contest against the king, Baxter espoused the side of the Parliament. To his credit be it said, that he never repented of the step. Believing that England was not made for the private benefit of the house of Stuart, and perceiving that this family were of a different mind, he felt the duty of resisting their dangerous usurpations. But quickly alarmed at the excesses which he might have foreseen would infallibly attend a revolutionary movement, he gave to the popular cause a reserved and inconstant support. When the interests of liberty called for a decisive blow, his cautious mind would interpose difficulties or suggest ill-timed plans of conciliation. He had inserted in the *Saint's Rest* the names of Brook, Hampden and Pym among those whom he rejoiced in the prospect of meeting in heaven. Hoping to conciliate the enemies of the Puritans, in the later editions of the work, he omitted these names; an act which won no favor and exposed him to hurtful misapprehension. He had entered the lists against Hobbes and Harrington, and at the same time vindicated the popular cause, in his work entitled "*the Holy Commonwealth*." Tired of the virulent attacks which were made on this treatise, in 1670 he formally recalled it, but reaffirmed many of its obnoxious principles! From his own narrative, it is clear that Cromwell understood him much better than he understood Cromwell. The Protector had the good sense to-tolerate his well-meant rebukes.

While Cromwell, as Baxter frankly owns, "prudently, piously, faithfully, to his immortal honor, did exercise the government," he failed to gain the cordial support of the Presbyterian party. Baxter lived to see the dark day when two thousand excellent ministers were ejected from their pulpits by the edict of a dissolute court. He probably lived to regret the cold and distrustful manner with which he had regarded "the greatest Prince that has ever ruled England."¹ But his theories of government did not improve with his experience. We even find him complaining of the democratic tendencies of Hooker. His name must be added to the long list of clergymen, who have signally failed to comprehend the true province and best maxims of political society.

Having ascertained the position of Baxter, we may next advert to the practical character of his theological system. This is seen in its leading inquiry, which relates to the causes and the remedy of sin. The alienation of man from God first engaged his attention. Around this fact as a centre, the doctrines of his theology cluster.

In the first place, he endeavored to reconcile the existence of sin with the character of God. He discards all the solutions of the problem which imply that God prefers sin to holiness; since he was convinced that the logical results of such an hypothesis are fatal to religion. He assumes that free agency is possible in a creature and that man can determine the moral character of his actions. The question is then immediately suggested: Why does the Creator, who foresees that man will sin, cause or permit his existence? To this question Baxter replies that the beauty and perfection of the universe are promoted by the existence of moral beings, who are liable to abuse their powers; that if the Deity should prevent sin by destroying the powers of the agent, He would mar and injure the order of His works. It is fairly implied in the statements of Baxter that the objects of comparison and choice in the mind of the Creator, are the occurrence of sin, against His commands and influences, by the efficient agency of men, and the existence of moral agents in the system which was foreseen to be most fruitful of beneficent results. And he points to a special reason for the Divine permission of sin, which is found in the fact that God is able, in a great degree, to thwart its tendencies and render it the occasion of good. The omniscience of the Deity precludes the occurrence of an unforeseen event. Although Baxter did not penetrate the subject of moral causation so as to convey his ideas in the terms

¹ Macaulay's History of England, Vol. I. p. 145.

of exact science, he yet believed that, in some way, sin may be the certain, while it is not the necessary consequence of God's agency. The Deity is the first cause of the certainty of all actual events. He thus upheld the truth of man's dependence on his Creator.¹

In the second place, Baxter endeavored to reconcile the doctrines of universal atonement and personal election. Having fastened the responsibility for the existence of sin upon man alone, and shown the justice of his condemnation, he welcomes the way of deliverance through the mediatorial work of Jesus Christ. This work, in his view, is a provision, that is sufficient for the salvation of the human race. But a cordial acceptance of it is prescribed to every man, as a condition of his pardon and eternal life. On account of their moral perversity, men refuse to accept the condition. They resist the merciful influences of Heaven, which are bestowed on every offender. Accordingly God, by a special interposition, in consistency with their moral freedom, influences a certain number to repent and believe, and prepares them for Heaven. These, and these alone, are not selected to be recipients of peculiar blessings without wise reasons, the most of which, however, are to us unknown. Those whom He actually regenerates, He purposed in the beginning to regenerate; and hence they are called the elect.

¹ Mr. Hume thus states the old questions of Epicurus, which, he observes, "are yet unanswered."

"Is he [God] willing to prevent evil, but not able? then he is impotent. Is he able, but not willing? then he is malevolent. Is he both able and willing? Whence then is evil?" *Dial. on Nat. Rel.* (Vol. II. p. 409.)

The questions of course have respect to the exclusion of evil from the system which actually exists, and not from an imaginary system. To the argument, three replies can be made. 1. The reply of those who take a sceptical position, with regard to the whole subject. It is thus stated by Hume: "Nothing can shake the solidity of this reasoning, so short, so clear, so decisive, except we assert that these subjects exceed all human capacity and that our common measures of truth and falsehood are not applicable to them." The inconvenience of this position is, that it leaves unanswered those grave objections to the doctrine of the Divine attributes, which are derived from the existence of evil; objections which meet us at the outset of theological inquiry. If God be omnipotent, how can we prove his benevolence? 2. The reply of those who assert that God is able but not willing to prevent evil. But can the Divine benevolence be maintained in consistency with this hypothesis, without calling evil good? 3. The reply of those who affirm that the exclusion of evil by God from the best system is, *in the nature of things*, impossible; or, in other words, that the existence of the best possible system, and the efficient prevention of all evil by the act of God, are incompatible. Benevolence chooses the best system; omnipotence cannot do what, in the nature of things, is impossible to be done. To this last view the reasoning of Baxter obviously tends.

In the third place, Baxter aimed to reconcile the doctrines of personal election and the strict accountableness of unconverted men. The personal election and actual pardon of a limited number do not, according to his view, hinder the salvation of any. The invitations of the Gospel are general. The conditions of pardon are liberal. The persuasives to repentance are numerous and cogent. The goodness of God to sinners, as evinced in His works, in the arrangements of Providence, and yet more brightly in the revelation of His truth, is the theme on which Baxter is never wearied. His sense of God's love to ungrateful men pervades his practical writings and blends with his holiest meditations. In the midst of the dry waste of scholastic discussion, it gushes forth in a melodious stream to refresh the reader and to allure him onward. Baxter did not believe that the religious truth, which God expresses in manifold ways, falls powerless on the soul. He did not think that sin has eradicated conscience. Their powers of feeling are not so far palsied as to render men utterly insensible to the claims of God and the beauty of holiness. There are certain constitutional faculties of the mind, which God addresses by His truth and His Spirit, and which respond and prompt all men to do right. But we come to the question whether, in view of all this truth and with the feelings which it must excite, men can choose the path of duty. Can it be truly said of all, that God has placed salvation within the reach of their power? Baxter easily saw that most of the theological disputes in which he was engaged, finally merge themselves, for decision, in this question. He did not hesitate to render an affirmative answer. If men do what is in their power, their salvation is sure. He announces and reiterates this doctrine with thankfulness and evident satisfaction. He accepts it as a proof of the sincerity of God in the offer of forgiveness. He founds on it his glowing appeals to impenitent sinners, which in pathos and all the characteristics of pious eloquence, are unsurpassed by any similar compositions in the English language. On this truth he rests the accountability of those who refuse the invitations of the Gospel. They will not come unto Christ that they may have life. The doctrine of the voluntary wickedness of men, because it gives the certainty that they will not repent, leads to the need of those special influences of the Divine Spirit which cause the conversion of all who are elected to be saved. We are to conceive of the elective purpose of God, as formed in view of the voluntary rejection by all men of an ample provision for their salvation. It is the act of an impartial sovereign who dispenses his gifts in a way to subserve the best inter-

ests of his kingdom; who disposes all events according to His good pleasure.

In view of his discriminating statements of theological doctrine, we are at first surprised to discern the mystical vein that runs through the practical writings of Baxter. If a mystic be one who regards the feelings as direct sources of knowledge, then Baxter was not of this class, since he expressly disowns the theory.¹ But his fondness for calm contemplation, in which the soul may enjoy a silent and indescribable communion with God, and gain more vivid ideas of his excellence, and new assurances of his love, imparts a hue of mysticism to his devotion. He speaks with rapture of that state, where the creature, absorbed in disinterested love of the Infinite Creator, renounces and forgets himself; when, with every faculty exerted in contemplating the perfect goodness and glory of God, the soul bathes in an ocean of bliss. "God will be praised and honored," he says, "when I am dead and gone. Were I to be annihilated, this would console me now, if I lived and died in perfect love"—a sentence, conceived in the same spirit that animates the pages of Fenelon. It is significant of his mental habit that, prominent among the sceptical feelings, with which he was at times harassed, was the vague apprehension that his soul at death might lose its distinct personality, and be merged in a world-spirit. We easily see why Baxter, in his later years, found in himself some points of affinity with the Quakers, whom he had strongly opposed, and whose excesses he always discarded. We see also why he cultivated a personal intimacy with Henry More.

But Baxter was many-sided, and could quickly rouse himself from his meditative mood. This is aptly shown by the polemic pamphlet which he wrote against one Giles Firmin, who had reviewed "The Saint's Rest," in what Baxter calls "a gentle reproof for tying men too strictly to meditation." He belongs to that peculiar class of men who combine with a strong logical faculty, a fervid imagination; whose love of contemplation gives to their piety a savor of mysticism. Of this class, Jonathan Edwards may be named as an example. He is styled by Mackintosh a Calvinist and a mystic. The comprehensive greatness of his mind is shown by the fact that he could be the author both of the *Essay on the Freedom of the Will* and of the treatise on *Religious Affections*. In this class may be reckoned Pascal, who with natural powers of mind superior to those of Baxter,

¹ Works, XXII. p. 179.

was fettered by the dogmas of his church, while his mental attainments were hindered by a morbid asceticism. Hence the mystical piety of Pascal grew out of his profound sense of the difficulties of religion and his refusal to yield to the despair of scepticism. It was an appeal from the doubtful voice of the intellect to the irrepressible feelings of the heart; a retreat from the demons of unbelief to a sanctuary of humble devotion. Thus a melancholy tinge pervades the Essays of this, in many respects, incomparable writer, which is quite in contrast with the cheerful temper of Baxter. The Puritan too was obliged to strive with terrible doubts; but with godly sincerity and humbleness of spirit, he brought them manfully before the bar of his intellect, and heard them patiently, until he saw the falsity of their pleas. Then he dismissed them with a peaceful mind. The eye of Pascal often rests mournfully upon the ruins of human nature. He seems to meditate alone, in the stillness of night, when a yet more sombre shade is cast over the shattered and prostrate columns which sadly suggest the splendor of the original structure. Baxter often dwells upon a pleasant future. He delights to meditate at the dawn, when the songs of the lark float through the air, and the morning-star shines in the east with a silvery light, the harbinger of the rising day. With that "calm consideration which doth as it were open the door between the head and the heart," he fastens his thoughts on Heaven, until he is transported at the glory and living reality of that unseen world. He soars "above the Aonian mount," and in the holy presence of the Invisible, purifies and gladdens his soul. Even the wild-flowers that bloom around him distil a fragrance, grateful to the Father, who clothes them with beauty. Like the inspired Prince of Israel, to him the heavens are articulate, and all the works of Nature echo the praises of God.

"When the sun in the spring draws near our part of the earth, how do all things congratulate its approach! The earth looks green, and casteth off her mourning habit: the trees shoot forth; the plants revive; the pretty birds, how sweetly do they sing! the face of all things smiles upon us, and all the creatures below rejoice. Beloved friends, if we would but try this life with God, and would but keep these hearts above, what a spring of joy would be within us; and all our graces be fresh and green! How would the face of our souls be changed; and all that is within us rejoice! How should we forget our winter sorrows; and withdraw our souls from our sad retirements! How early should we rise (as those birds in the spring) to sing the praise of our great Creator! O Christian, get above: believe it, that region is warmer than this below."¹

¹ Saint's Rest. Works, XXIII. p. 226. It will be observed that our quota-

"When thou walkest forth in the evening, look upon the stars, how they glisten, and in what number they bespangle the firmament. If in the daytime, look up to the glorious sun; view the wide expanded, encompassing heavens, and say to thyself, What glory is in the least of yonder stars; what a vast, what a bright, resplendent body hath yonder moon, and every planet! O, what an inconceivable glory hath the sun! Why, all this is nothing to the glory of heaven. Yonder sun must there be laid aside as useless, for it would not be seen for the brightness of God. I shall live above all yonder glory; yonder is but darkness to the lustre of my Father's house. I shall be as glorious as that sun myself; yonder is but the wall of the palace-yard; as the poet saith,

'If in heaven's outward courts, such beauty be,
What is the glory which the saints do see!'

So think of the rest of the creatures. This whole earth is but my Father's footstool: this thunder is nothing to his dreadful voice: these winds are nothing to the breath of his mouth. So much wisdom and power as appeareth in all these; so much and far more greatness and goodness and loving delights, shall I enjoy in the actual fruition of God."¹

Baxter is one of the few writers who have said much of heaven without offending a sanctified taste. His heaven is one of intellectual activity, of social converse, of devout worship. He stands apart from the descanters on the invisible world, whom John Foster forcibly describes, "who make you think of a popish cathedral, and from the vulgarity of whose illuminations, you are excessively glad to escape into the solemn twilight of faith." With him earthly objects are only the symbols of the heavenly. The heaven, which Baxter conceives, has none of the common-place arrangements and low associations which degrade the Arcana of Swedenborg to the rank of a dull fable. His visions are spiritual, and the curtain of mystery that hangs over them is never quite withdrawn. He does not lose the reverence that becomes a mortal who speaks of the mansions where immortals dwell. Although we may apply to him, in a nobler sense, the words which describe the enthusiastic Herschell—"coelorum perrupit claustra"—yet we cannot say that he is rash or presumptuous. For long periods, he was daily expecting his own departure from the earth. He stood on the brink of eternity, and tried to sound its unfathomable depths. In a vast temple, reared by human art, where many generations have trod, one who long gazes through the dim vistas and far upward to the spreading arches, is sensible of his own littleness,

tions from the Saint's Rest, are from the *unabridged* edition, and not from the edition of Mr. Fawcett.

¹ Saint's Rest. Works, XXIII. p. 384.

while a feeling of awe steals over him. So when this thoughtful man is at the portal of another world, on which his eye is steadily fixed, the present moment is seen to be but a single link in an endless chain, and the things of time dwindle to insignificance. Yet he does not tremble with fear.

"O then, my soul, fear not to enter that estate, where thou shalt ever after cease thy fear. Sit down, and sadly, once a day, bethink thyself of this eternity: among all the arithmetical numbers, study the value of this infinite cipher, which though it stand for nothing, in the vulgar account, doth yet contain all our millions, as much less than a simple unit. Lay by the perplexed and contradicting chronological tables, and fix thine eye on this eternity; and the lines which remote thou couldst not follow, thou shalt see all together here concentrated. Study less those tedious volumes of history, which contain but the silent narration of dreams, and are but the pictures of the actions of shadows; and, instead of all, study thoroughly this one word 'eternity,' and when thou hast learned thoroughly that one word, thou wilt never look on books again. What! live, and never die? Rejoice, and ever rejoice! O, what sweet words are these, 'never and ever'!"¹

It is in passages where his pious emotions are poured out in unstudied words, that the poetical talent of Baxter is best disclosed. His metrical compositions — his volume of *Poems and Paraphrase of the Psalms* — though they have won the praise of Mr. Montgomery, are in a clumsy style of versification, which renders them of little worth to modern readers. Like Bunyan, he wrote his best poetry in prose. Unlike the wonderful Pilgrim, the free play of his imagination is hindered by the weight of his cumbrous learning. But it is pleasant to know that this demure Puritan loved to compose hymns, though in homely rhymes, and to while away the sleepless hours of night with gladsome songs.

The expectation of heaven has a varied influence upon different minds. Some there are whose ruling desire is to escape in safety from this life and to enter a haven of rest. If they do not flee to the desert or hide their disgust at the world within the walls of a cloister; if they do not even cherish a cynical aversion for the scenes of the present state of existence, they yet insulate themselves from the interests of our busy planet not less completely than did St. Simon on the top of his pillar. Dwelling in communion with a few kindred souls, they submissively await their translation to a better home. There are others who mingle valiantly in the great contest

¹ Saint's Rest. Works, XXII. p. 170.

of which the object is to break down the empire of Satan. Exulting in the virtuous strife of this mortal life, they are barely consoled on leaving the world by the promise of a celestial abode. Both these types of piety, exemplified in all the Christian ages, are shown to be imperfect when they are compared with the temper of Paul, who was "in a strait betwixt two." His aspiration to be with the Saviour was balanced by his desire to subserve the welfare of men. Deeming this life to be given for beneficent ends, he had no will to alter the divine appointments. This blending of a quenchless aspiration for a sinless and perfect state with an indomitable purpose to contend against the principalities and powers which beset the soul on her upward path, constitutes the transcendent worth of the Puritan character. Like Paul, Baxter made his hopes of heaven the spring of charitable exertions on earth. Heartily as he despised the fopperies of the world, he would have been the last man to become an anchorite. His piety, like his theology, was practical.

His broad conception of the Christian character is perhaps most fully presented in "*The Saint's Rest*." It is unfortunate that this remarkable work is chiefly known through a mutilated edition, which contains not a third of the original treatise, which divides sentences and shortens paragraphs, and is divested of the personal allusions, and the quaint phrases which give a charm to the work, as it came fresh from the hand of its author. It has thus in a great measure lost its dramatic interest. "*An Abridgment of the Saint's Rest*!" It has a harsh sound. True the work is often prolix and has many digressions, but they are the digressions of a versatile mind that is too full of thought to move on in a right line. The style may be likened to one of our expansive rivers that flows on in a sinuous course, with now a slow and now an impetuous current, and sending out broad branches to adorn the landscapes. The reader must expect to meet, here and there, a rugged steep or a dizzy height of speculation. But imbosomed in the hills there is many a shady nook where the humblest wayfarer may find welcome repose. The work is a portraiture of the author's character. It is stamped with the seriousness, the purity, the warm-hearted sympathy with men, which give impressiveness to his entire life. For the sake of doing good, he gladly gave up his desire of literary popularity. Once he thought, "that nothing should be made public but what a man had first laid out his most choice art upon." "But," he adds, "my conscience soon told me that there was too much of pride and selfishness in this." Accordingly he wrote as occasions seemed to require. The multiplicity of

his works is explained by the astonishing celerity of his mind. Lightfoot and Owen and Jeremy Taylor — each of them is a voluminous author; but Baxter has written more than they all. He humorously accounts for his prolixity "by the great distance between mens's ears and their brains." There was one item of truth in the vile address of Jeffries: "Richard! Richard! thou hast written books enough to load a cart." Besides the injury to his permanent fame, there were grave evils incident to such a course. His opinions, put forth in a crude form, he was more than once compelled to explain or recall. His haste often entangled him in perplexing disputes. He sacrificed the peculiar influence which is derived from a consistent, life-long maintenance of a single system. On the other hand, his powers were drawn out by opposition. His boldness enabled him to strike a blow when a slower mind would have lost the opportunity. He won from men what more cautious writers often fail to gain, a confidence in his frankness and unswerving integrity. He demonstrated that he prized the truth above his own good name. Let those who would too severely censure Baxter, ponder these golden words: "It is too little remembered that repugnance to hypocrisy and impatience of long concealment, are the qualities of the best formed minds, and that if the publication of some doctrines proves often painful and mischievous, the habitual suppression of opinion is injurious to reason and very dangerous to sincerity."¹

Unlike the traditional formulas which may be recited and then forgotten, the religious opinions of Baxter were grasped with a lively faith. Because they had been wrought out by his own inquiries and spiritual struggles, they were living principles. Whatever imperfections in his dogmatic faith the criticism of this later time may detect, there was somewhat in it that gave him a strange power over the human heart. Well might he bear with patience the sneers of critics, while he was every week receiving letters from persons, who gratefully attributed their religious conversion to a perusal of his books. They who were alarmed at the tendency of his speculations, were compelled to acknowledge a charm in that "Call to the Unconverted," which has reached the ears of thousands through most of the languages of Europe, and in the translation of John Elliot, as Cotton Mather relates, melted to tears an Indian prince, in the remote forests of New England. Singular was the success which attended his sermons. All his views of religion he could frankly and hopefully avow. He spoke "as a dying man to dying men." De-

¹ Sir James Mackintosh. *Eth. Phil.* p. 135.

lighting to preach the Gospel, although his polemic zeal kept him in close contest with many opponents, he never lost sight of what he regarded as the noblest of avocations. His life shows the need of qualifying the sweeping remark of Hallam on the degrading and contracting influence of religious controversy.¹ It proves that the effect of controversy on the disputants, materially depends on the motives which impel them to engage in debate.

Baxter's ideal of the minister, is portrayed in "The Reformed Pastor," a work which, like the "Saint's Rest," has suffered much from the scissors of editors. A description of the sacred office, so full, so graphic, and at the same time so redolent of a divine unction, cannot elsewhere be found. Other works may exhibit with more exactness the rhetorical qualities of the preacher's style; but none so well insist upon the moral traits, more essential to the true success of pulpit oratory. Some have written more ably on the dignity of the pastoral office, but none have so vividly unfolded its varied duties and opportunities. There are many passages in this work which aptly illustrate the directness and point of Baxter's style. He never loiters. He writes with an importunate earnestness which fixes the attention, if it does not force conviction.

"How few ministers do preach with all their might; or speak about everlasting joy or torment in such a manner as may make men believe that they are in good sadness. It would make a man's heart ache to see a company of dead and drowsy sinners sit under a minister, and not have a word that is likely to quicken or awaken them." "Most ministers will not so much as put out their voice, and stir up themselves to an earnest utterance. But if they do speak loud and earnestly, how few do answer it with earnestness of matter; and then the voice doth little good; the people will take it but as mere bawling, when the matter doth not correspond."²

The following passage upon ministerial pride, illustrates his heart-searching power.

"O what a companion, what a tyrannical commander, what a sly and subtle and insinuating enemy is this sin of pride!" "Fewer ministers would ruffle it out in the fashion in hair and habit, if it were not for the command of this tyrannical vice. And I would that were all, or the worst; but, alas, how frequently doth it go with us to our studies, and there sit with us and do our work! How oft doth it choose our subject, and more often choose our words and ornaments. God biddeth us be as plain as we can, for the informing of the ignorant, and as convincing and serious as we are able, for

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Ch. IX. p. 453. ² *Works*, XIV. p. 182. (*unabridged Ed.*)

the melting and changing of unchanged hearts; but pride standeth by and contradicteth all." "It persuadeth us to paint the window, that it may dim the light; and to speak to our people that which they cannot understand, to acquaint them that we are able to speak unprofitably. It taketh off the edge, and dulls the life of all our teachings, under the pretence of filing off the roughness, unevenness and superfluity. If we have a plain and cutting passage, it throws it away as too rustical and ungrateful." "And when pride hath made the sermon, it goes with them into the pulpit; it formeth their tone, it animateth them in the delivery; it takes them off from that which may be displeasing, how necessary soever, and setteth them in a pursuit of vain applause." "When they should ask 'what should I say and how should I say it, to please God best, and do most good,' it makes them ask, 'what shall I say and how shall I deliver it, to be thought a learned, able preacher, and to be applauded by all that hear me.' When the sermon is done, pride goeth home with them, and maketh them more eager to know whether they were applauded, than whether they did prevail for the saving change of souls! They could find it in their hearts, but for shame, to ask folks how they liked them, and to draw out their commendation. If they perceive that they are highly thought of, they rejoice, as having attained their end; but if they perceive that they are esteemed but weak or common men, they are displeased, as having missed the prize of the day."¹

If "The Reformed Pastor" sharply chides the faults of the clergy, we may listen to the author's own apology: "If the ministers of England had sinned only in Latin, I would have made shift to have admonished them in Latin, or else have said nothing to them. But if they will sin in English, they must hear of it in English."²

The Reformed Pastor is valuable as a transcript of Baxter's pastoral life. None can read the account of his residence at Kidderminster, without being amazed at his Herculean labors. There was no limit to his beneficence. Besides his onerous pastoral duties, and his public duties apart from his parish, during six years he gratuitously practised medicine among his people. During this time, he was sending from the press a larger number of pages than many ministers read. The considerable pecuniary profits afforded by the immense popularity of his books, he distributed among the poor. These unremitting efforts were not made by a man in robust health, but by one who was so variously afflicted, that he gained a respectable knowledge of Therapeutics by an inductive study of his own diseases. We must go far, even back to the days of the apostles, to find the parallel of this self-denying philanthropy. The striking reformation in the character and manners of his hearers was the reward

¹ Works, XIV. pp. 154, 155.
VOL. IX. No. 34.

² Ibid. p. iv.

of his faithfulness. Who will wonder at his ardent friendship for his flock? Among his people at Kidderminster, he was most happy. But when he was driven away from his weeping disciples, he still preached wherever he could gather a congregation. And when the arm of civil tyranny debarred him from publicly teaching the truth, so strong was his love of souls that he addressed a few hearers, whom he could secretly gather in his own household. "He continued to preach so long," says Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon, "that the last time, he almost died in the pulpit. It would have been his joy to have been transfigured in the mount." Indeed, whenever he entered the pulpit, he appeared to have come from the converse of Moses and Elias and Jesus, to bring glad messages to the sinful, sorrowful children of men. His pallid face beamed with a radiance not of earth. His emaciated form and lustrous eye lent a supernatural life to his pictures of the invisible world. When his voice was raised to commend the Christian faith to the unbelieving, it was hard to resist the impassioned fervor of his appeal. The few printed sermons of such an orator as Baxter, give but an inadequate idea of the effect of his spoken discourses. But they still retain much of their richness of illustration and vehement energy. They prove how earnest he was to exhibit the wide difference, in character and destiny, between irreligious and regenerate men. They present, in bold relief, the characteristics of a renewed heart. They show with what urgency he pressed upon the sinner's conscience the duty of repentance. They abound in vivid descriptions of the terrors of future retribution, reminding us of certain fearful passages on the pages of Edwards. But in Baxter the intense excitement of his mind is not concealed; while in Edwards, the representations, so distinct and elaborate, are yet more impressive in consequence of the repressed emotion and determined style of the preacher. The emphasis, disproportioned though it may have been, which the most successful religious teachers have given to the motive of fear, should rebuke the fastidious taste that shrinks from using the awful imagery of Inspiration. Allusions to Satan are frequent in these, as in most of the writings of Baxter. By the Puritan mind, the Spirit of evil was felt to be an insidious and a powerful enemy. He was believed to exist in manifold forms, from the debasing shapes which he assumed in the vulgar superstitions to the colossal and sublime Demon of Milton. Not more truly did men realize the presence of God, than they realized the presence of an ever active and dangerous fiend. And this feeling is obvious in the works of our author. Yet with all their terror, his sermons

breathe a tender spirit of compassion for every innocent infirmity of human nature. They have faults of structure and style which a tyro can now detect. But if they are to be judged by their fitness to renovate the character of men, then they have a higher excellence than the bold and terse productions of South, or the learned and ornate compositions of Jeremy Taylor. And we believe that no devout man will rise from the perusal of the discourses on the "Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance and Benefits of Self-Acquaintance,"¹ without the persuasion that they are such sermons as Paul would approve. Will he not rise with the conviction that a race of preachers has passed away, whose places have not been supplied? Free, in a good degree, from the pedantry and the conceits of style that were fashionable in their time, the better class of Puritan divines, of whom Baxter is a representative, are doubtless among the most effective preachers the world has seen. They were called to achieve the good work which "old father Latimer" had foretold, in the flames of Oxford. Stout and zealous reformers, they used a bow which few of their successors have been able to bend.

The best reflections of Baxter during his later years, are comprised in his *Autobiography* and in the "Dying Thoughts."² The *Autobiography*³ is replete with interest. This rare old folio is a daguerreotype of the author's heart. Here we have Baxter to the life. Its every page is stamped with the mark of open-hearted truthfulness. All the foibles which other men would have covered even from their own close insight, are spread out to our view. The pranks of his boyhood, the rash judgments and hasty speeches of his youth, the blunders and sins of maturer life, are plainly exposed. He was determined to deal fairly with his fellow men. And the simplicity with which he tells the story of his life, is far enough from the affected humility that is too often visible in the diaries of eminent persons. His sincerity leads him to confess with "shame" that when a boy, he has "oft gone into other men's Orchards and stolen their Fruit," and "was extreemly bewitched with a Love of Romances, Fables,

¹ Baxter's Works, Vol. XVI.

² "Mr. Baxter's Dying Thoughts upon Philippians 1: 23, Written for his own use in the latter times of his corporal pains and weakness. 1683."

³ "Reliquiae Baxterianae: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's *Narrative* of the most Memorable Passages in his Life and Times. Faithfully published from his own Original Manuscript, By Matthew Sylvester." London, 1696. A copy of this curious volume may be found in the library of Harvard College. It is the basis of Mr. Orme's excellent Biography of Baxter, which was published in 1830.

and old Tales." The same feeling dictates the acknowledgment that he was "too raw a writer" when he first "meddled with Owen;" and that once being about to preach before the king, he was ashamed of his want of Academic honors, when he was obliged to decline the offer of a tippet, which he wrongly judged to be "the proper insign of a Dr. of Divinity."¹ No other historical personage with whom we are acquainted, has furnished us with so ample means of judging himself. The confessions of authors are proverbially insincere. If, like Gibbon, they faithfully trace the steps of their intellectual progress, they are wont to conceal the deeper experiences of the heart. The Chesterfields and Walpoles who talk of themselves with apparent freedom, veil their profound hypocrisy under a frank and careless style. How few, even of good men, scrutinize their own motives; and of these, how few who are thoroughly honest with themselves, can bear to discover to the world the darker shades of their spiritual history! Imagination, too, colors past events with deceitful hues. How else shall we account for the air of romance that often invests the personal narratives of pious men? Of all these faults, incident to a biographer of himself, Baxter must be acquitted. And yet as we follow him through the shifting scenes of his eventful life, our respect for his talents and piety deepens into an affectionate reverence. Even his grave errors appear trivial, when we consider the magnanimity with which they are confessed. His lofty virtues are seen to overshadow his faults. Whatever may be the follies of his mind, and they were many in number, the reader is compelled to recognize an intellect of eminent powers.

We feel bound to enter a protest against the extraordinary liberty which has been taken with the writings of this great divine. While Baxter is regarded by the multitude as a man of saintly piety, his intellectual traits are poorly appreciated. And this is not the only injury which has resulted from the labors of well-meaning, yet merciless editors. In their eagerness to make useful books, they have in some instances invaded the sacred rights of an author. By altering sentences and culling paragraphs, they produce a book widely different in its impression from the original production, and then claim for it the sanction of an honored name. The work which is widely circulated under the title of the "Dying Thoughts," is not the work of Baxter; but may be correctly entitled: "A Third of Baxter's Dying Thoughts, in which much that relates to himself is omitted, sentences are inverted, and strong words and homely similes to a large extent

¹ Rel. Baxt. P. II. p. 382.

dropped, the whole selected and arranged by Mr. Benjamin Fawcett." It may be said that the usefulness of the work is promoted by abridging it (which may be fairly doubted), and that the end justifies the means. We need not now attempt to determine the few cases where important changes in the writings of an eminent author can be justified. In the present instance, it is enough to reply that this work of Baxter has a great part of its value, as a historical picture of himself and his times. To mutilate it for the purpose of giving it greater interest, is to garble history. It is like changing the costume of an old portrait of Vandyke, to accommodate it to modern fashions. But who does not prefer to read any book as it was written? And who does not agree with Mr. Macaulay, that "in works which owe much of their interest to the character and situation of the writers, the case is infinitely stronger. What man of taste and feeling can endure harmonies, *rifacimentos*, abridgments, expurgated editions?" In his later editions of the life of Johnson, Mr. Croker, profiting perhaps by the suggestion of his unsparing critic, has presented the text of Boswell, in its unbroken integrity. And one would render a grateful service, who should publish an accurate edition of Baxter's select treatises.¹

The "Dying Thoughts" were composed for the spiritual benefit of the author. He gave them to the printer, only to keep the manuscript from being lost.² It is instructive to compare this, which was one of the last, with the Saint's Rest which was one of the first of his works. His vigorous imagination had not grown weak with his declining years. His piety, if less enthusiastic, had become deeper and more humble. Avoiding the mooted topics of theology which are somewhat prominent in the earlier work, he directs his mind to themes which have the closest relation to death. He reviews the proofs of immortality, and having calmly surveyed the blessings of this sublunary state, he brings before him the hopes of the believer and the more alluring joys of heaven. Reminiscences of his own history are interwoven with candid criticisms of his writings and conduct. Their wisdom, mingled with the subdued pathos of their tone, will secure for these meditations an exalted and a lasting place in the literature of devotion.

¹ A valuable edition of several practical treatises of Baxter, including the "Dying Thoughts," was published in two volumes in 1831, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Leonard Bacon of New Haven. For a graphic sketch of the Life and Times of our author, the reader is referred to an Article in the Ed. Rev., 1839, from the pen of Sir James Stephen; or to the brief, but interesting Biography which accompanies the edition of Dr. Bacon.

² See Preface to the "Dying Thoughts." Works, XVIII.

The misfortunes which clouded the last years of Baxter would have suspended the literary labors of a less heroic man. He found himself hated and calumniated by the rulers in church and state. "Even men that had been taken for sober and religious," he says, "when they had a mind for preferment and to be taken notice of at court and by the prelates, did fall on preaching or writing against me."¹ His long life, his multifarious writings, were studied by mercenary writers who sought material for slander. Many of his associates, and among them Sir Matthew Hale, who had consoled him by their friendship, were dead.² The survivor of a past generation, he stood exposed to the blast, like the lonely pine that has outlived the forest which once murmured around it. He had beheld the downfall and the restoration of a dynasty. From the stormy periods of revolution he had come forth with an unspotted character. His energetic will had not yielded to temptation. With an intrepid and pious spirit he had borne heavy reverses of fortune. He had seen the great party, of which he was a resolute leader, rise until it gained the supremacy; and he had followed its sinking fortunes when it was beaten down amidst the jeers and blows of its enemies. One after another of his clerical brethren died in Newgate; and in recording the event he calmly says: "The prison, where so many are, suffocates the spirits of aged ministers; but blessed be God, that gave them so long time to preach before, at cheaper rates."³ He was now hunted by the police for the crime of teaching the Gospel, his property seized, his person imprisoned and then released, only to become the victim of new persecutions. Then occurred that scene, so disgraceful to English history, when the most venerable divine in the kingdom, burdened with years and bodily maladies, was brought to

¹ Orme's Life of Baxter, p. 713.

² Hale died in 1676. Baxter looked upon his intimacy with this blameless judge, as one of the most pleasant incidents of his life. "The conference," he says, "which I had frequently with him (mostly about the immortality of the soul, and other foundation-points, and philosophical) was so edifying, that his very questions and objections did help me to more light than other men's solutions." *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, P. III. p. 46.

So great was Hale's regard for Baxter, that the Chief Justice wept with grief on hearing of his arrest. "While caressed by Wilkins, Barrow, Tillotson and Stillingfleet, the great ornaments of the Establishment, Hale kept up, as long as he could, his intimacy with the venerable leader of the Nonconformists, and, if the law had permitted, would have delighted to reap the benefit of his ministrations." *Campbell's Chief Justices*, Vol. I. p. 569. While Baxter compliments the writings of Hale, it is amusing to hear him complain of the Judge's prolixity.

³ Orme's Life, p. 354.

the court of King's Bench and abused by the Chief Justice in language unfit to be spoken to a common thief. The demeanor of Baxter on this trying occasion did not misbecome the man who, in his youth, had fearlessly joined in the resistance to royal tyranny; who had braved the Protector when his name was a terror, and had refused the mitre of Hereford at the hand of a king. To the vituperation of Jeffries, he replied with meek dignity: "I am not concerned to answer such stuff; but am ready to produce my writings for the confutation of all this; and my life and conversation are known to many in this nation." Twenty centuries before, a moral teacher who had reached the same advanced age, was arraigned on charges equally frivolous, before an Athenian tribunal; but the heathen judges listened to the defence of Socrates. When Baxter attempted, in a Christian age and in an English court, to plead his cause, he was roughly silenced.

During these years of tumult and persecution, Baxter's pen was by no means idle. While he continued to live, he could not cease to write. A harmless, if not very meritorious work, the "*Paraphrase on the New Testament*," was the cause of his arraignment on the charge of sedition. Several publications attest his unabated zeal for the doctrine of "*Free Grace*." But one of his most interesting productions during this period, is his treatise on *Knowledge and Love*.¹ He had found at last, as he supposed, the secret source of the contentions and divisions among Christians. They grow out of a proud understanding, or out of "*falsely pretended knowledge*." And his object, in the first Part of the treatise, is to show the uncertain grounds of many of the dogmas which are confidently held, as well as to indicate the true principles of knowledge. In the second Part, he endeavors to prove that the ultimate end of all intellectual attainments is to implant and cultivate holy love. In the midst of his earnest argument for the wisdom of piety, he is careful to affirm that no knowledge is contemptible.

"I would put no limits to a Christian's desires and endeavors to know, but that he desire only to know useful and revealed things. Every degree of knowledge tendeth to more: and every known truth befriendeth others; and, like fire, tendeth to the spreading of our knowledge to all neighbor

¹ "*A Treatise on Knowledge and Love Compared*," etc., etc. "By Richard Baxter, who by God's blessing on long and hard studies, hath learned to know that he knoweth but little, and to suspend his judgment of uncertainties, and to take great, necessary, certain, things, for the food of his faith and comforts, and the measure of his church communion." *Works*, XV.

truths that are intelligible. And the want of acquaintance with some one truth among an hundred, may hinder us from knowing rightly most of the rest; or may breed an hundred errors in us. As the absence of one wheel or particle in a watch, or the ignorance of it, may put all the rest into an useless disorder."¹

It is delightful to witness the serene faith, so conspicuous in the last days of Baxter. He lived to see the bigoted James driven from the realm, and the Prince of Orange firmly seated on the throne. But he has left slight notices of this revolution. His mind appears to have been absorbed in the prospect of the heavenly world which he was soon to enter. Dark clouds had gathered over the dying day, but a light, beautiful to behold, streamed through them. Indeed, the cheerful composure of Baxter through all the vicissitudes of his troublous career, is a phenomenon which they who distrust the power of the religion of Christ, will find it hard to explain. There is an eloquence in the prophetic words which preface the "Dying Thoughts." It is an eloquence, founded only on the luminous lessons of Apostles, and of Him who is the Resurrection and the Life!

"A better and glorious world is before me, into which I hope by death to be translated, whither all these three sorts of love should wrap up the desires of my ascending soul; even the love of myself, that I may be fully happy; the love of the triumphant church, Christ, angels, and glorified men, and the glory of all the universe, which I shall see; and above all, the love of the most glorious God, infinite life and light and love, the ultimate, amiable object of man's love; in whom to be perfectly pleased and delighted, and to whom to be perfectly pleasing forever, is the chief and ultimate end of me, and of the highest, wisest, and best of creatures."²

We have considered the spirit and the opinions of Baxter. What, it may be asked, is the secret of his commanding influence? Why is he still honored in his usefulness, while a thousand more cautious, more correct, possibly more wise divines are forgotten forever? It is the power of an independent thinker whose soul is unawed by the frowns of men. The very style of his utterance, so fearless and animated, betokens the vigor of his mind. Such writers originate thoughts which are instinct with vital energy. It is the power of a persevering will that in the face of obloquy presses onward with unshaken resolution. A gifted mind, it has been well said, is able, simply "by a steady and rapid movement, to impart movement to others."³ It is the power of an honest man who shrinks from deceit

¹ Works, XV. p. 205.

² Works, XVIII. p. 243.

³ Isaac Taylor. "Loyola and Jesuitism," p. 103.

and scorns a mean action. As he may err in judgment, so he may blunder in his conduct; but all men know that he never will be guilty of an unworthy artifice. It is the power of a holy life to disarm hostility and to embolden the timid and wavering and to attract the homage which men are constrained to pay to a virtue that is above their own. A man, like Baxter, lives on, and his influence will extend afar, in ever widening circles, when he has long slumbered in his grave. To such is justly awarded the meed of greatness. For surely none have a better title to the epithet great, than they whose character and words, through the Divine favor, have been potent instruments for the salvation of many souls. This we say, mindful of the severe standard of Milton: "He alone is worthy of the appellation, who either does great things, or teaches how they may be done, or describes them with a suitable majesty when they have been done: but those only are great things which tend to render life more happy, which increase the innocent enjoyments and comforts of existence, or which pave the way to a state of future bliss, more permanent and more pure."¹

ARTICLE V.

OBSERVATIONS ON MATTHEW 24: 29—31, AND THE PARALLEL PASSAGES IN MARK AND LUKE, WITH REMARKS ON THE DOUBLE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

By M. Stuart, lately Prof. of Sacred Literature at Andover.

THE *literal* meaning, it is said, must be given to our Saviour's words in this passage, because the metaphorical meaning usually assigned to them would be insignificant and degrading. Let us proceed to some inquiries necessary to a right understanding of the subject to which they appertain.

(1) V. 29 (of Matt. xxiv.) says, that "*the sun shall be darkened*;" the true meaning of which is, that it will be *eclipsed*; for plainly and certainly, the expression is borrowed from an eclipse. This indeed

¹ Milton's Prose Works, Philad. edit. Vol. II. p. 495.

is a thing that may happen *literally*. But is eclipse all that takes place at the day of judgment? Peter tells us (2 Pet. 3: 10), that "the heavens *shall pass away* with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat," when "the day of the Lord shall come." But there is nothing of all this in the eclipse before us. Such a fact may indeed be literally true; but taking it in this literal sense, it indicates nothing peculiar to the judgment-day. Eclipses take place every year, but the judgment-day does not occur quite so often. There is then no meaning here, at least, which is 'infinitely superior to anything which could be comprised in a description of the fall of Jerusalem.'

(2) "*The moon shall not give her light.*" The same thing as before, only it is invested with different costume. *The moon shall be eclipsed*, is the extent of the meaning. But as this, like the preceding event, is merely an ordinary occurrence, nothing can be made out of it, which is exclusively appropriate to the general judgment.

(3) "*The stars shall fall from heaven.*" A serious difficulty there is here for the *literal* interpreter. Well do we know, indeed, that the ancient world regarded meteors as falling stars, or fragments of shattered stars; and therefore (as in our text) such meteors are called ἀστέρηδες, *stars*. If now we assume here such a meaning of these words as was commonly given to them by the ancients, when they attributed a literal sense to them, viz. that the fixed stars will fall on the earth, being loosened from their orbits; or (to express the idea in the words of Peter), that "the heavens shall pass away;" then comes the difficulty at which I have hinted above. The *falling*, beyond all question, is *falling to the earth*. How many millions of millions of suns, now, i. e. of fixed stars, can fall and lodge together on the surface of our little earth? One of them would in its fall crush our world to atoms. Such being the case, how are the wicked to survive this crash, who will *afterwards* wail the coming of the Son of man? for it is *after* the stars have fallen that this wailing takes place, as v. 30 assures us. How many, moreover, of the *elect* will then remain *alive*, to be 'summoned from the four winds, and from one extremity of the heavens to the other?' Wailing or rejoicing on this earth, after all the stars of heaven have literally fallen upon it, is a matter rather too dubious for even a *double-sense* to clear up. In simple words, a *literal* sense is plainly a downright absurdity.

(4) "*The powers of the heavens shall be shaken.*" Every reader of Hebrew knows, of course, the meaning of the often repeated צְבָאֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, i. e. *host of heaven*. For the most part, it designates the

stars; but sometimes it means the *angels*, who were supposed by the Hebrews to be guardian Genii of the stars. In Is. 34: 4 occurs the expression in Hebrew before us; which the Septuagint, as elsewhere, translates by *αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν*. This clause — “the powers of the heavens shall be shaken” — follows No. 3 above, and apparently assigns the ground or reason of the falling of the stars. There is a concussion among the heavenly bodies; and so great is it, that they fall out of the firmament down to the earth. All this is borrowed from the philosophizing or *astronomizing* of the Hebrews, in respect to the visible heavens. The firmament (שָׁמַיִם) was in their view an *expanse* in which the stars moved, and by which their course was rendered steady and invariable, Gen. 1: 6 seq. In the passage before us, a mighty concussion is spoken of, which loosens the stars in their socketings, and they fall — of course to the earth; here was Hebrew astronomy, and such the language derived from it and built upon it. What then is the *literal* application of all this, in the case under consideration?

Thus far, then, we have in reality only the eclipse of the sun and moon, and in point of fact (making all due allowance for Hebrew modes of thinking and expression), only a shower of meteors with great concussion or agitation. Now none of these events are in themselves specially characteristic of the “great and terrible day of the Lord.” They are things which happen every year; at least, excepting perhaps the great concussion, they do happen every year in the ordinary course of nature. And even *concussion*, during a shower of meteors, is an event by no means unfrequent, but altogether common. Still, I do not apprehend, that the speaker, in the passage before us, designs to refer to such events as taking place in the *ordinary* course of things. The object of his discourse clearly indicates, that he places them under the category of things to be regarded as *extraordinary* here, i. e. out of the due and usual course of things. It is on this ground that they are regarded as indicative of impending terrible calamities.

Verse 29, then, literally describes, as we have just seen, great changes and overturns in the world of nature, i. e. its language or costume is borrowed from such supposed changes, or it has these for a literal basis. Whether all this, however, is to be figuratively or metaphorically taken, is a question to which we shall come again in the sequel. Enough for the present, that the *literal* sense has been shown to be in two cases irrelevant as peculiar or appropriate to the last judgment-day, and the third case to be, *literally* considered, an absolute impossibility.

We pass on to verse 30, still in pursuit of the *literal* sense. (5) "*Then shall appear the sign* (τὸ σημεῖον) *of the Son of man in heaven.*" Which heaven? For the word has two senses in the Bible; the one *heaven proper*, as we usually employ the word; the other, the atmosphere, or the apparent welkin. It is difficult to say which is the primary or secondary sense of the original Hebrew word שָׁמַיִם; but probably, it is that of the elevated and apparently arched firmament of the sky as seen by us. It is then in this that the *sign* of the Son of man is to appear; for in the superior heaven, i. e. the one above the firmament, he would be invisible. But what is *sign*? Many interpreters say, that it means the changes in the heavens which are described in the preceding verses. But this is out of question; for this phenomenon *follows* those catastrophes — τὸ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τ. λ. Others say, that *sign* means the destruction of Jerusalem, as before described. But the sign is in *heaven*, not on earth. Others suppose it to indicate the meteoric phenomena mentioned by Josephus.¹ I will not venture to assume with any great positiveness, that these things corresponded altogether with the σημεῖον before us; but if they be credible (Josephus most solemnly vouches for them, and appeals to eye-witnesses), then this corresponds well with the nature of the σημεῖον, which was to precede the destruction of Jerusalem. The objection of De Wette, viz. that 'the meteoric phenomena are already disposed of in the preceding verse,' will not apply to the present case. There the sun, moon and stars are treated of; but here are phenomena of a different kind. It seems to me, that those who believe that the verses before us relate to the destruction of Jerusalem, may find in these phenomena a sufficient indication, that the Son of man was indeed coming, to punish a hypocritical and ungodly people. If several of the things mentioned by Josephus may be accounted for on natural grounds, yet the preternatural brightness and long continuance of the so-called star and comet, as also of the illumination in the temple, and the voice from the most holy place, if real facts, cannot be solved by any aid of philosophy. Considering the nature of the occasion, it would not seem incredible that some extraordinary indications should be made of the great events about to take place. But every one must decide for himself, whether he will admit or reject the account of Josephus. But, it is time to resume our exegesis.

Many of the Christian fathers maintain that *sign* here means the *cross*, e. g. such as is said to have appeared to Constantine. Some

¹ Jewish War, VI. 5.

recent critics declare for the star predicted by Balaam, as related in Num. 24: 17, and which appeared to the wise men of the East at the birth of Christ. But how could the generation living seventy years after this, viz. at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed, be said to see this star? Besides, this was no token of *judgment*, but of mercy. Finally, some critics represent *the sign of the Son of man* as being merely a periphrasis, designating the Son of man himself. But to such a periphrasis the Bible is elsewhere a stranger; and what is still more, the Son of man himself is said to appear *afterwards* (τότε), i. e. in the midst of the weeping of the tribes occasioned by the σημεῖον. All these explications are quite inapposite and unsatisfactory.

I imagine that this phraseology (peculiar to Matthew alone), is best explained by a reference to Matt. 24: 3, where the disciples are said to have asked Jesus: *Τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας*, i. e. What is the *sign* of thy coming? They doubtless expected a sign, i. e. a symbol, an admonitory token or pledge, of some extraordinary nature, which was to be the forerunner of his appearance. But we can only conjecture what this was to be; for the Evangelist has not told us, nor did the disciples designate any particular sign. Not improbably, therefore, it was some *Shechinah*, i. e. some supernatural brightness or splendor, such as the Old Testament everywhere ascribes to the appearance of the Godhead, or of his commissioned *presence-angel*. Or if not this alone, then it might be this in connection with clouds and thunder and lightning, as on mount Sinai. The Son of man is coming to punish, and therefore the premonitory token of his approach must be such an one as to inspire terror. We may then, as I have already said, consider it as by no means improbable, that *sign* in this case means, in its primary sense, some *preternatural brightness* like what Ezekiel saw, or something like the thick dark clouds, ominous of lightning and tempest and hail, such as are presented to our view in Ps. 18: 11—14. The imagery (for such no doubt it is), is selected from some phenomena of this nature, and is indicative throughout of punitive justice. The sequel will help to confirm this. Possibly the suggestion of Elsner may be admitted. He supposes, that the prodigies which appeared before the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the account of Josephus, may have been the σημεῖον which was to appear. The Jewish historian relates what he declares to be vouched for by eye-witnesses then living, and relates it as worthy of entire credit. He says, that just before the destruction of Jerusalem, “a star appeared over the city like to a sword;

also a comet continued to be seen for a whole year; and at the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth of April, at nine of the clock at night, a light so bright shone around the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be splendid day; and this light continued until midnight. . . . Before the setting of the sun, chariots appeared in the air around the whole region, and armed bands floated in the clouds and surrounded the city. On the festal day of Pentecost, the priests, having entered the inner temple by night for the performance of their services, perceived a moving of the place, and then a sudden cry of *Let us depart hence!* What was more horrible still, a certain Jesus, son of Ananus, a rustic, four years before the war, while the city was quiet and flourishing, coming to the feast, began of a sudden, in the midst of the services, to exclaim: A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds — against Jerusalem and the temple, against the bridegroom and the bride, against this whole people!" Josephus then relates, how this same individual continued, in spite of severe stripes and imprisonment, to cry out continually: Woe! woe to Jerusalem! through seven years and five months. At last, mounting the walls and crying out in like manner, he finally added: Woe to myself! when a stone from a Roman catapult struck and killed him. De Bell. Jud. VII. c. 11. ed. Francov.

(6) "*Then shall all the tribes of the land weep*" (*κόψονται, shall beat themselves*, i. e. strike upon their breasts or heads, through grief). A strong expression of terror and dreadful apprehension. But who are they that exhibit these tokens of dread? *The tribes* (*φυλαί*), viz. of Israel; for so the word nearly always means, unless other words in the context necessarily open wide the sense of it into *nation* or *people*. Of course if the *Jewish tribes* are meant here (as I cannot doubt they are), then *τῆς γῆς* must be limited, as it is times almost without number, in both Testaments, to the land of Palestine. Besides, the *appearance* first of the *sign* of the Son of man, and then of the *Son of man himself*, shows that the phenomena have a *locality* attached to them. If so, i. e. if they were *local* phenomena, then how could all the tribes of the earth (*τῆς γῆς* in the widest sense) see these phenomena, and bewail themselves because of them? The *literal* sense therefore, in the present case, would be an impossible sense, in its present connection.

(7) The premonitory sign has thrown all the inhabitants of the land into consternation; how much more so, when in the sequel they see "*the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven, with a host and much glory.*" Matthew says: *On the clouds, ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν*; Mark

says : *ἐν νεφέλαις*, in clouds ; Luke : *ἐν νεφελῇ*, lit. in a cloud. There is no difference between them, however, even of the least importance. Like Jehovah (Ps. 18: 11. Is. 19: 1), the Son of man rides on a cloud, and is surrounded by it. He comes accompanied by a *δύναμις* of attendants, i. e. with a *powerful host* of angels. That *δύναμις* is often employed in this sense, is quite plain. That such an attendance is a familiar idea in the Gospels, may be seen in v. 31, *τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ*, also in Matt. 13: 41. 16: 27. 25: 31.—*Much glory* means great splendor, such as we may well suppose would belong to the great Leader and his accompanying forces or angels, on such an occasion.

Having now come to the close of v. 30, let us stop for a moment in order to make a few inquiries. How, after the *literal* shaking out and falling of the stars, by which this world would be crushed to atoms and ground finer than powder—how comes it that there are tribes still left to wail? How, that there are any left to see the approaching Son of man? Questions that need no answer; and which cannot receive one which favors the *literal* scheme. All, all has and must have a modified, and, in regard to some particulars, a *tropical*, sense, or else it has no sense. We advance to v. 31.

(8) "*He shall send his angels with the loud sound of a trumpet.*" The angels are always at his bidding, "swift to do his will." But the *trumpet*? A literal one? And the *time*? Is it at the general judgment? Then how can the *literal* sound of a trumpet reach the ears of the unnumbered dead, who have slept in dust for thousands of years? The bare idea, if literally taken, is of course a manifest absurdity.

(9) "*And they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the extremities of the heavens unto their extremities.* From the *four winds* means, from every direction. Four points constituted the whole *compass* of the Hebrews. But what, *literally*, are "the extremities of the heavens?" Do the elect live there, so as to be summoned from those places? or have they died, and then been buried there? The *extremities of the heavens*, if literally taken, would be we hardly know where. The *fixed stars* are a part of the Hebrew heavens; and can our text mean from their extremities? Surely not. The phrase merely means, from one extremity of the earth to the opposite one, wherever the elect may be found; at least it means so, in case a *universal* gathering is meant here. I suppose Mark has explained it by saying: "From the extremity of the land, to the extremity of heaven." But is this *gathering together* to be interpreted as *literal*? Or does it mean, the affording to them an asylum or

place of refuge from the evils which would overtake the wicked, like the promise that the Messiah should "*gather* the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom?" Is. 40: 11. If a literal gathering is intended, one which is for the general judgment, then must a *resurrection* first take place. But not a word of this in our text or context. Besides, the gathering for the general judgment, according to Matt. 25: 31, will be of *all nations*, i. e. of all both good and bad. So in John 5: 28, 29. Rev. 20: 12, which make this certain. Both are to be judged. Yet not a word about the wicked in the present case, nor of any separation of the righteous from the wicked. For what purpose then are the righteous, i. e. the *elect*, assembled? The Evangelist expressly designates none, but leaves the purpose to be deduced from the context. But where, in the context, is there intimation made of a general judgment, or even of the end of the natural world? I can find none. And would the account of such a matter be thus left, with less than half of it told, if it is really begun in vs. 29—31, and these have respect to the final judgment?

The result then of an examination of the *literal* sense here, with respect to a general judgment, presents us with not only the greatest improbabilities, but with downright and numerous *impossibilities*. If the language applies at all to a general judgment, it must be in the way of *trope* or *metaphor*. It is plainly possible, in this way, to give the passage such an interpretation as to make it, so far as the figurative expressions merely are concerned, consistent with the preparatory events of the general judgment, or the preparatory measures for entering upon it. But is there anything in all this description, which may not apply to *civil, political and natural changes and commotions*? This is the next great and very important question. I apprehend it may be satisfactorily answered; and I now proceed to undertake the task.

It has been alleged, that the language in Matthew is such, that it can never be reconciled with the idea, that the destruction of Jerusalem is principally or solely the object to which it refers.

But what, now, if we repeatedly find the same language employed elsewhere in the Bible, in reference to great changes and catastrophes of a civil and social nature? What, if it is applied merely to the devastations of locusts, as well as to the destruction of cities and nations? If such be the case, then the whole assumption that the language in the prophecy before us is infinitely too bold and strong to indicate any terrestrial occurrences, is nothing more than assumption. *Facts*, in the usage of the sacred writers, disprove this assumption and the assertion implied in it.

Let us look at them. Is. xiii. and xiv. obviously and confessedly have respect to the invasion and destruction of Babylon. In describing this "day of the Lord" (a phrase always indicating punishment, condemnation, and the like), the prophet says: "Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light: the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine." Is. 13: 9, 10. Here v. 10 contains the very same imagery which is employed in Matt. 24: 29. The mode of expression in Isaiah, respecting the stars and constellations, is somewhat different from that in Matthew, but the fundamental idea is the same, viz. the extinction of light. In regard to the sun and moon, the passages in both are nearly identical. All this, be it remembered, as introductory merely to the capture and destruction of Babylon; an event of less significance to a Hebrew, than the destruction of Jerusalem.

In Is. xxiv. the desolation and destruction of Jerusalem are predicted. In vs. 19, 20, 23, we find the following declarations: "The earth is utterly broken down, the earth is clean dissolved, the earth is moved exceedingly. The earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, it shall be removed like a cottage. . . . Then the sun and moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in mount Zion," etc. Here are events which, if literally understood, are no less astonishing than those described in Matt. 24: 29. 'The earth is *dissolved* — it is *removed* like a cottage. The sun and moon are ashamed;' implying that they will hide their faces, or suffer eclipse, as in Matthew. All this too, with reference to the ancient desolation of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon.

In Ezek. xxxii. is a description of the fall of Egypt. Vs. 7, 8, speak as follows: "When I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness on thy land." This, be it noted, has respect only to the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar.

In Joel 2: 30, 31, it is said: "I will show wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come." In Acts 2: 16—20, Peter is represented as quoting this passage with some of its preceding context,

and applying the whole to the occurrences then taking place, and about to take place, in Palestine, viz. the miraculous effusion of the Spirit, and the great changes of things in Palestine, which were soon to follow. In other words, we have again, in the verse just quoted, another declaration of the judgments of God on Jerusalem. The language did not seem inapposite to the apostle, as having respect to terrestrial occurrences; why then should we decline to apply it in the same way?

In Joel iii. judgments are announced against the heathen, who at some future day would come up against Jerusalem. Their excision is described as being accompanied by some wonderful phenomena. V. 14 says: "The sun and moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withhold their shining." The specific destruction here aimed at is not pointed out in a definite way; but that the whole is a *terrestrial* matter, is quite plain from the context.

Again, in Joel ii. is a vivid description of wasting and desolation by locusts. When these come to devour, the prophet says (v. 10), that "the earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble; the sun and moon shall be dark; and the stars shall withdraw their shining." Here then, merely in regard to the ravages of locusts, are the very same images presented in Matt. 24: 29. If the fall of Jerusalem is an event so infinitely below the meaning of Matt. 24: 29, what shall be said of merely a famine and ravages occasioned by locusts? Are they more dignified, more lamentably significant? This will hardly be said. Consequently, even great natural evils, and merely such, may have such language applied to them, and it is applied to them, by the prophets. If so, then surely it may be applied to the final destruction of Jerusalem and its temple.

Other passages of like tenor might be cited. Speaking of the sore chastisement of Israel, Amos says: "I [the Lord God] will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in a clear day." The like imagery is found in many other places. All this goes now to illustrate and establish the principle, that the Hebrews regarded changes in the celestial physical world, as accompanying and indicative of great changes in the natural or political one. Eclipses inspired them with dread and horror; meteors were still more the objects of fear, as coming nearer to them. Hence these things became a common fund of imagery for vivid, and specially for poetic, description of what was dreadful. Different writers drew from the same fund, and applied what they drew to different catastrophes and overturns. Now Babylon, then Egypt, then the rebel-

lions Jews, and anon the devastations of the locusts, and the like, are all objects to which the same or the like language is applied. When poetically or figuratively employed, the amount of such descriptions is substantially this, viz. that what such changes in the heavenly bodies would be to the luminaries of the sky, the impending changes and catastrophes political and natural will be to the objects respectively concerned with those changes. Or, to express the idea in a different way; changes as great and fatal to this city or that, to this nation or that, are taking place, or are about to take place, as would be brought about among the heavenly luminaries by the concussions and eclipses which are brought to view.

It is easy now to see, how such a generic source of imagery is applicable to a great variety of catastrophes. But these must all have respect to *important* objects. In other words, the changes must be of great magnitude and of serious consequence. Otherwise the application of such language would savor of the swelling or bombastic in style. And so we always find the language in question applied. The destruction of capital cities, the wasting of nations, or the terrible famine and pestilence which follow in the train of ravages by a boundless host of locusts, are such events as are connected with the use of the descriptive language in question.

Thus far then it is clear as the light, that such imagery as we have in Matt. 24: 29, may be and is actually applied to events and occurrences like that of the destruction of Jerusalem. In most cases where it is employed, the subject-matter is even less grave and important than the final desolation of the holy city. Thus far then, there seems not to be any ground for the conclusion, that the imagery is infinitely above the supposed subject-matter of it, viz. the destruction of Jerusalem. Indeed, there can be no room for doubt, at all events, that the imagery in Matt. 24: 29, is employed in the same way as in the Hebrew prophets, and for the same purpose. The whole thing lies before us. It is little more, as it is presented by Matthew, than a transcript of the like Old Testament descriptions.

Let us now advance to the next verse, v. 30. Here a new turn is given to the description, and a new personage introduced, of whom the Old Testament speaks seldom, and indeed contains little or nothing, in regard to the particulars of his appearance to punish his enemies. Often does it speak of him, indeed, as a rewarder, a vindicator of his people; and an avenger in respect to the enemies of the church. But the *modus* of being or doing all this, is not a subject of Old Testament instruction or declaration. Of course, a good part of

v. 30 stands on its own particular basis, without special analogies in the ancient Scriptures. Still, we have already seen, that a literal exegesis of this would involve some great absurdities and impossibilities. Some *matter of fact*, some *substance*, lies of course at the bottom of the expressions; for there can be no significant imagery, where there is nothing substantial or real to which it applies. But *costume* does not constitute *person*. There may be a variety of the first, where the last remains the same.

There is not, indeed, in v. 30, much which might not be supposed literally to take place, were it not that the preceding context, if in like manner literally construed, leaves no room, for example, for the existence at that time of any tribes in the land who shall mourn. The whole earth has already been crushed to atoms. The *sign* of the coming of the Son of man might be a visible one (for aught we know it was so); but it could not be seen by all the world in its *locality*; and this locality is a necessary incident of it, if it is visible to the eye. It must be limited to comparatively narrow bounds. The *sign* (whatever it may be) is a reality; the weeping is a reality; but the local visibility in the one case, and therefore the extent of the weeping in the other, do neither of them comport with the occurrences of the general judgment.

Next, the Son of man is seen, *coming in the clouds of heaven*. This is specially relied on as altogether inapplicable to the destruction of Jerusalem. We are told that 'no such event took place; and that therefore the Saviour could not have designed to apply it to anything but his final coming.' Yet the cogency of this meaning must depend entirely on the fact, whether Christ meant to be *literally* or *figuratively* understood.

The Bible elsewhere speaks in the like way, without leaving us any room to suppose that the *coming* in this manner was a visible one. The language of the Bible respecting the *coming* of God or of Christ, is sufficiently frequent and intelligible to enable us rightly to understand it. In Scripture language, God *comes*, whenever he proceeds to do or execute any purpose of his will in respect to men. When Babel was built, "the Lord *came down* to see the city and the tower," Gen. 11: 5. Again, he said: "Let us *go down* and confound their language," v. 7. When Sodom and Gomorrah had provoked his righteous anger, he said: "I will *go down* now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it," Gen. 18: 21. When Israel was oppressed by the Egyptians, God said to Moses: "I am *come down* to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians,"

Ex. 3: 8. - The Lord said to Moses, respecting the Egyptians: "About midnight *will I go out* into the midst of Egypt, and all the first born shall die," Ex. 11: 5. The Lord *came down* upon mount Sinai, Ex. 19: 18, 20. Again, in writing the Law a second time "he *came down*" on the same mountain, Ex. 24: 5. When Miriam and Aaron murmured against Moses, "the Lord *came down* in the pillar of a cloud," Num. 12: 5. In Num. 22: 9 it is said: "And God *came* to Balaam and said." So "the Lord *came* from Sinai," Deut. 33: 2. Again: "Lord, when thou *wentest out* from Seir, when thou *didst march out* of the field of Edom," Judg. 5: 4. So Hab. 3: 3, "God *came* from Teman." Ps. 68: 7, "O God! when thou *wentest forth* before thy people, when thou *didst march* through the wilderness." Is. 64: 1, 3, "Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest *come down*! . . . Thou *didst come down*."

These are only a few of the abounding specimens of the like mode of expression, in the Old Testament. But they are enough. In a few cases, and only a few, there is some visibility of the *σμεῖα* or *tokens* of God's coming; e. g. cases like the development on mount Sinai, where all Israel saw the clouds and the lightning, and heard the thunder. But inasmuch as God is a *spirit*, and by his very nature is himself invisible to mortal eyes, it is contrary to all sound principles of exegesis to interpret the examples or declarations of his coming in general, as having respect to *ὁρατά*, i. e. to *things* visible to the natural eye, unless the context obliges us to believe, that the *σμεῖα* of his presence were visible. What said he to Moses, when the latter requested that he would show him his glory? He said: "Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live," Ex. 33: 20. Paul calls him "the King *invisible*," 1 Tim. 1: 17. He says of him: "Whom no man hath seen, or can see and live," 1 Tim. 6: 16. John says: "No man hath seen God," 1 John 4: 12, 20. Of course, all those passages which speak of him as *seen*, are not to be *literally* interpreted; but they refer either to some symbol by which God manifested himself, or to a mental apperception of his presence. Even so when God is said to *come*. When men accomplish anything by their own efforts, they must first approach the object of action, and be present so that they may act; for they cannot act where they are not. The like now is said, in an anthropopathic way, of God himself. He is spoken of *more humano*. But we are never to suppose an actual and *visible* coming, except by symbols. God is always and everywhere present, and cannot *come* or *go*, in the literal sense. Of course, we are not at liberty to give such passages a *literal* interpretation.

Enough for the Old Testament usage; let us now come to the New. Further inquiries respecting the *coming* in general of the divine Being, are unnecessary. The only question now is, whether there be any other than a *visible coming* of Christ spoken of in the New Testament. If there be plain and indubitable cases of such a nature (and it seems plain that there are), then it does by no means become a matter of necessity, that the *coming* of Christ in Matt. 24: 30 should be interpreted in its literal sense, and thus be referred to the general judgment.

Christ said to his disciples: "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will *come again*, and receive you to myself," John 14: 3. Did he come then in *propria persona* and visibly, when each of his disciples died, and take them to himself in this way? Again: "I will not leave you comfortless; I will *come* to you," v. 18. In v. 23 is a still stronger expression: "If any man love me, he will keep my words; and my father will love him, and we will *come* to him, and make our *abode* with him." And was this a literal, bodily, visible coming? Again: "If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will *come in* to him, and will sup with him," Rev. 3: 20. And is this literal? In John 21: 22 is a very significant passage. "And Jesus said: If I will that he tarry until I *come*, what is that to thee?" John's fellow disciples spread abroad a report from this, that the Saviour had said to him, that he should not die. But John himself remarks, that "Jesus did not say, 'He shall not die,' but, 'If I will that he tarry till I *come*, what is that to thee?'" v. 23. In other words, John understood Jesus not as promising exemption from death, but only that he should live until his *coming*. And when, now, was that to be? If his coming meant the general judgment, then John would not have to die at all; for saints then alive were not to die, but to be immediately "caught up to meet the Lord in the air," doubtless with an appropriate metamorphosis. The *coming* in question, then, *after* which John was to die and not before, must have been some coming during that generation. And what else could it be referred to, except to his coming to punish the unbelieving Jews?

In Matt. 16: 28 is an instructive passage: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." Mark says, in the parallel passage (9: 1): "Till they see the kingdom of God come with power;" and Luke says: "Till they see the kingdom of God," 9: 27. The *coming of the Son of man* in Matthew is not therefore a *visible coming*, but a coming through the power and efficacy of gospel-truth.

At the close of the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. 25: 13), Christ says to his disciples: "Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour, wherein the Son of man *cometh*." If now this exhortation was addressed to the disciples as having respect to practical duty, and was uttered for the reason assigned, then it follows, that the *coming* of Christ here must be some other coming than the final one to general judgment. If not, then Christ, as it would seem, was himself mistaken, and also led his disciples into error. How could he speak of their living on the watch and in constant expectation of his coming, when that coming was to take place some thousands of years at least, and perhaps thousands of ages, after they were all dead? There is no other alternative here. Either the Saviour was mistaken, and led his disciples into error, or else the *coming* in question was different from the final one. A pious fraud, for the sake of making his disciples watchful, is inadmissible, and utterly incompatible with the character of him "who knew no guile." I understand this passage, therefore, as I do the declaration of Christ to his apostles (John 14: 3), that "he is going away to prepare a place for them, but will *come again*, and receive them unto himself." He *comes* to each of his disciples, when he removes them to another world and to another service in his heavenly presence.

In the very chapter before us, in the first portion of it, which nearly all interpreters refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, it is said: "This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and *then shall the end come*," v. 14. Yet the Apocalypse teaches us, that after the spread of the Gospel among all nations, a thousand years at least are to follow, before the general judgment comes. The literal *end of the world*, then, that is of the earth in general, is not the subject of mention or allusion here; for the end here mentioned is one which is speedily to follow the general diffusion of the Gospel among the gentiles. This took place before the destruction of the Jewish capital and commonwealth. Paul says, that the messengers of gospel-truth had caused "their sound to go forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world," Rom. 10: 18. Again he says of the Gospel, that it is come to the Colossians, and "into all the world," Col. 1: 5, 6; and again, that it was "preached to every creature under heaven," v. 28. There is no difficulty, therefore, in the expression in Matt. 24: 14, viz. "preached in all the world." This was done, in the sense intended by the sacred writers, before the *end* here spoken of came; and then, soon afterwards, this end did come. If it were different

from the *end* which the disciples had in view, in their question (v. 3) about "the end of the world," it matters not. (It has not yet been duly shown that it is different.) They might, while as yet uninstructed on this point, have erroneous views about the matter; but we cannot ascribe such mistakes to the Saviour.

There are then *comings* of Christ spoken of in the New Testament, at the death of each believer; a coming in order to commune with each (*sup with him*, Rev. 3: 20); a coming at the destruction of Jerusalem, Matt. 24: 27. This last text, viz. "So shall the *coming* of the Son of man be," belongs to that part of the chapter which has respect to the destruction of Jerusalem; for it is conceded that the transition to a description of the judgment-day, is made at v. 29. Here then, at all events, is a coming which is not visible and literal. And such is the case with every one of the passages already quoted. A personal visible coming cannot be supposed in any one of these cases; certainly not if we give heed to the words of Peter in Acts 3: 21. He says: "Jesus Christ . . . *whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things*," i. e. until "the new heavens and the new earth are created." Other passages might easily be adduced. But enough for our present purpose are already before us.

Plainly then there are *comings* of Christ, which are not *visible* to the fleshly eye. This is quite certain. God is often spoken of, also, as coming, where there is no visible appearance, no literal coming. Therefore when Manoah said to his wife: "We shall surely die because we have *seen* God" (Judg. 13: 22); when Isaiah said: "Mine eyes have *seen* the King, the Lord of hosts" (Is. 6: 5); when it is said that Moses and the seventy elders of Israel "*saw* the God of Israel" (Ex. 24: 9, 10); we cannot suppose that the *invisible* God himself was actually seen with the bodily eye, or in a literal sense. Some *symbol* of God might, perhaps, have been so seen, in these cases; but a strong mental apperception of his immediate presence, would be sufficient to warrant the expression of *seeing* him, according to Hebrew usage. Who does not know that *internal seeing* is everywhere spoken of in the Scriptures?

It is manifest, then, that we are under no necessity of regarding the *coming* of Christ as visible to the bodily eye; in other words, we are not at all warranted in the assertion, that these descriptions *must* be literally understood. His coming, and the seeing or perception of him as coming, by witnessing the effects which followed the chastisements inflicted by him, may be asserted as in Matt. 24: 30, without

any design to make the impression that it is literally and optically visible.

If this is so, then his *coming in the clouds visibly* cannot be proved from the passage before us. The question is, whether this costume, designed to convey an impression of his regal majesty and exaltation, is to be literally or figuratively understood. In the case of the theophany at Sinai, we are told (Ex. 19: 16), that "there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount." Here then there was, no doubt, a *visibility* of these objects, which was perceived by the natural eyes of the Israelitish camp. God had before said to Moses (v. 9): "Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud." So also, when Moses went a second time into the mount, "the Lord descended in a cloud, and stood with him there," Ex. 34: 5. In this last case, it seems quite probable, that there was a visible cloud in the sight of the camp, and for the sake of the people. Not improbably it was the same in a similar case (Num. 11: 25), where it is said: "The Lord came down in a cloud." This was in order to speak to Moses and the seventy elders, in the presence of the people, and thus make a deep impression on them. In the case of murmuring by Aaron and Miriam against Moses, a like descent "in the pillar of a cloud" was made, in order to rebuke them, Num. 12: 5. But there are other cases, where no *visible* cloud or coming was seen, and yet the like language is employed. Psalm 18: 9—13 presents us with a signal instance of this nature. The introduction to this Psalm tells us, that it was composed in commemoration of the deliverance of David "from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul." Here Jehovah is said to "bow the heavens and come down; darkness is under his feet." Mounted on a chariot supported by cherubim, with "dark waters and thick clouds of the skies around him," he moved swiftly on, "thundering in the heavens, and shooting forth his lightnings." And yet, not anything of all this was *visible* or *palpable*, when David experienced deliverance. This is not even pretended. The literal meaning is out of all question. The whole is costume. There is indeed a *person* beneath, so to speak. The *fact*, which was palpable and certain, was the *deliverance* itself—the deliverance at times of great peril and extreme danger, which was brought about by special divine interposition and aid. No ordinary language in describing this, would satisfy the feelings of David. Jehovah, his deliverer, is therefore portrayed in all the colors of awful majesty and might; and in an attitude adapted to inspire all minds with awe and terror. And if God himself could be thus described, on an occasion

merely of David's victories through his aid, then why may not the Son of man, about to destroy Jerusalem, be portrayed in like manner? And all this, without any room for the conclusion, that the description must of necessity be literally understood?

So the Psalmist (97: 2): "Clouds and darkness are round about him," i. e. Jehovah. Not literally, I trust; for "God is light." Ezekiel, in trance or prophetic vision, saw "a whirlwind from the north, and a *great cloud*, and fire enfolding itself," Ezek. 1: 4. Again, when he saw "the glory of the Lord . . . the temple was filled with a *cloud*," 10: 4. All this was seen in a state of ecstasy, and therefore with the mental eye, and not with a bodily one. But in Is. 19: 1 is an example of such a description, that is altogether to our present purpose: "Behold the Lord *rideth on a swift cloud*, and shall *come* to Egypt." And is this to be literally interpreted? I trust not, by any considerate expositor. The Psalmist (104: 3) has given us the generic source of such language: "Who maketh the *clouds* his chariot." Costume like this fills the mind with reverential awe. Clouds, thunder, lightning and hail are the uniform accompaniments of the Divine majesty in the Scriptures, whenever he comes to punish. And since the Saviour has told us, that "the Son of man will come in the glory of his Father, with his angels" (Matt. 16: 27), why should it be strange that his coming is represented in the same manner as that of God in the Old Testament?

Any one, who has not carefully attended to this subject, will be surprised to find how often the imagery of a *cloud* (dark or bright as the case may be), is employed in the Scriptures. We will limit ourselves, for the present, merely to the New Testament. At the transfiguration of Christ, a bright cloud overshadowed him and his disciples; and from this the Father addressed him, Matt. 17: 5. Jesus said to the adjuring high-priest: "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man, sitting on the right hand of power, and *coming in the clouds of heaven*," Matt. 26: 64. YE *shall see*—was then the high priest to live until the day of judgment, that he might see such a coming? If it is said that he might see this after he was raised from the dead, at the final day, and that all others in like manner might then see it, the reply at hand is, that the descent of Christ is always represented as *preceding* the resurrection of the dead, and not as following it. The objector to the view which I have suggested, therefore, is chargeable with a *ὑστερον πρότερον* in this case. The obvious meaning of Matt. 26: 64 is, that the high priest and his coadjutors should personally witness the coming of Christ here spoken of. If so, what

else can it be, than his coming with great power, in order to destroy Jerusalem and the Jewish commonwealth? When Christ ascended to heaven from mount Olivet, "a cloud received him out of the sight" of the disciples, Acts 1: 9. Those who are alive at the day of judgment, "will be caught up in the clouds . . . to meet the Lord in the air." In Apoc. 1: 7, Christ, it is said, "will come in the clouds, and every eye shall see him, even they who pierced him, and all the tribes of the land shall wail on account of him,"—the very same description that is contained in our text, and referring to an event then near at hand, Rev. 1: 3, 1. 22: 10, 20.

In some of these cases there was doubtless a visible cloud; in others, not. But where it is not so, then does the costume or imagery of clouds adorn the picture, or make it awfully graphic, as the case may require. Beneath this costume, however, there is a *reality*; and what that is, must be judged of by the nature of the case.

Thus far, then, there is nothing to show that a literal sense *must* be put on Matt. 24: 30. There is clear and abundant evidence, moreover, that the language in question is often employed in a figurative and secondary sense. Consequently it may be so employed in Matt. 24: 30, in analogy with other like cases.

Nor does the adjunct *μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς* (*with a host and great splendor*), at all exempt the passage from a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem. "God came from Sinai with ten thousands of his holy ones," Deut. 33: 2. "When the Almighty scattered kings" before David, . . . "the chariots of God were twenty thousands, even thousands of angels," Ps. 68: 14, 17. Isaiah says (66: 15), that "the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind," i. e. chariots filled by angels. When the king of Syria was plotting against the life of Elisha, and some of his troops surrounded the city where the prophet was, he told his trembling and affrighted servant "not to fear, for they that were with them were more than they who were against them. . . . And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw, and behold, the mountain was full of horses of fire and chariots of fire," 2 Kings 6: 16, 17. In a chariot like these, Elijah ascended to heaven, 2 Kings 2: 11. "The angels of the Lord encamp around them who fear him," Ps. 34: 7. Zechariah saw angels in chariots, 6: 1—7. Angels are everywhere attendant on Christ. They announced his birth; they sang a welcome to it over the plains of Bethlehem. When Peter assailed the servant of the high priest who was about to arrest his Master, Christ rebuked him and said: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now

pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" Matt. 26: 53. The angels then were in waiting, and were at his bidding. "Angels came and ministered to him," after a forty-days' fast in the wilderness, Mark 1: 13. "Angels strengthened him," when he agonized in the garden of Gethsemane, Luke 22: 43. Angels opened the sepulchre, at his resurrection, Matt. 28: 2. Luke 24: 23. Well might he say to Nathaniel, at the opening of his ministry: "Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man," John 1: 51.

Such then was the *δύναμις* or *powerful force* which ever surrounded and accompanied the Saviour, at his bidding. Of course we might well expect that they would be with him, when he came to the terrible work of destroying his once favorite city and nation. Our English translation has obscured and hidden from the common reader the meaning of the word *δυνάμεως* in Matt. 24: 30. *Power* does not give the requisite sense, but *powerful host*, or (as we say) *powerful force*. In like manner do the angels accompany him at his final coming, Matt. 16: 27. 1 Thess. 4: 16. 2 Thess. 1: 7. But to deduce from all these declarations the *visibility* of angels; to interpret literally in this way, would be passing strange in most of the cases. In some, as in the case of Gabriel (Luke i.), and of the angels at the sepulchre, a visible form was doubtless assumed, for special purposes. But other cases are like that in 2 Kings 6: 17. "The horses and chariots were present, and were round about Elisha," yet his servant could not perceive them. A *reality* and a *visibility* are, or may be, two very different things. *Spirits* are realities, but not visibilities.

There is and can be no doubt, that Christ did come, in the Bible-sense of *coming*, to destroy Jerusalem; none, that the angels would on such an occasion be in attendance on him. What then remains, to vindicate v. 30 from the literal interpretation, but the clause *δόξης πολλῆς*, *much splendor*? Only a word, however, need be said of this. Whenever or wherever God, or his spiritual messengers are represented as making a special development, splendor, fire, light, bright radiance, in other words the Heb. כבוד, or the New Testament *δόξα*, always attends them. On this occasion, it being a mission to inflict desolating judgments, all the awful splendor of Sinai, or such as is depicted in Ps. 18: 8—13, or in Ezekiel i. and x., might well be expected. Splendor is a necessary accompaniment and complement of the picture. But the literal visibility of all this to the natural eye, i. e. the literal sense of the passage which requires that the objects

mentioned should thus be seen, is quite another question. I trust enough has been said to show that, if we may reason from analogical cases, no such interpretation is at all necessary.

But v. 31 still remains. This says: "He shall send his angels *with the sound of a great trumpet.*" Here, of course, is a recognition of the *dévauis* or *powerful host* who accompany him, in order to execute his will. What then is *the sound of the great trumpet*? Or (to begin with the scenes of the last day), what is "the trump of God" in 1 Thess. 4: 16; and "the last trump" in 1 Cor. 15: 52? Is it a literal trumpet, one literally heard by sleeping dust and ashes of countless millions? That would be verily a *forcible* exegesis, which would give *literal* ears and hearing to lifeless dust. But the last trumpet, in these two cases, is just as literal as the one now before us; and no more. In neither case can the language exhibit anything more than an illustration or simile, borrowed from the ancient use of trumpets. This was various. "The voice of a trumpet exceedingly loud" gave notice of the approach of Jehovah to mount Sinai, Ex. 19: 16. A still louder sound prepared for his communications there to Moses, v. 19. So in the Christophanies of the Apocalypse, Rev. 1: 10. 4: 1. Moses appointed trumpets for the signal to summon the assembly of the people; and to warn them when to begin the march of their camps. By the different sounds of these, all their movements were directed. Trumpets were blown to summon armies together, to direct their evolutions, and to proclaim the onset of battle. Nor was this all. The days of gladness and thanksgiving were ushered in with trumpets; as also the monthly feasts, and the fasts, Num. 10: 1—10. Joel 2: 1. The *sound of the trumpet* in the verse before us, resembles the latter class of these cases. It is not sounded on an occasion of impending contest, nor merely of alarm to the elect. It was a summons to *gather them together*, so to speak, that they might put themselves under the protection of the Son of man, while his judgments were abroad in the land. If, in the verse before us, it were a summons for the final judgment, why should not the *wicked* be gathered together, as well as the righteous? In Matt. 25: 31 seq., which clearly represents the general judgment, it is said, that "*all* nations shall be gathered together" before the Son of man. In John 5: 25—29 it is said: "*All* that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." Here then the trumpet-voice which summons to judgment, gathers *all* together, both the righteous and the wicked. Such also

is the representation in Dan. 12: 2. In Rev. 20: 12, John says, that in prophetic vision "he saw the dead, small and great, stand before God." For these, two books were opened, i. e. the one for the wicked, the other for the righteous. So in 2 Thess. 1: 7—10, the wicked and the righteous are both summoned, and both receive their appropriate final sentence. *But not a word in our text about both parties being summoned together.* Not a word about the *final* condemnation of the wicked; nor is anything but temporal evil that is to come upon them, implied in the preceding context. What should make this case so unlike all the others which I have just cited?

There is, however, a still more analogous case in Ps. 50: 5. The Psalmist is denouncing Divine judgments on the wicked, who are threatened in the sequel with being "torn in pieces," v. 22. But with the righteous the case is different. They are to be saved from the threatened evils. The Psalmist hears the Divine majesty giving commandment (doubtless to the angels), and saying: "*Gather my saints together* unto me, those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice." How *gather* them? Is the meaning *literal*, or *figurative*? Doubtless the latter; for an actual bodily assembling is surely not contemplated by the Psalmist. God is represented here as *coming*: "Our God shall come," v. 3. Then he commands his angels to "gather his saints together." And yet there are no visible angels here, and no physical assembling. Just so in Matt. 24: 31. The *gathering* is emblematical of promised *protection*. When the Saviour says, in the preceding context (Matt. 23: 37): "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . how often would I have *gathered thy children together*, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not," does he expect to be understood as meaning to designate a literal assembling of them? To what purpose could this be? Indeed, did any one who ever read this, attach such an idea to these words? I think not, because it would make no assignable pertinent meaning. If so, then we can have no difficulty as to the idea to be attached to the phrase *gathering together the elect*, in our text. As indicated by our Saviour's words, the brood of a hen are accustomed to gather under her wings for *protection*; little children gather around their parents instinctively in times of danger, for protection. The inhabitants of a country, when it was invaded, gathered together in their fortress for protection and safety. The elect of the Redeemer may therefore well be represented, at a time of desolation which was then approaching, as about to be "gathered in his arms and carried in his bosom." Just this same thing is predicted of the Redeemer, in Is.

40: 11: "He shall *gather* the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom." Is this now a *literal* gathering? If so, then is it a *literal* carrying in his bosom? But it is neither. It is figurative language borrowed from a gathering which is *literal*, and one for the purpose of protection. I do not see any room for doubt or hesitation here. As little can I see any, in the case now before us.

Finally, the elect are to be gathered "from (*ex*, *out of*) the four winds." Are there, in point of fact, no more than four? And if *literality* be insisted on, then we may ask, whether the elect live *in* those winds, and so are to be gathered *out of* them? But passing this as of little moment, we must of course accede to the Hebrew use of this phraseology; and this was such as that the meaning exactly corresponds with our expression: *From every quarter*. The same idea of *four*, is comprised in the English expression *quarter* (= *quartum*). But it has now lost its arithmetical meaning, and has come to designate something equivalent to the phrase: *From every direction*. In short, *four winds* are named, and four only, because four cardinal points include all the inferior ones.

A somewhat different idea is designated by the expression: "From the extremities of the heavens unto the extremities of them." *Literally*, what is the *extremity* of the heaven? That would be a difficult question indeed. Less difficult is it, however, to find out what the Hebrews meant by this phraseology. With them the earth was viewed as an extended plain, having finite, or rather definite bounds. The *extremity* was where the visible heaven or welkin comes down upon the earth, and makes boundaries for it. This great arch or visible heaven they regarded, as supported by pillars around and under its border. Thus Job: "The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astonished at his reproof," Job 26: 11. Thus the extremities of the heaven and of the earth were commensurate and conjoined. Hence we read of "the pillars of the *earth* that tremble" before God, Job 9: 6. Accordingly in Mark (13: 27), we have the phrase in question expressed thus: "From the extremity of the land unto the extremity of heaven." Except in *diction* merely, there is no difference between Matthew and Mark.

After all these explanations and modifications, we may now ask: What can be the meaning of *literally* gathering the *elect* from the very extremities of the earth and the heavens? Do they — will they live at the Arctic and Antarctic poles? These are extremities indeed; but not such ones as will be inhabited, methinks, when the trumpet shall sound for the assembling of the elect.

The simple idea of the two latter clauses is: 'From every quarter, and to the utmost extent where these elect are to be found.' De Wette puts the question here, as well he might: "For what purpose are the elect assembled?" His only answer is, that the disclosure breaks off here, and is resumed in 25: 31 seq. He hints indeed at a *first* resurrection of believers only, as being implied here; and he compares 1 Thess. 4: 17. 2 Thess. 2: 1, where he finds, as he believes, this sentiment. But all this gives us no satisfactory reason for abruptly breaking off the narrative, and then inserting immediately afterwards three parables which are monitory and hortatory, and finally, after a digression so long and partly irrelevant, returning at last to the work of completing the description, at the end of chap. xxv. Does not all this seem passing strange, in such a grave discourse? The theme is left *in medio cursu*; left just half finished, in case the general judgment be the subject of it; and left without a word to tell us what will be the future lot of the wicked. In all other cases, the representations of the general judgment bring to view the righteous and the wicked as *both gathered together* before the tribunal of Christ. Yet not a word of all this is here. How could the author quit his theme so abruptly, quit it *re infectâ*, and at the very time when most of all it becomes peculiarly interesting and awful?

It seems difficult of supposition, that any attentive and well-informed reader should not be impressed with such palpable defects and lack of congruity and symmetry as the verses before us exhibit, in case the general judgment be the subject of them. It would be like breaking off the Iliad before the slaying of Hector, and the subjugation of Troy. In what other part of the New Testament can be found such an abruptness and transition to another subject before the main object of any passage is developed, as takes place in the passage now under consideration, in case it relates to the general judgment?

Let us take the whole matter now, and place it in another light. If the destruction of the Jewish metropolis and commonwealth is admitted as the theme of the passage under discussion, then all is natural. The discourse itself of Jesus commences with his disciples calling his attention to the beauty of the temple and city. He tells them that all this is speedily to be marred and destroyed. They anxiously inquire when this will take place; what will be the sign of his coming, viz. in order to carry his threatening into execution; and lastly when the end of the *αἰών* would take place, 24: 1—3. This last word is indeed a somewhat difficult one. *Αἰών* originally means *age, perpetuity or eternity*; and these are its leading senses. So with the

Hebrew עֲוֹלָם. But the Hebrew word (and so the Chaldee) came, in process of time, to mean *world* among the Rabbins. The manner of this *derived* signification may be explained, as it seems to me, by a reference to such passages as Ecc. 1: 4, "The earth (i. e. the world) abideth *forever*." To call the world *perpetuity*, then, was an easy matter; and עֲוֹלָם may be viewed simply as an *attributive* designation = *the perpetual*. The same may be said of αἰών. Sometimes the secondary sense becomes enlarged, and means *the world with its cares, temptations, sins and sorrows*. In this sense it is called an *evil world*, Gal. 1: 4, and Satan is called the *god of this world*, because it is evil, 2 Cor. 4: 4. Looked at in this direction, αἰών seems at times to be equivalent also to the *world of men*; as when we say: 'The *whole world* knows or does so or so.' We can hardly give it any other sense in Eph. 2: 2, than *wicked generation* of living and acting men. Did the disciples so use it? This seems doubtful. But the Apostle (1 Cor. 10: 11) speaks of ensamples under the Old Testament dispensation "for our admonition, on whom τὰ τελεῖ τῶν αἰώνων have come," i. e. plainly the end of the *Jewish world* or *dispensation*. He speaks as though this were a familiar mode of phraseology. If so, then why, after all the instruction which Christ had given his disciples about his *new* kingdom and *new* dispensation — why may we not reasonably suppose that the disciples meant to ask a question pertaining to that αἰών, which was about to end? Plainly this would be altogether consonant with the drift of the preceding questions. There is nothing in the preceding part of Matthew's gospel, which leads us to the supposition, that Christ had taught the apostles, or that they believed, the final end of the world was to come at the commencement of the kingdom of heaven. He taught them, indeed, that there would, at some time, be an end of the world, and a general judgment, Matt. 13: 36—43. In Matt. 16: 27, "the Son of man coming in the glory of his Father, with his angels," and distributing rewards according to works, probably refers also to his final coming. But there v. 28 asserts another and a different thing, viz. that there "were some standing there, who should not taste of death till they should see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." The kingdom of Christ was then taking its rise, commencing and growing slowly during his incarnation. After this it was to come *with power*. Hence the duty of praying: Thy kingdom come! This is one of the ways, the first one, in which the Son of man was to come. A second way is the coming to take each disciple to himself, when he dies, John 14: 3. Another is the coming to destroy Jerusalem. Another is to be at

the Millennium. Then there is a *final* coming in the glory of his Father, to raise the dead and judge the world. I regard v. 28 here as serving merely to confirm what had been said in the preceding verse. It is as much as to say, the proof that he will finally come and judge the world, may be gathered from the fact, that his kingdom, according to his declaration, shall be firmly established before the generation then living should pass wholly away. This first coming would be the earnest or pledge of his future judicial proceedings and of his rewarding the righteous.

I know not whence then the conclusion is made out, that the disciples believed the judgment-day to be contemporaneous with the destruction of Jerusalem. There is nothing in chap. 24: 1—4 which leads to such a turn of the question on the part of the disciples. It is quite inapposite, unless we can make out a good reason to believe, that the disciples cherished the opinion attributed to them. And I cannot see why we should assume such an extravagant belief on their part, one which was plainly in contradiction to all the current opinions of the Jews of that period on this subject. They expected the Messianic time to continue, at least a thousand years. It was to be the *sabbath* of the world. Where did the apostles get the notion, that this period was to endure only one generation? Not from Jesus; he taught no such falsehood. Not from the Old Testament; for a *long* and prosperous reign is everywhere there given to the Messiah. Will the advocates of this notion, then, show us where the disciples could obtain it? Until they do, I must content myself with believing, that the *end of the world* means what it does in the mouth of Paul, 1 Cor. 10: 11, as quoted above. If so, then all is consonant and harmonious.

But let us go on with the discourse. False Christs are to come; wars are to be frequent; persecution will arise; false prophets will come; the Gospel will be preached wide abroad; the Roman army will invade Judaea; the disciples must flee for safety; false prophets will in vain promise the appearance of a Christ, i. e. of a deliverer; and finally, the coming of Christ to the work of desolation will be sudden and unexpected. The Roman eagles will pursue until they light upon the carcase which they intend to devour.

Thus far as an introduction to verses 29—31, on which I have now been commenting. Then comes the scene of the devouring. It will be a day of awful gloom, as if all the luminaries of the skies were extinguished. The signs that betoken the impending doom will fill the land with bitter mourning and lamentation. But in the midst

of all this, the elect, the true-hearted disciples of Christ, will be safe. His angels will guard them. *He will gather them under his protecting wing; "gather them with his arm, and carry them in his bosom."*

Here we have a beginning, a progress, and an end. At the end is comfort to the elect, and destruction to the wicked and malignant persecutors.

• [To be concluded.]

ARTICLE VI.

THE PRACTICAL ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY.

By Rev. Charles White, D. D., President of Wabash College, Ia.

DIVINE revelation may be regarded either as a body of truths for intellectual inquiry and admiration, or as a collection of rules and motives for the guidance of human life. These two aspects run into each other, but may be properly conceived of and spoken of separately. For its contemplative uses, religion cannot be too greatly esteemed and respected. Its lessons and influences, however, for this real, acting world, where we spend the preparatory portion of our being, are more immediately important and indispensable.

It is the happy feature of our time that religion, like science, has left her cloistered retreats and her abstruse speculations, and passed into the earnest, matter-of-fact concerns of mankind. This decided assumption of the practical on the part of religion, marks the present as a signal era, in her aggressive movements toward the conquest of the world. This was to have been unhesitatingly looked for by all the pious students of the Divine character. A visible and effective industry is a distinguishing attribute of the great Author of Christianity. Said Christ: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." This, that is, the Divine example, is the great principle of the universe. Christianity without practical bearings would have been an anomaly and a contradiction in the Divine dispensations.

We proceed to consider the *fact* and the *advantages* of a practical character in Christianity.

I. First, the *fact* of such a practical character.

One proof of this may be found in the mission itself which religion is to fulfil in the world. That mission is, in brief terms, to carry light, purity, happiness to the entire family of man. Its great work in this universal sphere is to wake all the immense tract of intellect that slumbers in the nations; to purify all the moral spirit that heaves and glows underneath it; to effect an intellectual and moral creation striking and illustrious like that of the six days of Omnipotence in the beginning. There is included, it is perceived, in such an immense accomplishment, a mission into every heart of a thousand millions, a mission into every such heart, as a place of evil spirits to cast them out, as a place of death to raise the dead, as a place vacant of all moral goodness to settle a family of affections fit for heaven. Such a mission to all that dwell on the face of the earth, a mission charged with such social, intellectual and moral regenerations, leaves no doubt of the character of religion being that of a great practical instrumentality.

A glance at the almost insuperable difficulties to be overcome in effecting the meliorating religious changes indicated, will serve farther to establish the practical nature of Christianity. The contentedness of ignorance with its own darkness; the depth of moral corruption; the inveteracy of human prejudice; the tendency of men to fatal forms of error; — these present obstacles and resistances which nothing but an agency most practical can remove. What pains and prayers and incessant persuasions are required to train one child to virtue? What practical power then is wanted to enter a *world* and cleanse all human thought, all human feeling, all human action? It is to be remembered that the world besides being purified is to be kept clean. Each thirty years presents another thousand millions for the action of Christianity. It has the same great regenerations to effect for each successive generation down to the end of the world. Religion, in order to such a vast and continued accomplishment, must be a perpetual as well as an immense activity.

The practical element in the system of Divine ethics appears in the prominence which it gives to the individual as a responsible actor.

Pantheism absorbs man in the Deity. God, according to this form of Atheism, is the immense ocean including all existence; man is a single drop of the grand universal mass, undistinguishable and irresponsible. Other forms of infidelity extinguish all but a single point of man's existence, by cutting off all of it lying beyond death, thus robbing him of immortality. To a being thus narrowed to a

hand-breadth, action or inaction, industry or indolence, have but a slender importance. The Socialists are in danger of sinking and paralysing the individual by lodging in a community nearly all his independent motives and responsibilities.

In all society constructed under despotisms, monarchies, titled aristocracies, the individual is generalized and much obscured in a great amalgamation known as the national character, will, government. In respect to all private interests, as well as public, the visible organ of authority, the representative of the empire, speaks, arranges, decides; the individual is scarcely known, consulted, cared for. Like one of the boxes or packages of a ship's cargo, he goes with the rest and partakes of the general destiny, not of his own will or wisdom, but simply because he chanced to be stowed away in the hold along with the common mass. Religion contemplates specially our individuality. It clusters upon man a large family of individual duties. It does not overlook his relations to society, nor remit or diminish one claim resting upon him to mingle and move with the mass of the community. But here, in this his social position, where he is wont to be counted, not as a whole but as a small augmentation of a whole, as an infinitesimal of the common mass of public feeling, public opinion, public influence—even here religion follows out her element, her commingled drop, arrests it, and legislates for it as a unit, an isolation! She invests her individual with full, undivided responsibility. She never permits him to merge himself with his fellows, corporate or non-corporate; she never permits a single particle of his conscience to be yielded up on his entering any fraternity; she never permits one item of service to be withheld on the plea that copartners are under equal obligation to perform it; she proposes to bestow her full glorious rewards on him singly, if he singly be worthy; she proposes all her woes to him singly, if singly he be unworthy. By thus separating men from masses and amalgamations, by thus setting down each man apart and constituting him an entirely accountably to breathe, to think, to desire, to will, to act, to attain, religion holds an influence in producing human activity of vast and incalculable power. Left with none to depend on but himself he must act, or gain nothing, he must act, or lose everything. No man has an oarsman to push him while he is asleep. He must up and strike for himself; lustily and alone must stem the tide or be swept on hopelessly into uselessness, ruin and oblivion. The associated fact, ever recognized in the Scriptures, if not by statement certainly by inference, that the great ends of life, not attained personally, are not attained at all; that who

succeeds not by his own labors has failed; and who wins not by his own prowess is defeated — this adds a perpetual and powerful influence to great and multiplied individual labors. The conscious dignity with which religion invests men, by investing them with this conscious individuality, is an additional inducement to human activity. As a self-constructing, self-acting, self-responsible isolation among the works and intelligences of God, man is intensely prompted in order to be worthy of himself, to attempt great outward efficiency and accomplishment. Brave a man may be, as an undistinguished ingredient of a body of soldiery; but detached and drawn forth singly for a daring exploit, the motive to chivalrous action is immensely augmented. By religion every man without exception is thus detailed and assigned singly to a momentous, a hazardous, a holy service. He feels the honor and importance of his position; he turns his eye upon the great interests dependent upon himself alone; his heart swells with noble, high purposes, as he thinks of the part committed all to himself to perform. Under a lofty and generous impulse, created by this consciousness of a great entrustment exclusively in his own hands, he will go out to almost incredible energies and labors.

Religion, by thus making every man an independent, responsible actor, has set up and secured in the world an agency capable of producing a religious industry and thrift and accomplishment as great and important as the world needs. What forbids that the earth should be all tilled and all be made fruitful even as a well-watered garden?

The practical bearing of religion is apparent from another fact, that it enjoins those internal states of the heart which are eminently fitted to produce action.

Whatever links and involves itself immediately and strongly with the warm workings of the soul, will always necessarily have an eminently active and practical character. The production of outward activities is on this wise. All feeling, all stirring in the heart, loves and demands an outward expression, an ostensible form. Emotion will not remain in the soul still and quiet permanently, any more than ignited gunpowder will smoulder slowly away without an external manifestation. Nor is the spirit's excitement content with the moving of particles among themselves as a mere ebullition; they swell up, run over, spread abroad; they create all around a rich scene of life and of fruit. Without emotions issuing thus into action, man would be, in respect to all other beings, if not in respect to himself, a mere physical structure, a mere block to move and be moved by im-

pact or attraction. But he is not such a thing; he is no block; he is a being of deep, vivacious sensibilities, every one of which is making outward demonstrations incessantly. Is it for a moment to be supposed or admitted that the human affections, in all other cases giving birth to vigorous activities, become inoperative lethargies the moment they have a religious character?— The moment they have a religious character they rise to intenser energies, superior stability. Especially do they make larger and more remarkable external exhibitions. Let us represent to ourselves, then, the assiduous labors, the crowded occupations to which men are pushed by their worldly passions in the absence of religious feeling. Let us mark how under the love of money man crosses all the lines of latitude and longitude; how impelled by a love of honor he goes up to the cannon's mouth; how under the impulses of a secular enterprise the earth is covered over with the traces of his presence and his industry; how the mark of his axe and his fire is left wherever he has pitched his tent; how, wherever he has favorably settled himself, dwellings, roads, harvests, cities, temples, exchanges, armaments, overthrows, reconstructions have invariably attended him. These are testimonies of his vast outward energies and achievements in obedience to the secular portion of his sensitive nature.

My allegation is that, equal to all this and greater than all this, and a thousand fold better than all this, are the active services which are produced by the emotions of religion. Affectionate reverence for God is one of these. Let the Divine character be opened gloriously to a susceptible, responsive understanding and heart, so that this affectionate reverence shall be deep and great; equally deep and great will be the active obedience that shall follow. There have been celebrated earthly captains, who had inspired such an enthusiasm and respect on the part of a subject people or an armed host, that their announced wish and will would instantly put millions in motion. Will not a fervent consecration of the heart to the great Sovereign of the world make his intimations more effective! Will not his presence and his word call out submissions and services greatly surpassing these in fidelity, importance and permanence? Think of a company of men; the Almighty in the midst of them; their souls all moved, thrilled, uplifted toward him! What will they shrink from to which their great Master calleth?

Another of the emotions of religion is a penitential feeling, a true contrition for all offences against the will of Heaven! Than this there is no more active a principle belonging to our nature. What

service does he not attempt whose spirit, for having neglected service or having committed wrong, is broken, deeply sorrowing! Nothing is so marked as his obediences, nothing so assiduous and careful and persevering. I would rather have a suffusion of the soul with sorrow for past misdoings to induce Christian duty, than all the developed terrors of the world to come, than all the opened glories of heaven. We sometimes see a man, with an energy and a perseverance and a vigilance above himself, doing whatever his hand findeth to do; undismayed, unceasing, uncomplaining we observe him in all circumstances whatsoever; so resolute and undiverted and effective is he as to arrest general attention. That man has just come from the confessional, the world's great confessional, the cross of Christ! Into the ear of mercy has he just uttered his penitential griefs for his many transgressions. These services that we witnessed were the works meet for repentance. Let the penitence of the church be quadrupled and her holy accomplishments will be probably fifty fold. And penitence is the grand fundamental inculcation of the Gospel, a great and radical element of a Christian character. Wherever Christianity passes and plants this contrition for sins deep in the heart of a community, we look with confidence for most visible external reformatiions.

But the great emotion of religion is benevolence. This cannot live in the heart unproductive of visible labors without acting contrary to its character. It is well-wishing to others; it is fellow-feeling; its objects are out of itself. In behalf of these it produces large and numerous visible exertions, according to intensity and opportunity. Were man a bundle of perfect selfishness, he would act vigorously on a sphere around him just so broad as to include every possible contributor to his own dear interests. This area would constantly change its dimensions as he fancied he might bless himself by extending or contracting it. So would his labors on the same field be diminished or increased on the same principle of personal advantage. How infinitely superior to this varying narrowness is the principle of benevolent feeling as a generator of human action. This has no change or contraction of boundaries. Wherever in the universal family of man good is needed, thither would it travel; every acre of the world would it plant thick with the trees of righteousness. It would permit nothing to abate its efforts but the diminution of human want and woe. As there is always a tide to stem, it never lays upon its oars. As human society is always full of evils, so it is always abroad with both hands full of blessings.

Better than statement or discussion here would be an actual example of practical results in matters of religion under the action of this principle. Let the life of Paul be that example. We set out with the Apostle, all fired with religious philanthropy, from the city of Antioch on the express business of carrying the religion of Christ through the provinces of Lesser Asia. In Pisidia he boldly preaches the name of Jesus; his person is insulted and his life endangered. He flees to Iconium and lifts up his voice to the people in behalf of the same cause; at the prospect of being stoned he escapes to Lystra, and there, in the midst of his proclamations, is actually stoned and drawn out of the city for dead. He revives, and after other efforts returns to Jerusalem and relates the story of his preaching, his sufferings and his deliverances. Now we cross with him the Aegean Sea, on the same holy errand as before. He first stops at Philippi and announces his great message of mercy from Heaven. Here, after being whipped cruelly, cast into prison, thrust into the inner dungeon, made fast in the stocks, he was delivered from his enemies and passed on to Amphipolis, Apollonia and Thessalonica, everywhere preaching the word. At the last city, the master of the house where he lodged, was dragged before the magistrate for admitting him within his doors. From the next place he is compelled to make his escape by a private journey, but not until he has fulfilled his mission to the people. Now he is in Athens, next at Corinth, in both places unfolding and discussing in his own warm, argumentative, impetuous eloquence, the Gospel of Christ. An insurrection in the latter drives him to Ephesus; from thence he passes to Jerusalem. Will he not now rest in the bosom of the church, and venture no more abroad to endure the malice and assaults of the enemies of the Gospel? Oh no! this is not the spirit of the Apostle to the Gentiles. Too ardent in his great mission to allow ease or rest, quickly we find him back again to Antioch; from thence he pushes through all the northern provinces of Asia Minor; stops two years at Ephesus, where he nearly loses his life in a great clamor and tumult raised against him. Next he visits Greece, travels over all Macedonia, then is at Corinth, then back to Macedonia, then through Asia visiting the cities on the Mediterranean; then again at Jerusalem. Here he is arrested and confined; after two years he proceeds bound to Rome. The undaunted Apostle preaches the kingdom of God in the imperial city two years, teaching with all confidence those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ.

Such was Paul under the impulsions of the grand passion of reli-

gion. No stonings, no exposures to wild beasts, no laboring with his own hands for support, no hunger or thirst, no imprisonment, no shipwrecks, no over-awing edicts of governors, no perils of robbers, no intrigues of false brethren, no maledictions of open foes, no solicitations of friends, produced the least discouragement or remission in his immense activities. Had these obstacles and persecutions been a hundred fold greater, if not positively insuperable and intolerable, he would have been the same man of ubiquity. The same cities and countries would have heard him thundering in the midst of all their corruptions and dissipations; courts and kings would have been startled with his unintimidated reasonings of righteousness, temperance and judgment. This too, be it remembered, was no peculiar enthusiasm which moved the Apostle of the Gentiles to such incredible exertions. True, it is a spirit which is mightiest in the mighty. In Paul's warm, vast heart it found a readier welcome and a richer nutrition than is generally afforded it; in his life it made grander demonstrations than is usual. But it is essentially the same powerful excitement and agency in every man whom it occupies at all. Suppose it actually to have effected a lodgment in every individual of a whole community, and to have set all stirring zealously forward after the manner of the great Apostle. The surface of society would present a scene of religious energies and accomplishments truly wonderful. Almost the industrious assiduities and ripe blessedness of Heaven would be there.

There is not a single emotion belonging to Christianity which is not in like manner productive of great and noble action. If in many instances religion in the hearts of men has not produced in the lives of men the fruits which ought to have been expected, it has not been owing to the lack of practical capability and tendency on the part of that religion itself, but to the feebleness of holy feeling in the soul, and also to wicked disobedience to what faint promptings did exist within.

It is to be also remembered that religion does not receive credit for all that she effects among men. Her accomplishments are not always so marked and striking as to be immediately and fully acknowledged. She has her noiseless labors, her invisible, permeating social influences, her unnoticed assiduities at the fireside, her created amenities in the retirement of humble life. Often by means of this busy interior working, there comes over the face of a community a delightful moral health, a refreshing benevolence and peace, while careless on-lookers are scarcely aware of the blessed power which has been quietly, unostentatiously producing the important change.

Let the soul of an individual or of a community be imbued as the spirit of God imbued, with a deep, living godliness, let both be true to themselves, and they will become but blessed personifications of religious energy. A scene full of works of faith and labors of love will ever rejoice around them.

Our conclusion is, that the Gospel, by arousing and appropriating to itself the most powerful and expansive passions of which man is capable, becomes the source of the highest and the widest outward accomplishments of which man is capable. Most clearly Christianity is not a thing for the monastic cell, not a thing for entombing in the interior heart, not for retirement within itself to live solely in its own fervors, joys, hopes. It is a family of outbursting emotions, to speak audibly in startling tones, to walk abroad among men, to act and energize among the elements of society, to effect a moral resurrection and life in the midst of reigning desolations.

The practical character of religion appears, also, from the nature of its doctrines. These are of decidedly active tendency.

In theological dogmas, more than anywhere else, we are to look, it has been supposed, for the mere theoretical of Christianity. Here, it has been understood, lie treasured sublime facts, deep philosophies, pure intellections solely for the mind's occupation and enjoyment, not for application to our earnest labors, physical or moral. Here cloistered fanatics have thought was food for the soul through a whole life of world-renunciation and world-abandonment. Religion has no such abstractions, no dogmatic and scholastic speculations separated from the serious duties of life. Were it admitted that possibly there may be doctrines in physics without practical bearings, Christianity claims to have no unfruitful principles; it insists everywhere that in respect to its revelations there can be no faith without works. Every one of its announcements has the form or the force of a precept or a motive, a direction or an impulsion to outward action.

A practical tendency will be admitted at once to belong to God's great moral laws with their impressive sanctions; to the developed methods of his providence; to the announced principles of right and wrong by which he governs and judges mankind; to the revealed conditions of mercy according to which he pardons, cleanses, justifies. These laws, dispensations, principles, conditions, recognize all human duty, address all human conscience, appeal to all human susceptibility of gratitude, involve all human interests. Both singly and unitedly they must, from their relations to us, very powerfully influence human action. If, therefore, among the revelations of Christianity there be

anything approximating to mere abstractions, mere matters of the mind's thought alone, apart from vigorous doing, it cannot be any of these promulgated laws, duties, sanctions, provisions of salvation, principles of providence, awards of government. It must rather be found connected with the Divine attributes. That an isolated perfection of Jehovah should stand in its infinite grandeur wholly unconnected with human activity, may seem perhaps a natural supposition. It is, however, undoubtedly a mistaken one. These attributes are in and of themselves great practical lessons in human duty; they are high and impressive motives to Christian diligence. Christianity represents them as everywhere present and everywhere most vigorously employed. We ourselves perceive that of the whole universe of matter and of mind nothing is still. Action is made to react, enterprise to beget enterprise, events to elaborate events, thought to generate thought, result to evolve result. And all this energy and movement and development and accomplishment, of which the heavens and the earth are full, the Scriptures counsel us to regard but the mighty and constant working of God's wisdom and goodness and power. Here is an ever-speaking rebuke of all our lethargy and idleness, a vast excitement to all practicable enterprise and industry. Who can stand still while his great Creator and Benefactor is busy at work all around him with an infinite skill, benevolence and energy?

The Divine perfections opened by Christianity arouse to effort and labor in another manner, by presenting to men a high and perfect standard of duty and character. The moral nature of the Deity, as one grand assemblage of excellencies, as one great glory to which each attribute contributes a separate pencil of rays, is too pure, exalted and impressive not to produce on the part of man a deep sense of delinquency and depravity, not to awake most earnest struggles after likeness of character.

Another practical tendency still have the attributes of God, from their bearing toward us as under religious responsibility. When God's omniscience is presented, an infinite, universal intelligence, from which no darkness can exclude, no distance remove, no secrecy escape, which is equally familiar with the hidden and the open, the minute and the vast, the heart and the life; when such a searching knowledge is presented by Christianity as ever looking down into the depths of our hearts and abroad over every portion of our earthly conduct, we are startled into solicitude and carefulness; we are awaked and pushed to great vigilance and exertion. When also by the same Christianity the high purity and justice of the Deity are

described as turning from our corrupted natures and evil lives with deep and utter loathing, and then issuing upon them both a dreadful, unmingled, eternal reprobation, we are still more intensely and permanently roused to cleanse thoroughly our hearts before God, to run unceasingly in the way of all his commandments.

In opening in upon the souls and the conduct of men, in this way, the all-seeing eye and the holy, just heart of the Eternal One, with attendant approvals and condemnations according to character, the Gospel has provided as powerful an inducement to laborious, untiring, serious industry, as it is possible for us to conceive. The same is true of all the "invisible things" of God. The doctrines of the Divine attributes, no less than theological tenets generally, are arguments for human action, manifest, strong, effective.

The plain, unmetaphysical manner employed by the Scriptures in announcing the doctrines of religion, give them this same practical aspect and tendency. Regeneration, for example, is not presented as a theological subtlety, involving the question of the subject's activity and passivity; of the exact division of labor between the Spirit and the sinner himself; of the change consisting in a new-implemented principle, or a new current of exercises; these matters are not discussed nor so much as alluded to. As a momentous practical concern it is everywhere treated. Has the moral resurrection taken place? Has the costume of darkness been laid aside, and the garments of light been put on? Has the convert stopped sinning? Is he abounding in the work of the Lord? Do grapes grow on the vine, sweet waters flow from the fountain? These are the great questions which the Scriptures present to be settled. Entirely practical are they all.

So of the resurrection. Religion presents this doctrine with no abstruse speculations on the subject of identity. It neither asks nor declares anything in respect to the rising with the same particles that were buried; concerning the rejunction of limbs and portions left on different continents; the reclaiming of human dust that had entered into different individuals successively. The presentation is fitted to have an impressive bearing upon our behavior. They that have done good shall come forth to the resurrection of life; they that have done evil shall come forth to the resurrection of damnation. With solemn emphasis it is practically inquired, what manner of persons therefore ought ye to be in all holy conversation. The doctrine is announced to regulate life; to induce arrangements for death and for a glorious appearing with him who is our Resurrection and our Life.

The doctrine of the atonement has the same practical mode of inculcation. Did the Saviour literally suffer the whole penalty of the law, so as to be in a strict and full sense the sinner's substitute? Can man on that ground put in any claim to heaven? If just penalty were not all endured, how could the remainder be remitted? Is the Saviour's own personal righteousness literally imputed to believers? Did the Divine nature suffer? If that is impossible, how could the sufferings of mere humanity be a satisfaction to Divine justice? Why should the innocent suffer for the guilty? Who has found a single one of these questions either propounded or satisfied in the sacred volume? In all simplicity is it announced as a great practical truth: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me; Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world; He that hath the Son hath life; He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; The love of Christ constraineth us." The simple doctrine, Christ crucified, unconnected with mystery or philosophy, is presented not only as a solid basis of all Christian reliance and hope, but as able to work a hearty abandonment of all wickedness; to lead men in the way of holiness; to act the part of a grand, constraining, moral power for the world.

In like manner is presented the general judgment, practically. No metaphysical curiosity is gratified in respect to time, place, practicability and uses of the final hearing before God. No question is answered as to the reason of bringing the guilty out before the universe, instead of permitting them to go silently and unnoticed to their fearful destiny; nor as to the reason that when once assigned to their last doom, they should be afterwards summoned before the Almighty for trial. Nothing of all this is found. But the great, solemn audit is referred to for the sake of an immediate influence upon the conduct and character of men. The scenes attendant, the revelation of all character, the separation of the righteous from the wicked, the final retribution, dreadful or glorious, the beginning of the eternal states of all the dead — these are announced to awake men to deep solicitude and watchfulness over the deeds done here in the body, so decisive of all questions and destinies before God; to present a vast incentive to every individual to make his ten pounds or five pounds gain other ten or other five; to induce men to perform assiduously, religiously the six great charities to the Saviour, when a hungered, athirst, a stranger, naked, sick, in prison; to arrest and awe and prostrate the world in actual, prevailing prayer before the throne, for mercy, sanctification and hope. The simple Scripture, "For we

must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ," exerts now and is adapted ever to exert a wide and amazing practical power over mankind.

The profoundest student and believer in Christian doctrine is likely to be the most assiduous observer of Christian precepts, the most valuable example of Christian practice. A grand working world this would be, were the doctrines of religion admitted to their full and rightful place in its communities. It is to be feared that they have not their proper prominence and power in the public preaching of the country. These neglected, practice dies, just as, when food is withdrawn, muscular action ceases.

II. I pass from the *fact* of the practical tendencies of religion, to a consideration of the *value* and *importance* of such tendencies.

The external services of Christianity render it capable of becoming an effective counteraction of all irreligion.

The powers of evil are decidedly practical. All the passions of vice produce the activities of vice; all the interior devisings of mischief appear in the outward accomplishments of mischief. Though in its grosser forms wickedness loves the night time and skulks in lanes and concealments, yet even from these places it steams up infections into the whole structure and movements of society. It finds its way in some of its forms into all the business and all the pleasures of life. It is upon all the currents of travel, and in all the bazars of traffic. It seems never to sleep, and never to suffer the least paralysis or remission. It is ever and everywhere on the alert. It is a busy, malicious meddler in the house and by the way, in the city and country, in the workshop and on the farm, in the counting-room of the merchant and in the office of the manufacturer. It does something to move the muscles and limbs of all communities. It speaks all languages. It knows the technicalities of all arts and professions. It sets up distilleries and grogeries and gambling houses. It patronizes theatres and circuses and duels and street fighting. It fills every community full with wrong and outrage.

Now religion was never expected to oppose and remove this active, universal mischief-doer, by nestling itself down cosily and quietly in a sweet, gentle corner of the human heart. It was not expected to do this by merely insinuating itself into the intellects of mankind as a passive faith in the great doctrines of Christianity. It was not expected to do this wholly by even the devotions and Divine communion permitted to the followers of Christ in the presence-chamber of God. These doctrines and these devotions, it is most true, are hea-

venly, are entirely essential ; they are the great frame and limbs and vital circulation and invigorating breathing of religion. But in order to compete with such a spirit and power of wickedness as the world is filled with, besides a strong structure and an interior vitality, religion must be an outwardly stirring, pushing, aggressive agency, and that beyond any other which is abroad in society. In the grand rush of the powers of evil, that must rush still more powerfully. Christianity must have more eyes out upon the scene of life, must employ more spades, pickaxes and drills to push moral thoroughfares and aid the travels and freights of philanthropy, than Satan can muster to assist the dissemination of iniquity and woe. This that it needs to do the practical character of religion, adapts and empowers it to accomplish perfectly. All that sin can do, religion can undo ; all its infections it can neutralize ; all its wastes and deaths restore.

There are special evils attendant upon the rapid advancement of society in general wealth and improvement. There come in, with this progress toward refinement, lavish expenditure, luxury, effeminate gratifications, dwarfed mind, neglect of life's serious duties, fatal religious opinions, depreciated integrity, general corruption. As an antidote to all these deteriorations, religion carries its practical agency into the busiest scenes of enterprise and advancement ; with all its industrial energies, sound practical teachings and transforming power, keeps up flush with the front rank of civilization. Expended, however, in desires, joys, hopes, blessed meditations, religion would have but little influence on the projecting, accomplishing generation of the present time.

The world all abroad on the currents and waves will pay its deference to religion, if it sees that also as one of life's craft dashing its way with other keels, and trying the same tides and winds. The world will even acknowledge superiority and accept a pilot from the sacred bark, if she is out in the ocean-roads, and at the mouths of the great havens and marts of commerce. But they will not run after her into coverts and eddies, or under the lee shores of promontories and islands. It is just the practical genius of Christianity, with her full sails set, to be visibly abroad where pass all the world's inbound and outbound cargoes ; it is just its practical genius to be out amid all the adventures, expeditions and movements of men, to convoy, to pilot, to moor. Let no one indulge fears for human society, except from the exclusion of true religion. Let this, in the use of its full energies, assist and augment all our thrift, consecrate all our enterprise, appropriate all our accumulations, dictate all our legislation,

breathe in all the eloquence of our orators, speak its authoritative lessons in all our pulpits, spread its purifying power everywhere, and all is safe, all is illustriously progressive.

The practicalness of Christianity makes it an important nourisher of piety in the heart.

It is an important principle in our moral constitution, that outward expressions of emotion become themselves stimulants of emotion. The reaction is as invariable and certain as the action. Excellent works minister nutrition and vigor to the interior powers of godliness, just as a thrifty foliage furnishes elaborated juices for the roots below. Emotions which are fainting and sinking, it is always found, can be immediately revived by carrying them into action; by giving them outward manifestations; by permitting them to breathe out audibly and visibly. Thus the obediences of Christianity work the spirit of Christianity; the visible doings of righteousness, the interior vitalities of righteousness. Not only does the practice of religion enrich the soul of religion, but in the absence of such practice, godliness shrinks and decays. The sensibility of the heart becomes effete when denied outward and visible activities, just as fires are suffocated when driven in upon themselves and pent up closely and fast.

The allegation is, therefore, that, both by positive enrichment and by preventing deterioration, godly doing creates godly feeling, so that he who is making a purity and a light around himself, is erecting a holiness and an illumination within himself. It is not enough at a safe distance inactively to survey human want and woe. Man must descend from his post of observation, and actually pass into every habitation of ignorance and sin, which the eye has surveyed. If one do this; if as an angel of mercy and of light he give himself to the great work of purifying and enlightening the whole population; if he carry instruction to all who will receive it; if he approach every corrupted one with holy and urgent counsels; if he pull the brutalized and lost out of the fire by his own exertions; if he prosecute these incessant labors in rescuing men from sin and woe and ignorance, in the face of dangers and obloquy and ingratitude and misrepresentation, his piety will have grown into a great, rich, inexhaustible fountain, into a grand reservoir of living waters, always to overthrow and refresh.

Besides a happy influence directly in warming and augmenting the piety of the heart, outward exertions assist to keep that piety well balanced and symmetrical. The religious character left in monastic seclusion is likely to have its qualities unequally excited and ad-

vanced. Devoutness before God may be cultivated to the exclusion of benignity toward men; spiritual fervor may become more prominent than patience and self-control; the spirit of reverence may grow to be stronger than the spirit of forgiveness; the spirit of exhortation and rebuke, than the spirit of self-sacrifice; a vague admiration of holiness, than intelligent desire for personal righteousness. Piety confined in the heart is likely to select some object, and grow enthusiastic and extravagant and exclusive in its behalf, until a partial monomania succeeds. A thorough-going system of activity in the cause of God and man, is the best thing to effect an equilibrium. It arouses and cultivates the *whole* interior man. All that monasticism had permitted to sleep, is likely to be carried into the grand current of zeal and self-improvement. Personal piety in this way receives back to her noble form her withered limbs, her blind eye, her deaf ear, her dumb tongue all made whole; her clustered graces live and shine together like a full orb without spot or eclipse.

There is one sad deterioration to which religion shut up in the soul is specially liable, an over-estimate of itself, self-complacency, spiritual pride. This is, as all know, an obstacle to improvement nearly insuperable. Swollen up with a belief of one's superior godliness, higher attainments are not struggled for, scarcely prayed for. Self-conceits and self-gratulations on account of great supposed godliness, are best cured by hard service out in the families of the world, much as the swell and bluster of imagined courage are in the actual strife of life for life. The matter is subjected to the test of experiment. In order to humble religious pride, great self-sacrifices and self-fatigues and self-dangers should be entered upon. The self-exalted one, to know his metal, must try the battle-axe, and the winter campaign, and the night-watch, and the short allowance, and the forced march. It is easy to imagine one's self in a state of communion with God, when by seclusion worldly attractions are totally excluded; gentle, and easy to be entreated, when nothing is met to ruffle the spirit or thwart the purposes; full of benevolence, when no being of want is present to solicit our charity; a prodigy of philosophic contentment, when everything is wafting us prosperously whither we most desire to be borne; a wondrous example of self-possession and of fortitude, when there is no danger and no required endurance. To learn humility, to dispossess the spirit of its imagined strength and worth, let men go out into the world, where they will be tempted and sifted and vilified and persecuted and defrauded and afflicted and cast down and forsaken. That is the furnace to discover to the in-

dividual himself what in his character is dross, and what is gold. In order then to a deep, symmetrical, humble, unexceptionable piety in the heart of the church, visible labors, great labors in the cause of truth and righteousness must be valued, insisted on, augmented, persevered in.

Mark further how the practical character of religion assists the cultivation of the stern public virtues of the Christian. In the cloister many negative qualities may be well enough acquired. From envy, revenge, avarice, discontent and malice, the heart may be kept comparatively clean, when deeply sequestered where there are few excitements, all away from the busy scenes of the world. But the sturdy, positive virtues grow best in the conflicts and struggles of life. Love of right becomes strong and lofty, when cherished and obeyed under those powerful temptations and rivalries found on the open theatre of human action. Submission to Providence grows into a sublime and Christian philosophy under the painful ills and reverses of the real world. Consecration of one's self to the work of human progress and salvation, is nourished into a holy magnanimity in the active labors of beneficence. All the moral attributes of man are wrought into the soul as inseparable elements and vigorous habits, under external difficulty and obstacle and discouragement and labor and blandishment. Shut up a man in still seclusion, to deep meditation, to soul-exercises and effervescences, if you would make him a pale, moral pigmy. If you would construct and mould him into a glorious being of giant heart, bring him out to the sun; let the winds sweep over him; let the storms rock him; let the tides dash him; let the currents take him and drift him and peril him. Great Christians were never wholly or chiefly made in retirement, any more than great captains in genteel saloons, or great navigators on board dismantled receiving-ships, moored to the wharves of elegant cities. The stirring scenes where religion calls men into action incessant and arduous, are certainly the places to educate true moral heroes. Out of great tribulation, where all was struggle and labor, came they who are glorious in heaven.

Such is the influence of the practical character of religion in promoting both interior godliness and the great public virtues. It is not asserted here that this method of active Christian labor is the only one of fostering noble, pious qualities. It is not intimated that much time alone with God is not absolutely essential to growth in grace. Close, warm, frequent communion with Heaven is entirely indispensable. An additional manner of cultivating the heart is all that is here suggested.

When other efforts have nearly failed, and one of Christ's disciples has been left frigid and sterile, new labors of love and augmented works of faith have often sent great life and love down into his spirit. Every blow of his arm in the service of God has started a new gush of the spiritual current into and out of his heart, and sent a living and waking thrill through his whole moral being. Piety, on the other hand, confined in the soul, is warmed only to be evaporated by its own ebullitions; is kept under a bushel only to be suffocated; is withdrawn from circulation only to become a rust-eaten coin; is stopped in a pool only to grow stagnant or freeze.

These observations in reference to the existence and valuable influence of the practical element in Christianity, have many substantiations in the Scriptures. On this subject the testimony of the Bible is clear and emphatic. Not every one, taught our Saviour, not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Said Christ, in another place, I must work the works of him that sent me. It was a world of works when he fulfilled his mission; the mission itself was a mission of works. By works is faith made perfect; faith without works is dead, writes an apostle. Do works meet for repentance, is a Divine injunction. Blessed, it is alleged in the Revelation, blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; they rest from their labors and their works do follow them. My Father worketh hitherto and I work. A sublime truth; an illustrious example! It is another scriptural proof and recognition of the practical nature of Christianity, that the heaven for which it proposes to prepare us, is presented as a scene of immense, unceasing, vigorous, universal engagement; that every resident spirit is described as only a concentrated, energizing, everlasting activity, whom every evolving age of eternity will call to more crowded, more august occupation.

The practical element of Christianity renders it specially suited to the present times of unusual action and progress. Amid the universal enthusiasm now prevalent, religion is decidedly the greatest excitement; amid the vast stir and advancement, it is the most stirring and progressive agency; among all agitations, the greatest agitator; among all things revolutionary, the boldest innovator.

It would be proper, in showing how fitted Christianity is to our stirring era, to refer to the very special and valuable development of purity and of power which it is itself likely to receive in the excited and crowded scene where it is now called to act. But our immediate concern is with the fact that into this great Babel the Gospel

is competent to introduce all needed excitement, aggressiveness, direction, order and righteousness. Be it so that human passion is pushing into unheard-of schemes, avarice making bolder attempts for gain than ever before, ambition playing more desperate games for place and power, love of pleasure levying wider and more imperious contributions for sensual gratification. Be it so that the excitements and collisions and turmoils and hurrying rush of business exceed all that society has ever witnessed. Immense as these activities are, religion is perfectly adapted to them all, can control them all, can move with them all, can turn them all into the channel of its own still vaster and holier operations. Certainly a practical and active Christianity has special adaptations to the present age.

The practical element of Christianity offers no small encouragement to the ministers of the Gospel. They preach an active and efficient religion. Their messages and appeals faithfully delivered will spread around them manifest and marvellous effects. They are permitted to see the work of their own hands. Stop, stop, some one cries, is not the sovereignty of Divine grace overlooked and forgotten in this remark? Doth not the Scripture say, that Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God giveth the increase? This is not forgotten. The sovereignty of Divine grace is unconditionally subscribed to. But the freeness and the fulness with which the same grace is made to attend upon the faithful ministrations of the Divine word, are ever to be freshly remembered, as a high encouragement for Paul to plant and Apollos to water. The history of the church for eighteen hundred and fifty years is appealed to for proof that visible and real religious reformations, actual establishments and extensions of the church, have occurred under a kind Providence, to a great extent in proportion to the able and godly preaching of the Gospel. In connection with such preaching, have the sovereign riches of Divine grace been signally revealed and exerted. Let us stand then on the grand truth, corroborated by a thousand Scriptures and by innumerable providences, that religion faithfully preached is a most efficient practical transformer all around the preacher himself. Ministers, it is true, frequently witness seasons when they seem to labor in vain and spend their strength for nought; when they are constrained to cry: "Who hath believed our report, to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" But as in nature so in morals, there are often processes and advancements which are silent and unobserved. We go out in the spring-time, when the world is waking into life, and we cannot see the actual growing of a single germ,

spire or plant. Let only a few days pass, and nature will be found to have put on, as if by rapid creation, a gorgeous, luxuriant vegetation. So under the able and godly preaching of the word, without apparent, incipient movements or manifested causes, all invisibly and noiselessly, will a rich moral scene frequently be discovered to have sprung up and spread itself abroad to greet and gladden Christ's desponding servants. All godly ministers shall reap if they faint not. Rejoicing shall they come bearing sheaves, golden, ripe, abundant.

In respect to private Christians, it is a just expectation that they bear much fruit. The religion they profess being remarkable for its outward, striking, important effects, certainly labors, sacrifices, reformations, moral progress should be ever understood to be inseparable from their lives. Imbued with the energetic, enterprising spirit of Christianity, where they find in the great moral field no harvest, they will push the plough, scatter the seed, cultivate, protect and make one; when they find one already ripe, they will put in the sickle with a strong arm and bind up the sheaves. Great things are to be done; they will go forth and do them. Life weareth away; what their hand findeth to do, they will do quickly and with their might.

ARTICLE VII.

REMARKS ON THE IDEA OF RELIGION;

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PSYCHOLOGICAL QUESTIONS, BY D. KARL LECHLER, CHAPLAIN OF THE INSANE ASYLUM AT WINNENTHAL.

By Rev. William A. Stearns, Cambridge, Mass.

[THIS Article is from the last number of the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1851. In giving it an English dress, considerable condensation has been attempted and a few passages altogether omitted, as unimportant to the subject. By the preparation of this treatise for the press, an endorsement of all its thoughts and shadings of thought is not intended; it is presented to the readers of the *Bibliotheca* simply as an able discussion of a most important question, and as showing the present tendencies of the German mind in its sounder theological

circles. On the subject of the active and passive will, and on the relations and forces of the church as a Divine organism, its completion is Lutheran; but the position that religion is a LIFE supernaturally and divinely imparted, and that the appropriate sphere for the workings of this life is in and through an organized kingdom of God, no evangelical theologian of whatever school will deny.]

Is religion a certainty of the understanding, of the feelings, or of the will? Is there a single side of the soul's life into which, as an element of the same, it can be inserted? What is the relation of religion to other manifestations of this life? And how from the idea of religion, can all those circumstances, activities, ordinances, etc. which are necessarily connected with it, be developed? On such and such-like questions, numerous inquiries respecting the nature of religion have latterly turned. Especially from the time that rationalism and supernaturalism began to desert the theological field, two views have stood forth in opposition to each other, that of Schleiermacher, which explains religion as something belonging to the feelings, and that of Hegel, which maintains it to be a kind of knowing. The contest between the two need not be considered as yet completely settled. Both systems have always a number of valiant champions on the plain, and the efforts to transfer the scientific strife to another domain, though in some respects important, have been attended with no durable result. The doctrine of Schleiermacher, especially, demands the concession, first, that on the psychological ground which forms the basis of its idea of religion, a dogmatic system has been erected, which may be considered the fullest scientific apprehension of Christianity, contemplated from the position of the evangelical creed, yet given, and second, that its fundamental thoughts more than those of any other system since Kant, have penetrated into the common views of Christian life. A notion of religion which resolves the whole system of dogmatics into statements respecting the devout frames of the Christian mind, and thereby destroys all security for the objective truth of the same, must certainly meet with great opposition on the side of an objective science. It is readily confessed that in this way scientific theology would be in danger of entirely losing its value, because faith in the foundation of it would be grounded, not on something existing without itself, absolutely certain in and of itself, but on a mere inward persuasion. The school of Hegel, under such circumstances might boast, not without reason, having rescued the honor of science, for it has been acknowledged from the beginning as unquestionable, and might be

proved with dialectic demonstration, not only that the absolute which forms the object of religion, is something absolutely certain, but also that an adequate knowledge is essential to the human spirit. It was not yet clear, however, what position should be accorded to religion in distinction from philosophy, when both had to do with a knowledge of the absolute. In the first place, religion was held for an incomplete form of philosophy; this form, also, was considered unessential, though without any intention to represent its *real meaning* as unessential. But further investigation made it evident, that this supposed difference between meaning and form was a mere delusion. It was evident that religion must be conceived of, both in form and meaning, as an indispensable member of the whole intellectual life, and so be considered equivalent to philosophy, or, the equivalence of its meaning must be allowed. On the principle of consecutive thinking, the former was impossible, for, according to the fundamental principles of Hegel, which both in form and meaning embrace an essential knowledge of the absolute, this knowledge was the province of philosophy alone. Feuerbach, consequently, sought room for religion in the lower forms of intellectual life, and found it in the fancy and soul. These, moreover, yield only their lowest activities for the production of religion. For the soul was in his view only the place for the peculiar, selfish emotions of man, for which fancy might furnish the material; so that religion at last was nothing more than the satisfaction of the finite necessities of man, consequently differing only in degree from fleshly lust. This is the extremest point at which religion can still be allowed the name of science, and beyond which nothing further deserving of attention has been undertaken.

We must not, however, pass by in silence an attempt which has been made in the Hegelian school, though from the outset, with entirely different premises. It is the treatise of Tzeller, in the Tübingen Theological Annals of the year 1845, in which at first this theoretic idea of religion was entirely set aside; the effort to assign one of the three acknowledged intellectual powers to religion was given up, and religion was defined as a pathological relation of person to person. In the meanwhile, this scholar of Hegel found it impossible to keep in the new track. According to him, the object of religion is the intuition of God. But this he knew not how to define better than as a perfect knowledge of God. Thus his investigation slid off into the old track, and that too, just as quietly as if nothing had happened. But Tzeller is not the first, who has attempted in vain to escape the magic circle of those three fundamental faculties. Many

a one before him, through the coördination of the three powers or through the invention of a fourth or in some other way, has striven to break the scientific connection, and the consequence has been that they either explained nothing, or before they were aware of it, fell back again into one of the three tracks already mentioned. As in other cases, so here, conclusions may be drawn from the past in respect to the future. The history of theology and philosophy shows that every one who has thought seriously upon the nature of religion, has come to the conclusion, that it consists either in *knowing*, *feeling* or in *acting*. If, in order to give a greater certainty to the definition chosen, any one should prefer to represent religion as not belonging exclusively to either one of the intellectual faculties, but partially embracing the others, the result would be the same in this as in every other vivid perception. To philosophize is, indeed, an action of the understanding or of the reason. But who could philosophize without repeated acts of *the will* to do it, or without a feeling of pleasure, resulting from the action of the understanding? The question then is just this: What in reality is religion? In which side of the subjective life does it have its root or its seat, as some express it? This question cannot be passed by. Religion is actually a manifestation which proceeds from the human soul. Room must be made for it, therefore, whether it is included in one of the faculties already known, or in some new power discovered for it. Now it is very remarkable that, up to the present time, neither course has been successfully taken. We might be allowed, no doubt, to enumerate in their order, the various efforts which have been made to reach the true idea of religion — and to subject each attempt successively to an examination — from the Church-fathers down to the Reformation, and from thence through Bacon and Descartes to Schleiermacher and Elwert, Hegel and Tzeller, Twesten, Nitzsch, etc. Whoever knows the history of our science, even in a moderate degree, will be readily reminded of the peculiar course the religious idea has already passed through. With the discovery of each new system, religion has been accordingly transferred to a different section of the intellect, and so, very properly, personifies in itself the restlessness of scientific development. As far as collecting and examining views already historical is concerned, much has been done in several recent treatises, especially in that of Elwert, published in the *Tübingen Theological Annals* in 1835. And our learned predecessors need not be surprised, if we take the liberty to avail ourselves occasionally of their labors. But, at the same time, we hope by a more

extended discussion, by drawing a sharper definition of what has already been brought forward, to render science some humble services. We shall endeavor, therefore, first of all, *to subject to a new examination the three psychological explanations of the nature of religion.*

As to the proposition, that religion cannot consist in knowing, it is perfectly evident that equal degrees of knowledge may exist together with very different degrees of devotion, and that so the rule of Schleiermacher will apply, viz., That which does not form the measure of a thing in its variations cannot be received as its real measure. This assertion has a scriptural foundation in 1 Cor. 12: 8, where the gift of the *γνώσις* is represented as conferred upon one and not upon another (except in an inferior degree); while at the same time the religious character of the person does not bear a corresponding proportion, as the Apostle expressly adds *ἡ γνώσις φανισαῖ*.

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that such a relation exists between knowledge or cognition and devotion, that a certain degree of knowledge, for instance a knowledge of sin, is absolutely necessary to devotion. Devotion indeed, not unfrequently arises from intelligent thinking, especially among men constitutionally adapted to intellectual action, and that too even where the mental faculties are not disproportioned to each other. Among such persons, it is worthy of remark, that their devotion is affected by their knowledge, more than by anything else. The sermon, for example, which in others excites the liveliest emotions, influences them chiefly through the instruction which it affords, and they are best edified by discourses of a scientific character. Common experience also teaches, that knowledge and devotion have more to do with each other, than the reasoning of the followers of Schleiermacher would lead us to suppose. But of much more importance is the teaching of the Scriptures, where, for example, Christ says, John 8: 31: *ἐάν ὑμεῖς μένητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, ἀληθῶς μαθηταί μου ἐστέ, καὶ γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμᾶς*. It is undeniable, that here knowledge is set forth as the root of Divine life, of true freedom, whatever meaning you may attach to the word *ἀλήθεια*. The truth, to which clearness of thinking unquestionably belongs, is not so much felt as known and understood, just as light is not felt but seen. Of the same import is the passage, John 17: 3, where Christ sets forth the *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* as consisting in a knowledge of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ whom he has sent (*γινώσκωσι*). Passages of similar meaning may be brought forward in great numbers. They are found not only in the four Evangelists, but also in the writings of Paul, for

instance, 1 Cor. iii, also James v, and elsewhere. Should any one say in opposition, that here the sacred writers are speaking of a living, that is, of a practical knowledge, of a knowledge which implies action, the peculiar nature of religion as here set forth would still continue to consist in thinking, the practical part being only a property or result of the intellectual. Besides, no critic of the Schleiermacher school could intend to divest knowledge of its living nature in order to make an impassable gulf between it and religion. Otherwise, not only must the possession of religion be denied to a great part of Christendom, especially to the pure Christian Gnostics of the Alexandrian church, to all the speculative mystics of the Romish and German churches, but a circuitous mode of interpretation must be adopted, for a great number of Scripture passages, such as even the peculiar exegesis of Schleiermacher would not justify. Letting these results stand as preliminaries, and engaging to attempt, further on, a solution of apparent contradictions, we now proceed to the second question, viz. Does religion consist essentially in action?

If religion is action, say they, then it is either equal to morality or not. In the latter case, both would be equal to a third or one be subordinate to the other. Now religion cannot be a part of morality, otherwise there would be a morality which is not of a religious nature. Nor can morality be a part of religion, for everything which is religious is also moral. In case of their equality and common subordination to a third, the difference is only in form, religion and morality being only different expressions of one and the same meaning. But there may be moral actions which are not religious. The same action may proceed from religion or be performed without religion; and in the same person there is frequently a different degree of morality and religiousness.

If we have rightly understood these statements, that is at last actually received which was at first rejected, viz. that there may be a morality without religion, and consequently a religiousness without morality. This they will not expect us to confess. A religiousness which is not moral does not deserve the name, but is a degeneracy and perversion of the nature of religion.

But ought we not to distinguish somewhat between the not moral and the immoral? Such an inquiry is proper where the question turns upon the contrariety of things belonging to the impersonal and the personal life. But within the dominion of the personal and self-conscious spirit, such a separation is wholly unknown. But in fact, there is a peculiar difficulty in thus setting religion and morality as

opposites to each other. Man has everywhere and for a long time been accustomed to work scientifically, with both names and with the conceptions corresponding to them. But what shall we say if it should appear necessary to subject these elements themselves which they receive as given positions to a more careful investigation before they can be applied to the operations of thought, and it should become apparent, that by this means only, a position is obtained on the firm ground of a clear conception?

What, then, properly speaking, is morality? It appears to us that by it is commonly understood the irreproachable character of outward conduct, conformable to the law of good, so far as this conduct proceeds from an inward principle. In this case legality, in which the latter addition, viz. inward principle, is wanting, forms the contrast to morality; and then morality, by which is signified, not an objective law, but the inward intentions corresponding to it, has those inward intentions for its measuring rule. Morality is good action for goodness' sake. Legality is good action for the sake of some advantage, or what in principle amounts to the same thing, action to which one is impelled by fear of a penalty. Works of human love, for example, when they are actually done out of love to man, and not for the sake of some honor or emolument, also professional fidelity, frugality, etc. may be considered as belonging to morality. If this is morality, then of course there is little difficulty in showing that moral actions can just as well spring from a pure, natural emotion, as from religion, that is, from faith, love to God, or generally speaking, from man's relation to God. Otherwise you must deny to loving an enemy, to professional fidelity, etc. by an atheist, not only its actual value, but in the end indeed its actual being; and such like actions where they do not spring from a sense of religion, must be considered as absolutely not moral. But under these circumstances, what becomes of Christian ethics? If the first is actually and essentially different from the other, then we have no less than three kinds of morality, viz. that which is independent of all religion, that which springs out of any religion whatever, and that which belongs to the Christian religion. According to this, Christian ethics might properly have three or at least two parts, one common to it with heathen religions and at the same time with downright infidelity, and another peculiar to itself. To the latter might be attributed, for example, prayer in the name of Jesus, participation in the sacraments, in the work of missions, and the like, for which there is unquestionably a place in Christian ethics. To the former, on the other hand, belong all those actions

which one not a Christian performs, when he does them out of an inward principle. Now to distinguish these two kinds of morality from each other, we propose to use the word "moral," for all that which is commonly connected with morality, but to designate the peculiar morality of the Christian religion by the title of super-moral, after the example of a high-sounding term in dogmatics, where in like manner it is usual to speak of the rational and the super-rational. This does not entirely relieve us, however, from difficulty, for we shall have to find a similar distinction for the externals of Christian morality for which we have no designation at hand. Indeed we are in the same condition that supernatural theology formerly was. For any one might reasonably ask us whether this *super-moral* were something moral or something not moral; whether morality without this super-moral could be a whole and independent existence, or whether by the incoming of the latter quality an essential change was experienced, and the like? We are not in a position to remove these objections.

But this is not all. Morality, say they, is good action proceeding from an inward principle. What, then, is inward principle? Fear of punishment, desire of gain, are one kind of inward principle. It ought perhaps to be called such a principle as lies in the very nature of the case. But in the nature of human free-agency, the principle is unquestionably included, that every action is attended with a corresponding consequence, good with a good, evil with an evil consequence. For all that appears, then, thus far, fear or venality might be an inward principle. We are not willing to regard the subject from so low a point of view as to consider the consciousness of having done good as no reward, the acquisition of substantial advantage as the only motive to right action, and so esteem sickness as a greater punishment than an evil conscience, nay, even disconnect the latter from the idea of punishment altogether, and exclude a good conscience from the idea of advantage.

The question here arises: does an action cease to be truly moral, when it springs from a desire for the blessings of everlasting life, yea, for the approbation of God, or, on the other hand, from fear of everlasting punishment, of exclusion from the presence of God? These, however, according to the commonly received ethical idea, are not internal principles. Here the formula is again forced into service that you must love and do good, for the sake of the good, and that such conduct is morality, in the fullest acceptation of the term. But we know, indeed, no proposition so much adapted to bring con-

fusion into moral philosophy and build up the scientific edifice, not upon a sandy foundation, but right into the fog, as this. For in the first place, the question would be, whether love to the good in its highest personal essence, that is, love to God, and the act of good for the sake of God, may not be a higher form of morality than love to a mere abstract idea of good. Secondly, it might be very difficult to explain how a man could be in a position to do good for the sake of the good. For no one performs an action merely to have done it—that would be to act without an object—but he has some end in view; either that humanity may be improved, and then he performs his action not out of love to the good but for humanity's sake; or that he himself may be improved, in which case he has done good for his own sake, out of love to himself and not out of love to the good. In view of this and similar consequences, resulting from the distinction usually made between religion and morality, we cannot agree with the fundamental principle of the above mentioned explanation. The case is the same when we carefully consider the individual action belonging to the department of morality. Science, as it appears to us, falls into a great error when it considers actions, usually esteemed as morally good, the common property of all those who possess the powers of a free moral agent. *Duo si faciunt idem, non est idem.* This is nowhere else so true as it is here. The moral actions of a Christian are distinguished from those of a person not a Christian, not merely in the form, or through the incoming of a peculiar element as religious feeling, but "*toto coelo*;" for they have an entirely different beginning, middle, aim and end. The atheist, for example, who bestows alms by the power which the natural man possesses of doing a thing or leaving a thing undone, at his pleasure, does it for the relief of a temporal necessity, and consequently that both his own temporal welfare and that of the receiver, may be benefitted thereby. In the latter case, his action rests on love to the creature, which takes precedence of love to God, in principle excluding it altogether; and the consequence is, so far as it depends upon the giver, that his own eternal salvation is imperiled, the peculiar honor of God neglected, and the whole Divine arrangement of the world is destroyed. The Christian, on the contrary, so far as he acts like a Christian, bestows alms out of love to God, to which love to the creature is absolutely subordinate; bestows alms in consequence of, and according to, the working of the Holy Spirit in him; bestows them for the promotion of the glory of God, and then, secondly, for the relief of distress; bestows them, finally, with the

actual consequence that God's name is honored thereby, and his own eternal salvation promoted. The work of a Christian differs from a similar work performed by an infidel, not merely in respect to the person for whom it is performed, but differs in its inmost nature and substance, the two things, indeed, having nothing in common but form and name. It is not, however, asserted that he only is in a position to do good, who has become conscious of a Christian life within him. Moral good, in its concrete reality, in other words, the Holy Spirit, so far as it produces free actions conformable to the law of God, is an objective power, which is also efficacious, in the preliminary stages of moral development, and must be acknowledged paramount, wherever human action depends on a principle of life not in opposition to the Holy Spirit. Nor is it difficult by this means to perceive correspondencies to the true good, in other words, a reflection of Christian morality, in some who are destitute of the Christian life.¹ In such cases, however, inward independence in moral action, proper free-agency which is conditioned on the living communion with God, and is the essential, fundamental principle of good action, is wanting; so that the scientific result is always the same. But in contemplating this result, we hold that the question, whether the nature of religion consists in action, cannot be lost sight of, so long as you adhere to the rationalistic or deistic idea of morality, so long as you do not limit the expression morality, and place the living Christian idea, which we express by the word righteousness, as the only scientific idea, in its place.

However the aforesaid question may be viewed, we are still unable to answer it in the negative. When, for example, admission to the kingdom of heaven is made to depend upon doing the will of God, the essence of religion is clearly placed in action. Still more to the point is the expression of John: do the truth, compared with another, the truth shall make free. The expression of James, that the man shall be blessed in his deed, may be taken perhaps as the most decisive proof-text, for the practical idea of religion. Moreover, no one will doubt, that sin is a practical conception, nor that conversion, implying an entire change of the whole religious condition, is brought about by an act of the will. Is it even evident that no manifestation of the religious life, certainly no progress in the same, can be thought of,

¹ In a similar way, the Christian is subjected to the influence of the unsanctified part of his nature, so that his works and feelings proceed partly from mere nature, and are consequently of perishable value, and partly from nature intermingled with grace.

except as connected with, conditioned on, and produced by some action. Progress in knowledge, for example, is conditioned on a determination to the same, and the degree of this knowledge depends upon the strength of this determination; so prayer, the production of artistic exhibitions, such as songs, orations, and the like. Thus we have neither in the Scriptures nor in experience, any reason for supposing that religion does not consist essentially in action.

Because in the school of Schleiermacher, religion can neither be knowledge nor action, its disciples infer, as the only thing that remains, that it belongs to immediate self-consciousness; in other words, to the feelings. Feeling and consciousness are not properly the same thing; but by the word consciousness, we mean something deeper, more comprehensive, than by the word feeling. But it is also evident, that consciousness, as often as a definite psychological application is made of it, might be transformed again into feeling, and so both be nearly synonymous. We, therefore, shall make use of the latter expression in which the Schleiermacher doctrine first received an intelligible form. Religion, say they, is feeling. Proof: in the first place, universal intuition, when it relates to the heart. This accords with the old Lutheran definition; according to which, religion is essentially *dilectio Dei*. But love is a feeling; so also repentance, remorse, dependence on God, joy in God; all these are manifestations of pious feeling. Furthermore, prayer and devotion, which bring to view the proper nature of religion, are of the same character. Most evidently, it is added, the correctness of this apprehension becomes apparent in states of higher devotion, as trances, visions, speaking with tongues, all which are evidently set forth in the New Testament, as belonging to the highest degree of religious perfection. There is then no pious condition, in which feeling might not exist, while there are those in which knowledge and action have but little if any influence. As to the objection, that in this, religion would have a purely subjective character, it is answered, that knowledge is not purely objective, nor can it be denied, that religion, in order to permeate the whole being, should be defined as subjectively as possible.

By this explanation, we are brought against the peculiar fashionable obscurities and errors of the times, the avoidance of which is of the highest importance to theological science. We here refer especially to the ideas of love and prayer just presented. We affirm that love is not strictly a feeling. On the contrary, it is the highest kind of action, the most powerful and comprehensive operation of will.

For it consists in the coming forth out of the proper I, in an entire renunciation of the I, in itself considered, in the giving one's self away to another person or assemblage of persons. It is wishing to be and to live in others, and a course of action corresponding thereto. Love is never necessarily itself a feeling. It is indeed, according to *human* experience, conditioned on a feeling of want. But this is not the case with God. On the contrary, you have to suppose that in the creation of man, through a resolution of Divine love, such a relation of God to man was first established, that in consequence, God, without his fellowship with man, would experience a sense of want. In like manner, must the sense of want among men be awakened by a resolution, so that the giving one's self away to another being precedes all sense of necessity of thus giving one's self away, and the former never can be fully explained as arising out of the latter. Love is further accompanied by feelings of joy, blessedness, etc. But these feelings are not one and the same as love. It may indeed be accompanied by feelings, which are contrary to its own nature. For it is characteristic of love to strive after a perfect harmony, between the loving and the loved. If this harmony cannot be reached, then love is accompanied with a feeling of dissatisfaction which appears in the form of an all-consuming restlessness. But love itself is not consequently diminished, but perhaps becomes stronger than ever. Love may come to the determination to renounce the beloved object, without itself ceasing to exist, so that a rest follows, which has nothing in common with the desire of love. Even when love has attained its desired end, it is by no means an absolute feeling of satisfaction, but the feeling of anxiety, of sorrow, etc., is connected with the most perfect abandonment of self to the object beloved. If now such various feelings can be connected with love, and the several kinds of feeling rise and fall again, without love itself undergoing any essential change thereby, then it is certain that love itself is not synonymous with feeling, but it is something which transcends feeling, which controls it; in other words, love is an act of the free-will.

Similar remarks may be made respecting prayer. This is used in our later science in a sense the most subjective possible, and we must say in a sense the *weakest* possible. If prayer is nothing more than an expression of devout feeling, then it is either an expression of anguish, of want, or of joy and contentment, according to the momentary character of a person's state of mind. Certainly it could not be an address, arising from a determination to pray in consequence of an express command of God, without any reference to the presence

or the absence, the strength or the weakness of inward emotion. The same may be said of striving and wrestling in prayer, especially as it occurs in times of temptation; for we fight against hostile powers, not by feelings, but by acts of the free-will. But prayer is really a very active exercise. So far as it utters itself in supplication and intercession, it is the expression of an earnest desire, and so it is a manifestation of will. A good man who finds himself unable, in obedience to the Divine command to break down his own will, prays. He endeavors to make the will of another subservient to himself, just as the person who commands, only not in the same way. So it is with prayer. Its design is, to give the will of God a definite direction towards our salvation; also to make his will serviceable to the human will, and consequently to exert a definite influence upon the Divine government. This idea of prayer is not too bold, but as all the exhortations and promises enforcing the duty, and especially as the history of Jacob's wrestling by night, go to show, it is the simple Scriptural idea; and it is one of the principal faults of the doctrine of Schleiermacher, that the true idea of prayer has been so completely abandoned.

This false conception of the nature of prayer appears somewhat more plausible when applied to adoration, thanksgiving, etc. But this plausibility has no foundation except that in adoration feeling becomes a very powerful element of the devotional exercise, it being a high form of spiritual manifestation, and therefore including within itself a high degree of mental concentration. But adoration is in itself likewise an act of the will, in one of its highest exhibitions. For it is the giving one's self away to God, the declaration of unconditional submission, and that profound reverence which is his due. Hence, also, these utterances of the spirit in the Sacred Scriptures are represented as an offering, consequently removing them from the circle of mere feeling. What, on the contrary, in modern speech, is understood by adoration, or as it is more commonly expressed, by devotion (we here distinguish between the modern sentimental use of the word, and the true Christian use of it), is a condition, in which the natural man commits himself intentionally to his obscure religious feelings, and in this obscurity finds enjoyment. Prayer, then, in its twofold form, need not be looked upon as proceeding from a consciousness of want on the part of man. Pure Christian prayer has a different origin. It is the fruit of obedience to a Divine command: Thou hast said, Seek ye my face,—Thy face, Lord, will I seek, Ps. l. Ask and it shall be given you,—I will that men pray in all places, etc.

And out of this obedience, arises an independent inclination, which, however, constantly needs to be enlivened, and newly awakened by the spirit of obedience.

They say further that repentance, confidence in God, etc. are feelings and are of a religious character. That this, however, as respects repentance, is not the case, we have striking evidence in the repentance of Judas. There is no need of any knowledge of God in order to experience some forms of repentance. It may exist in an atheist as well as in a Christian. Confidence in God is of course a religious feeling, and joy in God is also a Christian sentiment. But can a dogmatic view of God, received objectively from Him, be less religious in itself considered, than these feelings? Finally, it is evident in respect to these feelings, that religion, when essentially feeling, is also a matter of fact; as this cannot be denied, it is sufficient to establish the proposition in question.

If a person should now bring forward ecstasies and visions to prove that religion consists in feeling, the case may be examined on its own merits. Vision is a peculiar kind of supernatural percipency, which can hardly be brought under the common psychological nomenclature, but belongs rather to the theoretic departments of intellectual life. Ecstasy is not a mere elevation of feeling, but according to the words, 2 Cor. 12: 8, *εἶς ἐν σώματι, οὐκ οἶδα, κ. τ. λ.*, is such an extraordinary departure from usual conditions, and appears so completely disconnected from customary religious development, that it cannot properly be taken into the account. The case is different in respect to speaking with tongues. That this is a purely religious phenomenon, in which thinking and acting predominate, almost in opposition to feeling, cannot be denied. According to Paul, this gift has merely a selfish, personal value, and does not belong to the highest conditions of the religious life.

Finally, we have a word more to say against the doctrine in question, drawn from the commonly received view of religion, as a matter of *the heart*. Warmth, inwardness, animation, with which Divine truth is received or expressed, and by which it can be commonly ascertained whether religion may be a matter of the heart or not, is represented as always belonging to the feelings. But experience does not indicate that where there is the greatest warmth, there is always the highest degree of religion. On the contrary, there are innumerable examples of highly excited and by no means hypocritical feeling, in connection with which may be found an unexpectedly small measure of the otherwise necessary charac-

teristics of the religious life; for example, knowledge, conscientiousness, etc. On the other hand, frequently a singularly moderate measure of feeling, a certain coolness of the understanding hides from view a very strong and pure devotion. As to the second case, it need not be overlooked, that the expression "heart" is applied just as correctly to a high degree of courage, spirit of enterprise, and the like. No one would understand by a hearty warrior, a man full of feeling. The expression "heart" denotes here nothing more nor less than the centre of the soul's life, the concrete expression of life, without regard to its psychological analysis, or its more external parts.

While almost all the arguments, according to which religion consists in feeling, have by degrees disappeared, there are certain opposing considerations which must not be passed over in silence. First of all, is the fact that, while the *term* feeling is *never* found in the Scriptures, its *meaning* is *rarely* found in them. What comes nearest to it are such expressions as these: joy, rejoice in the Lord, etc., sorrow, godly sorrow in distinction from the sorrow of the world, but especially the term blessedness. Of these expressions, only the latter occurs so frequently, and in such clear positions, that we can make any use of it in our investigation. It must, indeed, be shown, that blessedness and religion are essentially the same. That such is not the case has been already proved. For prayer to Christ, for instance, which brings blessedness along with it, only as a consequence or as an attendant feeling, but does not involve the idea of blessedness, can be offered without this feeling. Nor is it by any means true, that a person is religious in proportion to his happiness, but on the contrary, there is frequently much religion where there is but little joyous feeling. Religion, then, is not the same thing as blessedness or happiness, and so in this respect is not feeling.

In the next place, out of this aesthetic idea of religion arise many highly suspicious consequences. If religion were feeling, then the fine arts, when employed on religious subjects, would furnish the highest form of religion, higher even than prayer, preaching and improvement of the word, the sacramental supper, etc. For art is neither a matter of the will nor of the understanding, but of feeling, because it has to do with beauty. Accordingly, the chorals of Luther would be more religious than his sermons; a piece of passion music or an "ecce homo" superior in this respect to the discourses of Augustine; St. Peter's church at Rome would express more devotion than the magnificent religious service performed in it. Then

further, according to a commonly received opinion, the female sex live more in feeling than the male sex; consequently female piety would be a higher expression of religion than masculine piety, which concerns itself more in objects of knowledge and action. And when through advancing years feeling subsides, and everything, even that which is of a religious nature, comes to be considered more as an object of reflection and action, piety would diminish. It would become less and less as age increased, till its very spirit might go to the grave with the form that contained it. With such an idea of religion, the entire order of the religious life would be reversed. Indeed, so long as feeling is taken in the sense of Schleiermacher, or in the polemic sense of the Hegelian school, religion itself is in fact destroyed. For if feeling is the proper seat of religion, then, as has been frequently remarked, in opposition to Schleiermacherism, the rise of a theology and of a Divine service would be impossible. That feeling cannot be described in words and ideas is an acknowledged proposition. As the most it can do, it may suffer itself to be translated into the peculiar language of feeling, poetry, music, and, most of all, the fine arts. But here it cannot bear the touchstone of truth, and finally turns out to be a failing as before. Moreover, it is not true that feeling really produces fellowship. That this is not the fact the Apostle teaches when speaking of the gift of tongues, 1 Cor. xiv. But in truth feeling is just as much repellant as connective. For, whenever there is a necessity for sharing joy and sorrow with others, the ultimate ground of this communication is not the advancement of an objective end, but the advancement of one's own life; while for the undertaking of a common enterprise, in which every one bears his own proportion, there would be no ground whatever.

We cannot forbear alleging, against the aesthetic idea of religion, a one-sided subjectivity. That religion must be subjective, and that knowledge cannot be purely objective, because both would then lose their vitality, we are far from denying. But the objective can become subjective without ceasing to be objective. For a civil law, though not arising from the feeling of an individual citizen, yet when heartily received by the subject, becomes of course subjective, while it still retains its original objectivity.

If, now, we were to draw a conclusion from all that has been advanced, it would be this: that religion might consist in knowledge as well as in action and feeling; in other words, in neither of the three. We are not at all aided by their mere juxtaposition. If one should imagine the elements intermingled in an equal proportion, the ques-

tion immediately returns, which element gives to the mixture its proper character? Or what is the result of this mixture, the fourth element, arising out of the three? Absolute equality of mixture, is an indifference of elements, in respect to each other. Absolute equilibrium is death in the spiritual as well as in the physical life. An attempt has been made to discover a higher power than the three, in which the three may be united. Such an attempt, for instance, is the above mentioned treatise of Tzeller, to which before proceeding further, we must return.

Religion, according to Tzeller, is neither action, nor knowledge, nor feeling, but a pathological condition, in which everything turns on the personal relation in which the human being stands to God. It is a relation of person to person, of the finite subject to the absolute subject, and through this condition, the various theoretic and moral activities become religious. The great effort of the religious man, according to Tzeller, is to become happy. This happiness consists in an intuitive vision of God, a perfect knowledge of the absolute Deity. Unquestionably the learned author, in these remarks, has opened some clear and correct views respecting the nature of religion. But, as we have already remarked, and as might have been supposed from the word, knowledge of Deity, he is treating of something comprehensible, viz. of knowledge. The end of religion is an adequate knowledge of the idea of God, which, according to his opinion, can be reached only by philosophy. If that is the end of religion, its beginning, its thus far concealed root, is no other than knowledge. While one treats in religion about the knowledge of an idea, he does not treat of a person; for, that a person is not an idea and an idea is not a person, even an Hegelian — from the view of the distinguished author — will not at this day presume to deny. For the peculiarity and independency of religion has here also as little continuity as elsewhere in the department of the Hegelian school. Moreover, Tzeller does not hold to the universal, philosophically inherent necessity of this knowledge of God as being a form of religion. For of what use is a lower form when there is a higher one in which it must be swallowed up? Can a want find place in the perfect to lean upon the imperfect? or shall that want as an absolute demand of personality be allowed to remain as an unexplained matter of fact? Where, then, is the absolute law of philosophy?

But indeed with those first most excellent remarks, only one side of religion comes into notice, and the investigation, if it had gone further, in the first beaten track, would have returned to the usual

result. First of all, we must demand an explanation, how that pathological condition may be considered psychologically. Where the discourse is psychological, we imagine a *πάσχειν*, a suffering, a susceptibility or something of the kind. Now a man is susceptible either while he perceives something, or while he allows some object to affect his desire, or while he is conscious of his own condition, as an individual or in connection with the whole, being determined by some person without. In which of the three last elements referred to is a person pathologically conditioned? We abide by the most conclusive of the expressions of Tzeller, that blessedness consists pathologically in this, that a person becomes conscious of his condition as it is determined by his relation to God, as being a condition corresponding to his nature. But in this case, religion seems to approximate feeling, and we stand again at the threshold of the idea of Schleiermacher. If it is said that neither of the three are meant, as Tzeller originally maintained, but something which comprehends the whole man, the expression "pathologic" stands in the way. For religion includes not merely conditions but also activities, such as conversion, which under the given suppositions ought not to be considered as a pathological condition.

But what is of more importance, to be happy is not the exclusive interest of religion, nor even its highest interest. The practical, that is to say, the pastoral application of religious truth, may express the nature of religion, as though it were the chief care of man to obtain a sure hope of everlasting life. But science has reason enough in Scripture, as it has in common religious life, to seek out a still higher position. This is evident from the arrangement of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments. If the commandments having reference to the being, name and kingdom of God, are first put down, then those which direct individual and social life; and if in the second instance prayer is offered for hallowing the name of God, for the coming of his kingdom, for the doing of his will in heaven and on earth before the subjective need of forgiveness of sins, deliverance from temptation, etc., is thought of, then it cannot be denied that this by no means accidental arrangement must furnish the right point of view for the explanation of the religious idea. Accordingly, the effort of the religious man is not first, and still less exclusively, to obtain his own salvation, but that God may be honored and his will may be done. Of course, the latter includes the former. For whenever the human individual does not prevent nor pervert the forth-going of the kingdom of God by opposition thereto, the blessedness of humanity as a whole, is nat-

urally furthered thereby. It may be said that the honor of God is secured, not only in them that are saved, but also in them that are lost; hence prayer for hallowing the name of God includes a confession that his name ought to be hallowed in the wicked, by their condemnation. But in the thought of hallowing the name of God is included also the thought of human salvation. The objective brings the subjective along with it; the former indeed produces the latter. The same however is not true of the subjective in relation to the objective, for it is not only possible but actually happens, that, for example, an individual prays for the pardon of his sins, without thereby and without therefor having a desire that the will of God may be done in the universe, and the kingdom of God universally established. But to return.

It is evident that, according to those passages which are used for the explanation of the religious idea, something more than a mere subjective perception must be obtained; an objective point of view must be found. How high this objectivity rises in the Scriptures, we have a remarkable instance in the earnest desire of Moses expressed in Ex. 32: 32: "Forgive them their sins, if not, blot me also out of thy book, which thou hast written." And in the words of the Apostle, Rom. 9: 3: "I could wish myself accursed from Christ, for my brethren, for my kindred according to the flesh." Here, if anywhere, the highest degree of the religious life is in the right place. Such expressions must be understood as the almost superhuman concentration of all the powers of the religious life, or else as insanity. Still more conclusive is the thought expressed in Gal. 3: 13, where Christ becomes a curse for us, that the blessing may be conferred upon the heathen. While in the case of Moses and of Paul, etc. there is but a momentary thought of the renunciation of their own blessedness for the sake of that of others, in the latter case there is the actual accomplishment of this renunciation. One shrinks with awe from receiving the words in this amazing sense. Schleiermacher's doctrine of the untroubled felicity of Christ, is entirely destroyed by it. But we cannot explain the deepest conceptions of Scripture on this point in such a way as to exclude the idea of real truth. Much better does our opinion, agreeably to the expression in Galatians, agree with the words of Christ on the cross, in which he represents himself as being forsaken of God, and with the nature of the agony in the garden of Olives, and also with Heb. 4: 15, where, according to the evident meaning of the author, an actual forsaking of Christ on the part of God is intended, though this forsaking is to be under-

stood only as an actual withdrawal of heavenly felicity by a Divine act. Consequently, until a more satisfactory explanation of these very mysterious words is given, we claim them, in their full extent, on our side. Moreover, it appears to us that those expressions of Moses and Paul first find their true explanation, when we perceive that the actual banishment of Christ from God may serve for the real foundation of them. Perhaps we ought to add that, if what those men desired, had not actually been fulfilled in Christ, both of them would have attained in their thoughts to a higher degree of self-renunciation than Christ himself had attained in his act. Finally, there remains to us the passage, 1 Cor. 15: 28, where the *θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* is spoken of as the ultimate end of believing desire, in the realization of which a condition is brought to view, where the individual with his salvation completely in God ascends or descends, so to speak, in him. Whatever meaning may be given to this forever unfathomable passage, thus much is evident from it that, when the whole work of God is completed, believers together with Christ will then be united in a manner far transcending anything which has ever yet fallen within the circle of human consciousness.

If, now, we place together such Scripture passages as these on the scientific scale, numerous explanations of religion by Tzeller and others — which rising on the ground of a Scriptural theology are included in it — will be found too light, and it will appear in the course of our investigations, that the objective phenomena of religion demand much firmer foundations, in order to be applied to the construction of a valuable religious science. But that we have until now remained so far behind the demands, which the subject itself makes upon us, must not be attributed as a fault to individual philosophers and theologians, nor even to science itself. Tzeller's idea of religion, as also the Hegelian, and that of Schleiermacher, and others like them, are the offspring of their times. They are not merely the scientific setting, but they are the scientific reflections of religion, as it actually and practically existed at a given period. Theology and philosophy have described to us just what and only what they saw. We do not overlook the fact, that this scientific mode of viewing the subject, together with the phenomena of life out of which it springs, has struck its roots too deeply into the soil of our times, has spread too far abroad, and gone up too completely into the highest branches, to leave it possible for another system (which is just as much the result of an entirely altered state of the public life) to secure reception in the wider circles, or even to be clearly set forth or carried out

to its logical results. In the meanwhile, we wish to collect such materials for a new construction of theological and philosophical science, as have been produced by the powerful revolutions of our later history, and to express our thoughts about the form of the contemplated construction. Perhaps we may hit the right point, or at least give an impulse to further inquiry.

If we now put together the various attempts at the transformation of the religious idea as they have lately been made, there appears in them a threefold effort, through which a threefold defect of the commonly received notion may be corrected. Religion has been defined as a life, to avoid the one-sidedness of the psychological idea, according to which it would consist in knowing, feeling, or acting. It has been defined, again, as a fellowship, to avoid the one-sidedness which would belong to it, if taken as a property of the individual life. It has, finally, been defined as an act of God, to avoid the one-sidedness which would belong to it as proceeding from man, instead of the source of all existence, religion not excepted. By uniting these points of view, thus far considered important only in an individual way, a key may be found for solving our problem. We begin the argument with this last point.

There appears, indeed, in the first place, no reason why the idea of God should not be put forward in religion as well as in everything else which has to be referred to its ultimate cause. Religion is indeed a phenomenon which belongs to the nature of humanity; but as humanity is produced by a Divine act, so is religion. The Pauline proposition, that we are not sufficient to do or think anything as of ourselves, but that our sufficiency is of God, and the other proposition, that it is God who worketh in us both to will and to do, must furnish the starting point for our idea of religion. Religion is an act of the Holy Spirit—is an act of God. Instead of rising from a knowledge of the individual life to a knowledge of the collective life of Christian fellowship or of the church, and from thence to a knowledge of God and his more perfect manifestation, we receive the idea of God, as the fundamental principle of all religious knowledge, and descend from that to the idea of the church, and finally embrace the whole religious life in all its parts. This latter method should be taken as the foundation of the former; the objective view of religion serves for setting forth the subjective, not vice versa. Religion is a Divine act, a well considered and predetermined manifestation by God of himself in humanity. Hence the possibility of explaining the fellowship of humanity with God. This fellowship with God

can no more be explained from the nature of humanity nor indeed of the individual man, than the idea of God can be developed out of the idea of man. The existence of God is the cause of human existence. Consequently, fellowship with man must be first comprehended in the idea of God, not fellowship with God in the idea of man. That this is so will be seen when we have proved the first part of the position. Our affirmation is, that the knowledge of God is first, self-knowledge, second. Humanity comes through the knowledge of God to its self-knowledge, and not through self-knowledge to the knowledge of God. The phenomenon, the obvious development of self-knowledge, not the nature of this entity, is now before us. If out of the fact of self-knowledge, the fact of the knowledge of God might be made to follow by logical development, then the latter would be only a property, an element of the former; the original would be only a part of the derived. "I am; I am, but not without God; therefore God is." That would be the conclusion of which this view is the foundation. But while I consider the idea of God, and refer it to the idea of the Ego, I invert the conclusion; the absolute and actual being is God, for my being is only possible and a subject of thought under the supposition that God is. So the supposition becomes clear, God is; but because my being is actually connected with the being of God, it follows that I also am. Self-consciousness cannot be equal to a consciousness of God, still less predominate over it, but must be subordinate to it, both in idea and fact.

If such is the case with these two opposing ideas, we must look for something intermediate, namely, the idea of religion, to connect them together. The reference of the I to God in human self-knowledge, as in human life generally, comes not through the idea of the I, but first through the idea of God, the former being derived from the latter. Concretely expressed, the fellowship of God with man is not established by man, but by God; out of this divinely established fellowship of God with man springs then the fellowship of man with God. The influence of this apparently little change becomes obvious, as soon as we understand how to apply both the one perception and the other to the development of some theological opinion. If you proceed in the way marked out, there will be no difficulty in the explanation of such facts as the incarnation of Christ, the operation of the Divine Word, the Church and the sacrament. Religion is a fellowship established by God between himself and humanity. The incarnation is a miraculous act, foreordained in the Divine arrangement of things, and in fulness of time accomplished, by means of

which act, fellowship with God broken off by man, or neglected, might be restored. The Word is a divinely appointed and necessary means for the foundation, construction, and vitalization of this fellowship. The same is true of the sacraments, only with this difference, that here God makes use of certain natural elements to accomplish his purposes. The church, considered as an organized whole, is a fellowship established or renewed by the Divine act. In all applications of this idea, the grand characteristic, without which these subjects cannot be understood, is the Divine act.

If now we seek to derive the same ideas out of religion as viewed by Schleiermacher, we stumble at the very first step. "Religion is an absolute feeling of dependence." But, can we derive out of this absolute feeling of dependence the incarnation or the sending of the Holy Spirit, even though we add to it a reference to Jesus of Nazareth? In other ideas, for instance, that of prayer, of repentance, of faith, etc., the derivation can be made without an apparent deficiency of logical consequence. But to the idea of religion now set forth, everything which forms an essential part of theology, is directly referred; as in jurisprudence every subject is referred to the established idea of law.

The same is true with the Hegelian idea of religion as originally presented, where religion is set forth, in the form of its presentation, as the knowledge of the absolute; also with the opinion of Tzeller, according to which, religion is a pathological relation, relating exclusively to man's happiness. Never can it be shown that the Lord's Supper originated in consequence of any conceivable development of human reasoning. Nor is it possible for the church to refer its origin to man's desire of happiness. The latter supposition would be an absolute contradiction to historical fact, according to which the church is an ordinance of the Son of God, a fellowship founded on his authority, and sustained by his agency. The former case is positively absurd, and affords nothing better than a scientific contradiction. The ideas above mentioned are actually not derivable from the system of Schleiermacher and Hegel, but are forced in, wherever there is a convenient place for them. Whatever might be developed out of the fundamental principles of the aforesaid schools, there would be, for example, in the Lord's Supper, only the desire of a person feeling himself absolutely dependent on Jesus and referring his dependence to the supper, and the effects which the ceremonial produces upon him, etc. And when, finally, Hegel considers worship as an activity which is to be referred to no other than this same concrete principle, it is easy

to see how entirely insufficient such a view of the nature of religion is, for the scientific construction of religious doctrine, when the very last trace of the influence of God upon man is excluded from worship and religion.

We hope, in what has been said, we have so clearly explained ourselves, that we shall not be charged with holding to a view of religion, by which God himself would be designated as religious. When we explain religion as an act of God manifesting and imparting himself to man, we do not say that this act of God himself springs from religion, but only that religion is created by this act. When God is the author of religion, he is no more on that account religious than he is worldly, because he has created the world, or human, because he has made man. The misunderstanding through which our principles might be reduced to an absurdity, rests on a change of religion, from the objective to the subjective sense, and will be entirely removed further on, when we come to speak about the expression, "Religion itself." But the scientific claim, hitherto set up, speaks for itself.

Next to this first and principal claim we have a second to make. We have from the beginning avoided the expression, religion is a fellowship of God with man, and have used instead the word, humanity. This word, man, seems to us here wholly insufficient; for neither in creation nor in redemption, nor in the termination of the world, has God to do with this or that creature, in his individual capacity, but he has to do with an articulated whole, with an organism, with the individual members of this organism only as they *are* members of it, or if not members, then only as they are capable of becoming such. We imagine the creation of man not in this way, that God willed to call into being a certain limited number of individual personalities, in his image; but in this way, that from the beginning the question is about the presentation of a humanity which, considered in a downward direction, in its ever recurring totality, should make out the head, the middle point and the connection of that part of our creation which is not in the Divine image, but, in reference to what is above on the contrary, should be bound mutually together as an articulated whole, through its communion with God, and that too whether this connection may have been already completed in itself, or, on the supposition of an apostasy, by the incarnation of the Son of God. We think of the idea of the Divine image in man, not as if every man in his individual capacity were a complete image of God; this would be too atomical and mechanical.

God's creation partakes much more of a universal life; the organic is an essential characteristic of his work from the greatest down to the least. It is not easy to see how a perpetual series of individual human creations would promote the revelation of God, when every new specimen would be merely a repetition of the preceding. We should rather say that every individual man reflects the Divine image only in part, the complete manifestation being realized only in the sum total of humanity, including every person from Adam and Eve down to the end of time. It is therefore easy to understand why a series of human generations must rise and fall in order to bring the thoughts of God into manifestation. Here then we have a sufficiently complete point of view for the historical development of humanity. It would moreover be entirely impossible, that the perfection of God should be mirrored in a single human being. This is conceivable only of that being who stands at the head of all humanity. Every other individual of the human race reveals only a part of the Deity. But wherever a part is truly present, the whole being connected with it is in some sense present also; hence it is not improper to say that every man is an image of God. As this must be confessed of individual persons, it is also true of individual families, tribes, nations, so that every people must be considered as a partial representation of the Divine being, but the whole human race together, the perfect representation. This is just what the Sacred Scriptures say of the relation of the church as a whole and of every individual member of the church to Christ. In every individual Christian, Christ must be formed; but in every one, as many passages show, especially those where the church is called the body of Christ, he must be formed in a peculiar, partial manner, in a manner which requires all the other members to complete the formation. The church, as a whole, not the individual Christian, is the body of Christ, as appears from 1 Cor. 12: 12. Exactly in this New Testament view, may be found the biblical justification of the sentiment we have expressed concerning the image of God. For the church is not something absolutely new but only the carrying out, through Christ, of the original plan of Divine manifestation, ordained from the beginning. Humanity was originally destined to be what it has since become through Christ, and such it would have been if the apostasy had not intervened. In this we say nothing new, but maintain the pure biblical thought, that redemption is a second or new creation.

Humanity is thus out and out a body. According to this, we do not consider the progress of renewal in Christ as it is carried forward

by the Word and ordinances, as if here and there an individual was newly created and appended to the existing whole, with which previously he had no connection; but, because every man and every people is already a member in the great body politic of humanity, but this body is dead through the apostasy so that every new member brings death in a spiritual sense along with it, our question, therefore, generally speaking, respects the reviving of the body. The proper original power of humanity to produce personalities, that is to say, manifestations of God by his image in man, must be restored. The soul of humanity, or what is better, its spirit, its pneumatic power, must be awakened, new-created, in order that its organizing activity may be able to act again, as the body of Sarah was quickened anew, that it might be able to bring forth a human person in the natural sense. This comes to pass, through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Through this act of God, the power of spiritual generation is restored again to the unfruitful body of humanity. The restoration commenced in an appointed organ of the body, in the people of Israel, and the body thus quickened in this most important organ, becomes the first community. But by means of the articulated connection in which the whole humanity stands with the people of Israel, and this people again with the first fruits of the same, and by means of the living connection between these first fruits or the new humanity and its head, Christ, the whole humanity is ideally, or if you please, mystically, vivified again. For Christ is not merely the life of Israel but of the whole world. Humanity is now transformed into the church. Humanity as such is renewed, not merely a small part of the individual persons belonging to it. From the very moment when Christ took away death reigning in it according to its nature, and imparted to it for the second time its original principles of life, the renewal began.

If now we compare these propositions with the commonly received view, it will not be difficult to perceive the difference. The common view takes its rise from man as an individual, develops the various sides of his being, according to which he needs the complement, in order to realize his conception, that is, in order to become as an individual what he as an individual might become, and out of this necessity, explains the social union constituting the religious fellowship which we call the church. Humanity, according to this, is not originally an inseparable articulated whole, to which every individual man belongs, as a limb belongs to the body, and in which every one feels himself to be a limb of the body, but it is at first only a general

idea, and becomes an actuality only by these scattered limbs moving together through a common attraction in orderly march — the monades uniting by preëstablished harmony — till out of the intersection of the radii there arises a centre. The process would perhaps be the same as that by which the old atomic philosophy produced the creation of the world out of the unexplainable congregating of unnumbered primitive particles. The view we have advanced, makes the process like that in Ezekiel xxxvii, where the bones move and come together. In this parable, if you look beneath the surface, you find the very view which we have presented. First, indeed, the passage speaks only of a multitude of scattered fragments, which stand in no connection with each other, but the circumstance that they are the bones of the dead and so fragments which formerly existed together as they are about to exist again, brings us to the conclusion that before the mind of the prophet there was the form of a body when he contemplated Israel, in its original character. Besides, in this parable, there is no indication that the parts were brought together and quickened into life by any naturally inherent power. But Ezekiel speaks of a power standing above them, the breath of life, a soul, through which they are brought together again. In a word, it is our opinion, that in the fellowship of religion, in like manner, the whole precedes the parts. The quickening of the individual man must be considered as a consequence of the quickening of humanity. The founding of Christ's kingdom on the earth is the reason why individual men come into fellowship with God; the new birth of individual men, and the conduct of such men, springing out of the new birth, is not the reason for establishing Christ's kingdom and founding the church. If what we have now advanced is correct, it follows that, when you wish to explain the nature of religion, you will not need to speak of a fellowship between God and the individual man, but a fellowship of God and of humanity, and the relation of the individual to God can be understood only by its connection with the whole. We must not, however, understand this as if God could have no intercourse with the individual except through the medium of the whole. This would be an impracticable thought; for there must be somewhere a point through which the power and operation of God enters the whole, and that point can be no other than some individual man, through whom the Divine working passes on to the remaining members. If, now, in any instance this individual member should not be the head, but some humbler member, though a most important one, there seems to be no good reason why the working of God should

not come into the body total, through the humbler member, even though it be in a humbler way. This in fact is the case. God stands with every member of the whole, partly in a mediate and partly in an immediate relation. Every member to a certain extent, and according to its importance, can become the middle point for the whole. That is the conditioned independence of the individual upon the whole. On this account, you can properly say, that the relation in which the member stands to the whole body, may be dependent on the relation in which it stands to the head of the body, to God. But never can the individual member be organized with God, in a state of dismembership, when, in such a state, especially as respects the head of humanity, Christ, it could not exist. But its fellowship with God is obtained by the restoration of its membership to the whole body of humanity; by means of the generating power again restored to the body politic through the Holy Spirit, the member is renewed according to its original destination. Thus much has been said to avoid a misunderstanding, to which we might be exposed by the above arrangement of individual and whole, and by the mediate connection with God which we have set forth.

We now proceed to the third point, the psychological question: To which of the intellectual faculties does religion belong? In the first place, it is evident that the question no longer turns upon the problem of bringing the idea of religion into a definite section of psychology. We have set forth religion as the result of a Divine act — an act which seeks the advancement of humanity as a whole, in its peculiar collective life. In this may be found our answer to the question in hand. Religion is neither knowing nor acting nor feeling. It is LIFE, nothing more, nothing less than the life of humanity; not a certain form or expression of life, but the collected life itself. We limit the idea only by saying, that it is this life, so far as God has bestowed it, so far as it is a communion with God. For humanity depends, on the other side, upon its connection with the world, living in and with the world, being also a part of the world. This worldly side of the entire life of humanity, falls without the circumference of religion, and stands in opposition to it, under the name of worldly life; for this reason we might characterize religion by the expression, God-life, a term for the choice of which we have scriptural authority, in the words: Thou man of God flee such things, etc. The question no longer turns on distinguishing religion from single expressions of life, science, art, etc. For these are only forms of life, not the life itself; but religion is the actual concrete life of hu-

manity. God, the absolute life, lives in humanity, and humanity in God, just as the life of humanity on the side of nature lives in the world and the world in it. Religion and the being of humanity are in a certain sense completely identical conceptions. For *being*, indeed, is of two kinds, absolute being, having in itself the power to break through all limitations of time and place, in other words, ETERNITY (immortality is too weak an expression), and conditional being or that which is perishable. The former only is properly and really *being*. Now the nature of humanity and man is to live forever, for eternity is involved in the very idea of God's image. But religion subjectively considered, is God's image, eternity; hence religion, in the absolute sense, may be designated as no other than the being of humanity. As soon as we separate the idea of religion from the idea of humanity, we destroy the latter unconditionally and entirely, just as we destroy the idea of conditional humanity when we take the worldly life away from it; and as it is with humanity as a whole, so is it with man as an individual. Man is religious, in other words, he is. A man who is not religious, is absolutely *not*. His being is the mere appearance of being, unconditional nothing in the outward form of something, death in the attributes of life. As now we would not raise the question whether human life consists in knowing or acting or feeling, and as it is self-evident that it embraces all three, it is equally clear, that the question ought not to be raised in religion. If religion is life and indeed the life of humanity, it may just as well be a *knowing* as action and feeling; science belongs to it no more than art, and art no more than legislation, government, etc.; they are all important to it.

The case is different, if we raise the question: whether, generally speaking, these three intellectual faculties (assuming that they have been rightly set forth), are equivalent to each other in the life, so that we must say, not only that religion is at the same time threefold and one of the three as much as another, but also, it is one in the same sense as another. The latter supposition is an impossibility. For, as we have said above, an exact mathematical equivalence of several forces working together in a life, would be the destruction of the very idea of life. Working and counterworking, attraction and repulsion, opposition, are essential to the life. But where there is opposition, there is no unconditional equilibrium; for while the one force rules, the other must serve, and in general the ruling must be more on the side of the one, the serving on the side of the other force. As certain as sound psychology shows that, generally speaking, one of the

intellectual activities assumes preëminence over the others, so certainly do we affirm of religion, that one of those three forces must, in a certain sense, be first, and make out the proper seat of religion, and so our first question returns again.

It might, indeed, beforehand, excite suspicion of our affirmations, if that question should appear altogether superfluous; for it is hardly supposable that science would continually return to this point, when it offers no scientific interest connected with the nature of our subject. But, in fact, the new problem has been somewhat changed, as we approach it from an entirely different direction. According to the former mode of treating the subject, the hypothesis of our investigation is simply the existence of the I, as that in which religion is, and it only remains for us to find the proper place for it in the I. Here, on the contrary, we come prepared with the idea of God, of creation and humanity, of redemption and the church, and have nothing to do but to find the connection, by means of which, the life of God and of humanity, and the life of the individual being, exist together. In other words, we ask, what is that activity of man through which the Divine act of founding a fellowship of life with man becomes and continues a reality, in every particular individual. So much is certain, the fellowship of life on the part of God *cannot* be caused or made possible through any preceding action, or preceding condition on the part of man; for it is coetaneous with the creation of man. For a stronger reason, all religion begins with God. Religion originates in an unconditional and immediate act of God. Man was so created that at first he could not be anything other than religious. Consequently, there remains on the part of man only the receiving, the retaining and the improving of what was given absolutely by God. The absolute act on the part of God demands on the part of man, for its complement, nothing but an equally absolute sufferance of the act; the immediate inserting of life, an equally immediate permission for it to remain; the unconditioned gift, an equally unconditioned reception. Sufferance, permission, reception, however, are not movements of feeling, nor movements of knowing, but of the will. It is passive volition which first produces, on the part of man, the fellowship of life with God. This passive volition is nothing other than faith, or a free self-devotion to God, produced, however, not by a self-inspired determination, but by a divinely-inspired determination. We say, therefore, of the religious life nothing different from what we say in principle of the natural or worldly life. The act by which life is imparted to the natural man, demands likewise for its realiza-

tion a permission to be on the part of man. In this form, in the form of passivity, personal life comes forward, moreover, when the time of conscious free agency has come. The quickening of the man depends on this, that he suffers himself to live, that he does not oppose the procession of life by violently resisting involuntary respiration. Out of the passivity of the will, by means of which man does not prevent his life, an active determination is developed to cherish his life, just as in the life of God, out of this mere consent to be determined, true free-agency or love is produced. We here come upon acknowledged biblical ground, for according to Heb. ii, faith, trust, confidence, absolute submission to God, is the fundamental activity by which the good of all times stand in connection with God. The cause of the apostasy is distrust, opposition to the Divine life-giving and life-sustaining act. The means by which the human and Divine communion is renewed, is the free but unconditioned sufferance of the Divine act of redemption, in which absolute faith is the counterpart of absolute free-grace. Finally, we accord in our representation, with evangelical doctrine; for the doctrine of the evangelical church, we mean the doctrine of justification by faith, expresses in different words the same thing which we expressed, viz. that the reunion of this fellowship with God consists on the part of man only in the unconditional, the absolute, reception of it.

Religion would consequently be psychologically defined a matter of the will, and religion would be explained, not as an action, but as the receiving of an action. For in the first place, *πίστις*, as its derivation from *πειθεω* and its usage show, is not a purely theoretical idea, but involves the practical. Knowledge as belonging to belief, is something which passes over into the character, the will. Belief, so far as it comprehends the subjective certainty of the truth of a word, arises from the condition which the believer has received from him who utters the word. In the second place, which is a point of great importance, the preëminence we have given to the will, does not exclude the other two intellectual activities. On the contrary, the more important, as respects the personal life, an act of the mind may be, the more completely does it involve all the other essential faculties of that life; this is particularly the case with faith, because if not the very highest, it is one of the highest expressions of personality. Faith, and every single act of faith, exists only in connection with the knowledge of its object, and is, generally speaking, impossible without corresponding feeling, viz. the feeling of blessedness. With the highest expression of will, viz. the suffering of the

work of God, the highest activity of the understanding and reason, viz. the perceiving and receiving of Divine truth, and the highest species of feeling, viz. the consciousness of unconditional union with God, is necessarily connected. By the prominence here given to the will, we are not to suppose that all the various characteristics of religion meet only in the element of will, but the other two elements have each a certain independence of their own. The acknowledgment and utterance of a religious truth is an expression of the religious life, without regard to the question whether the act of faith which stands in connection with it, and gave the first impulse to it, actually corresponds in its strength to the depth of that religious truth. The Christian minister, for instance, who stands in a living connection with Christ, can present the doctrine of justification by faith, in consequence of his knowledge of Scripture and his skill in logical reasoning, with almost perfect success, without having experienced the full power of the doctrine which he theoretically comprehends. The comparatively smaller measure of faith connects itself with a greater measure of intelligence; knowledge outruns faith and secures the corresponding strength of faith only through the subsequent further formation of the religious life. This is sometimes the case with scientific theologians, and even, though perhaps less frequently, with the preacher and pastor, called by his office to maintain the truths of his creed. It would, however, be great injustice to doubt the existence of piety wherever this incongruity appears. It is seldom, and only when a man of extraordinary powers, by means of understanding and imagination, is able to seize on the almost entire contents of Christian dogmatism—that knowledge without faith presents the true semblance of spiritual life. The same is true of the life of feeling. It is indeed possible and sometimes happens, that a man becomes enamored with the beauty of the Christian religion in some of its elements, as, for instance, Christian poetry and music, simply because, having a natural genius for these arts, his mind applies itself to the nearest objects of the kind, and thus a species of religious life is awakened and sustained within him. If, from this conclusion, it does not follow that Christian truth comes more closely home to such a person, and his devotion to God becomes more complete, but he continues to be enamored with religion by his love of Christian beauty, we have a case similar to that before mentioned respecting knowledge. And, indeed, this religion of Christian beauty is more common than the religion of theological science. This is evident from the multitude of artists, who without any experimental knowledge of

the truth, without repentance or faith, merely by the higher movements of a creative imagination, are able to produce works of art which actualize the religious idea and promote personal edification. Just so frequently does it happen that a person makes rapid strides in religious feeling, while knowledge and faith linger far behind. The paragons of this kind must be sought for chiefly within the circles of an effeminate religiosity. Finally, the will itself, the centre of the soul's life, faith in distinction from knowledge and feeling, may be developed in disproportionate strength, and so the partial independence of the soul's forces upon each other be brought to light. On the whole, this fact has been most unfrequently observed within the circle of sound intellects, and for the simple reason that with the normal vitalization of the centre, the animation of the other forces is connected. In the meanwhile, an uncommonly feeble organization of the cognizing faculty, and the same is true of the emotional faculty, may hinder a justly proportioned development. This is often the case in melancholy, mental imbecility and temptation. Here experience shows that, in a confused state of knowledge and feeling, the will is the only uninjured element, which not only furnishes a connecting point with the foregoing, but also, while great weakness and indolence of action in both the other departments is felt, makes rapid growth. The case is different from what has been said respecting feeling and knowledge; that activity of will should exist without actual life is not conceivable. Faith in God cannot, like knowledge or feeling, be received in a merely superficial way; entire consecration to God is under all circumstances the actual religious life. Religious life does not always exist wherever there is a knowledge of religious truth; nor does it always exist wherever there is a taste for the beauty of Christian fellowship; but always wherever faith exists, there is also an actual participation in this fellowship. And here it is evident, again, that faith must be looked upon as the proper centre of religious life.

One thing here must not be overlooked. We have placed the centre of the religious life in the passive will, correlative to which stands the active will, namely love, as the fruit of the passive. But here a relation may arise which does not correspond to the nature of religion. We refer to the presence of a religious love, which has not sprung from a corresponding degree of faith. Where this love is developed altogether without faith, there it is not at all of a religious nature, but belongs to the higher degrees of worldly love. But there is a real development of religious love, to which the foundation of a

complete, absolute devotion to God is wanting, and which, more carefully considered, appears to consist of a mixture of worldly love, with the love of God. This is that form of religion in which fellowship with God is sought, partly through the reception of the Divine work, but still more in the performance of human works. To such a form of the religious life, actual religion need not generally be denied. It is evident, however, that the manifestation predominates over the reality, that the appearance surpasses the truth concealed behind it, and that, consequently, here also a change has taken place in the relation of the religious forces prejudicial to religion itself.

If now we look back to the result of the positions established, we can derive a new argument from them to show that religion is actually nothing other than life, and that it cannot be placed by the side of other similar phenomena, as science and art stand by each other and are thus subordinate to a third and higher element. The relation of these two forms of human life to each other, is entirely different from the relation of either of them to religion. Wherever logical knowledge and expression fail, there is no science. The reasoning form is such an essential characteristic of science, that where it is even partially wanting, as in dialogue and allegory, though designed to present under these forms logical thought, the bounds of science have been overstepped. Just so it is with art. Without beauty, as without the definite form in which cultivated feeling and imagination express themselves, there is no work of art. The beauty may be very defective, but the idea lies at the foundation, even when the execution in every respect contradicts the ideal. A didactic poem, however beautiful, has no title to be considered a work of art, and if the meaning of a play is brought into the form of a treatise, its artistic character is entirely destroyed. If, now, religion were feeling, that action of feeling or state of mind which we call religious, would cease to be religious, as soon as it began to be exhibited scientifically, or in the form of a treatise. But this is by no means the case. The thought that God created the world, is a religious thought, whether it is expressed in the forms of rhetorical beauty, or in the noble strains of the Oratorio, or as a scientific proposition. Remembering that an act may be objectively religious, when not performed in a religious spirit, we may say that the study of interpretation is just as religious an employment, as the singing of a hymn, or prayer to Jesus, or the writing of ecclesiastical canons or the guiding of a soul to Christ. But whatever remains essentially equivalent to itself, though brought into the most diverse forms of life, cannot be itself a form of life, but must be the life itself.

The truth here explained is of great importance to a question, which has been latterly much discussed, the question about the difference between religion and philosophy. It is by no means difference of form, which makes a thought now a religious and now a philosophical thought. Philosophy is manifestly a business of the natural man, as may be proved from this, that in the fullest and most perfect form it belongs to heathenism, whereas it did not belong to Christianity, before heathenism entered into the kingdom of God. For the Old Testament contains nothing which resembles philosophy, except in the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, etc., but is essentially of a theological nature. The case is different with Grecian theology. Grecian theology finds its explanation in the philosophy of nature, in which there are correspondencies to a *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, but nothing more. Hence philosophy has to do with the worldly life of humanity, the nature and laws of which can be known without Revelation. Its peculiar seat is anthropology; its most common and deepest principle is the Grecian *γνώσις σαυρόν*. But while the worldly life, and the divine life are most intimately conjoined in the true humanity, and while the intellectual laws of the natural man, generally, not unconditionally, remain the same in a mind enlightened by the Holy Spirit, the laws of spiritual operation may be contemplated from a natural point of view, and thus habitually be applied to theology and so to religion. So far as philosophy has to do with purely natural objects, there is almost no opposition at all between it and religion. Only perhaps in the doctrine of the Trinity can the question arise, whether there is anything in this doctrine inconsistent with the laws of philosophical ratiocination. But the certitude of the doctrine does not depend upon our answer to this question; as the doctrine was not deduced from the laws of thought, the critic is not here subjected to them. This is ground on which religion and philosophy come no more into contact than anatomy and politics. But the question must be referred to some ground common to both; in other words, to the philosophy of religion. On this account we must postpone the answer in part, till we come to investigate the idea and the title of this science itself. At present we only say that, when observation teaches that a person can be religious without thinking philosophically upon religion, and again, that philosophizing upon religion does not destroy but rather confirms it, it becomes evident that philosophy may be a form of the religious life existing in connection with other forms of the same. And while many think of religion without philosophizing upon it, religious philosophy on the other hand is a form of religious

thinking; indeed the peculiar form of a particular side of the religious life. Philosophy is either religious or not religious, that is, worldly; and religion is either philosophical or not philosophical. Consequently it is clear that religion and philosophy are not to be contrasted, but only a certain form of religion and a certain form of philosophy. Religious thinking which is not philosophical, is perhaps contrasted with religious thinking which is philosophical; and if religious thinking which is not philosophical should, generally speaking, and by means of a denomination *a parte potiori*, be called theology, then the question purely conceived becomes clear, how religious philosophy stands related to theology? If, finally, there is a form of philosophy which approaches peculiarly near to philosophical thinking upon religion, viz., the so-called speculative theology, the sphere of the two contrasted subjects becomes still more contracted while the question is put, how religious philosophy stands related to speculative theology? What is the difference between them? We must confess that we see none. If there is any, it must be this: that while religious philosophy undertakes to show, that the laws of thinking agree with the dogmas of religion, speculative theology turns the subject round and shows that the dogmas of religion agree with the laws of thought. But if we take in hand a religious philosophy and a speculative theology of the Hegelian school, it must be confessed, that even this difference cannot be maintained, but the two must be considered about the same, both in meaning and in form. Should it be said that speculative theology proves the dogmas of religion, but religious philosophy solves them, then it follows that the latter is not a form of religious thought, but of worldly thought, perhaps logic or anthropology, just as the latest Hegelian school considers religion anthropology and has resolved it into the same.

In the meanwhile, let us suppose again, in order to fulfil all righteousness, that philosophy, so far as it has to do with subjects of religion and religion, that is, religious thinking, are the different forms of one and the same meaning, the one being a lower and the other a higher form. According to the Hegelian school, and the same is elsewhere also popular, the proposition that God is triune, set forth in a sermon or in a book of devotion, might be contemplated as a religious proposition, that is, a proposition which belongs to a mode of representation. The same truth, expressed in a treatise of religious philosophy, would be a philosophical proposition. But wherein consists the difference? In the use of certain technical expressions of philosophy, as, for example, that it is the nature of the absolute to distin-

guish itself within itself, and in this distinction to be identical with itself. Every one sees that the use of such terms is not essential, even to philosophy; equally clear is it that a proposition does not cease to be religious whenever it is translated out of the vulgar dialect into the language of scientific abstraction. Who would engage to show the difference between the doctrine of the word of God, as contained in the prologue of John's gospel, and as expressed in some treatise of religious philosophy? Are not the passages in John speculative in form as well as in meaning? Are Schleiermacher's discourses upon religion composed in the form of philosophical thought, or in the form of religious presentation? Where is the boundary by which one of Jacob Boehme's books of devotion can be separated from Schelling's doctrine of freedom, or from Spinoza's mystical ethica, so that you can assign this to philosophy and that to religion? Perhaps it may be said, the difference lies in the connection and aim which is pursued in the utterance of a truth. But this would be an unsafe retreat; for it would bring us in the end to the affirmation, that a proposition would cease to be philosophical as soon as it should cease to appear in the connection of a treatise. Enough of this. We return to our original affirmation, viz. philosophy, religious philosophy, is a part, a peculiar form of religious life, and the difference between it and religion is, consequently, that existing between a member and its body, and like other members it has power to become a conditional centre of Divine life, while the leading member and first centre is the passive will or faith.

We call the passive will the first centre, and connect with it several centres in one and the same whole. In principle, we have done this already, as we have spoken of a conditional independence of the two other faculties of the soul, also of the active will in distinction from the passive. Here we must be allowed a wider range for considering a proposition of the highest importance in a historical respect.

It is, generally speaking, a law of life, that an organic whole has not merely one but several centres, poles, foci, which are of unequal importance as respects the whole. Corporeal life, for example, has not only the brain for its centre, but also the heart and organ of digestion. What, now, is the centre, which must act as such, which must, under certain limitations and at certain times, predominate over all the others, so that the centres of a higher class become subordinate to it? The brain, for example, becomes dependent upon the organ of digestion, loses something of its power of action during digestion and sleep, and no longer controls the other activities of the

system, or controls them only in a limited way; but the organ of digestion is still an inferior form of the entire corporeal life, as the organ of sensation and of motion is of a higher activity. These truths are commonly acknowledged, though not properly considered and applied. But another consequence growing out of them is not so generally noticed: that with the wounding and debility of a principal organ, life is not destroyed. The intemperate and untimely working of a subordinate force produces, indeed, disorder, sickness, disease, but not necessarily death. Just so is it in reference to the spiritual life. For, first of all, according to the true idea of the life, the leading faculty, faith, does not always maintain preëminence. But the religious life applies itself with more vigor occasionally to the other powers; the passive will giving place to the active, the active to knowledge, and knowledge to feeling. The remark will apply to the life of an individual and the life of a community. This periodicity is indispensable in religion. The activities of life bend now in this direction and now in that, in order to restore the equilibrium at its centre; and so long as this restoration is duly secured, the rising and falling of the scales will not be injurious, but advantageous. Experience teaches that individuals, as well as whole tribes and nations, are organized apparently for the maintenance of some inferior element, and to preserve it for the good of the whole. And, again, history so changes, that from time to time a different form of life takes precedence. Religious philosophy, therefore, must accommodate itself in a scientific respect, to the occasional development of the religious idea. Accordingly, at one time, religion may be held in the leading form of knowledge, because the life of the community applies itself in that direction; at another time, feeling may take precedence. If we overlook these truths, we must consider all the forms of social, religious development, not excluding the most recent, as untrue or as mere temporary forms. According to a religious philosophy which takes its rise from the Lutheran creed, the Grecian, Roman and Reformed Churches must all be considered as mere perversions of the religious life. All those forms of the religious idea, which present religion as chiefly feeling or knowing, must be looked upon as mere mistakes, notwithstanding religious science has been greatly promoted by them and the discoveries made in these several schools are indispensable as respects the future.

If, on the contrary, you overlook the first part of our propositions, you will be brought to the impossible conclusion, that the perception of religion which is peculiar to the female sex, must be transformed

into a masculine character, as it would have no independent authority of its own; while nothing is more certain than that this perception of religion must exist as long as the female sex exists. For the same reason, we must deny to the present time, which leans more to the rational perception of religion, all its importance to the religious whole; while it is unquestionable that the soil of the present is most fruitful in religious productions. These less perfect forms of religion are essential to the manifestation of its true idea. They have this advantage over the more perfect, that on account of their imperfection as a whole, they are the more perfect as parts, and to a certain extent afford a measuring-rule for the more perfect and the means of reviving them. They are not, indeed, in their want of perfection, a sickness or weakness, no more than feeling is a weakness of the will; but they can easily become so, more easily than the central force, if by excessive action they strive to impress their stamp upon the life generally. And if this excess reaches its highest degree, the consequence is the entire destruction of the life.

Now in the religious life of those individuals and nations which are adapted by natural organization to preserve the balance of religious tendencies, because they take up the religious life at the middle-point — faith operates to prevent this excess. The principal excellence of the persons and nations in question, lies, not in their cultivating this or that side of the religious life, but in preserving all its elements in just proportions. This kind of religious life affords, comparatively speaking, the greatest security that no essential part of the same will remain undeveloped or be suddenly curtailed in its development. We say comparatively speaking, for it is impossible to avoid some fluctuating, when the question turns on the precedence of life. The central direction will now incline to the one side and now to the other, as the magnetic needle points not exactly north nor exactly south, but trembles towards the west or towards the east. These fluctuations are proportionally small, and do not change the main direction. This regulating character has masculine piety in distinction from feminine or that of children and youth. The New Testament presents proof, and daily observation confirms it, that there is a peculiar susceptibility to religious influence, in the female sex. But the passive will inclines so much to the side of feeling, and this comes forth so strongly that religion confines itself in them almost entirely to their own persons, and does not manifest itself in the form of a discourse which produces life in others. Their relation to Christ appears to be chiefly subjective; but, personally speaking,

religion is worth more to them than to the other sex. But their dependence on Christ for the advancement of religion in society, is less perfect than their personal dependence, and the efficiency of believing women in the New Testament bears no proportion to their numbers. Not only do they make much less progress in religious knowledge, but their activity confines itself very much to works of love, in individual relations not affecting the community at large. Very different is the case with Peter, John and Paul. With them faith, in distinction from feeling, is the proper centre of their religious life, though in Paul there is a remarkable inclination to the side of knowledge, in Peter a disproportionate strength of the active will, in John a most perfect balance of knowledge and feeling. But each possesses all the forms of life in a considerable degree, and the normal condition of their faith may be estimated by the success which the quickening word wrought through them in wider circles of life, while, in the full flower of mercy-gifts of every kind, they manifested a high degree of improvability and a considerable strength of the passive will.

Such a relation, though in a different respect, exists between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Both rest on faith, but the latter with a disproportionate leaning towards the department of knowledge. The consequence is, that knowledge, especially dialectic knowledge, is highly cultivated in the Reformed Church, but the department of feeling is almost entirely neglected, and faith is so limited and encumbered that, just at the point where the Lutheran Church is particularly characterized by a reception of Divine mercies, viz. in the Lord's Supper, the Reformed Church substitutes partly knowledge and partly self-activity, and injures religion at the very heart. The Lutheran Church, by inclining less to the department of knowledge, brings both knowledge and feeling to a more harmonious development, and thus secures a more justly proportioned form.

What has thus far been presented, may serve to verify the psychological idea of religion, which we have maintained. But here we must not overlook the essential fact that religion has also a corporeal form, being as much affected by the outward and the material as mind is by the body. How different are the religious phenomena of this kind, in some circumstances, from what they are in others. Sickness or health, this or that kind of disease, this or that employment, climate, clearly occasion characteristic manifestations. Religion often produces a change in modes of speech, in the cast of the countenance, in the gestures of the body. To this corporeal form belong the water, the bread and the wine of the sacraments, and the resurrection of the body from the dead.

These facts, in the mere subjective idea of religion, as that of Schleiermacher, remain wholly unexplained and unconsidered. They are at best exceptions, and come into the idea by a sort of violence, if they do not destroy it altogether. On the contrary, these facts lie exactly in the track of our explanation. Out of a mere feeling of dependence, the idea of the world's renewal can never be deduced. But how easily can we derive it from an act of God imparting a life. The idea of personal life brings along with it the idea of body—the working of spirit on matter and of matter on spirit, the direct and indirect mastery of mind through the body over nature and the reaction of nature through the body on the mind. It is the nature of personality not merely to be a self-conscious spirit, but to have in it a self-conscious spirit standing in an important relation to matter, either personally connected with it, as in the case of man, or capable of assuming it, as in the case of the Son of God and the angels. We thus hold to a view of religion in which the resurrection of the body, miracles, etc., which stand as an irrefragable barrier against mere spiritualism, find a conceivable and appropriate place.

We come now in conclusion to the solution of a problem which goes to prove the actual necessity of our idea of religion. We are to show how this idea of religion comprehends all the branches of religious science within it. Possibly this may be considered our most dangerous rock, for we freely confess that the idea maintained by us is not adapted to the construction of a religious philosophy, as that science is commonly treated. Most clearly, we cannot say of the heathen systems of religion, nor of Mohammedanism, that they came from God or embrace an actual fellowship between Deity and humanity. They rest on a perversion of the divine idea, and include no act of God or living fellowship with him. If we must have a religious philosophy which embraces heathenism as a legitimate portion of it, Schleiermacher's feeling of dependence, or Hegel's self-consciousness, to which systems, by a distinction of degrees and kinds all that is merely subjective in religion can be reduced, would be better adapted to the purpose. But this becomes possible only by embracing an idea of religion of such a general and insignificant character, that, for conducting Christianity especially in its subjective parts out of the same, only a very narrow passage-way remains, while the objective, which is the most important element, reaches far beyond these limits, and brings us to the confession, sufficiently obvious at first blush, that Christianity is something much more than mere religion; otherwise we shall have a scientific idea of religion which fails

at the very point where it ought to be most perfect. Or if we would extend and animate the idea of religion so as to embrace Christianity, we should be driven to straits, in another direction, and have an idea too exalted for the heathen religions, and indeed exactly opposed to them. For if you place at the foundation of your inquiry about the nature of heathenism, not merely the oft-quoted passage in Acts xvii., but the more complete and extended one in Romans i., you have in heathenism *religio a non religando or religendo*. According to Paul, in this passage, heathenism in its noblest form, the Grecian, is a perversion and consequently a destruction of the idea of God. It proceeds not, like Judaism, from a partial development of acknowledged truth, towards a full reception of the same; but by degrees, sometimes through apparent progress, it goes on to a total loss of true divine knowledge, as is actually the historic course of heathen religions to this day. Of course there remain some traces of truth in false religions. How else could they rise, exist, advance, recede, yea, destroy themselves, if there were no element of truth in them? It is moreover not denied that individuals have sometimes risen in a religious respect above the communities in which they lived; but that which properly belongs to heathenism, its grand characteristic, is a lie! Consequently we must either cease calling Christianity religion, or else cease calling heathenism and Mohammedanism religion, and so give up the idea of a universal religious philosophy; we may still however philosophize about religion, about Mohammedanism and heathenism on the one hand, Christianity and Judaism on the other. We are also of opinion, that the name, religion, unscriptural, heathenish, radically subjective, uncertain in meaning, as it is in philological derivation, had better be applied exclusively to heathenism and Mohammedanism, and a different term, such as revelation or spiritual life, be used to denote Christianity. Religion would then have reference to the common relation of the human mind, we say not to God, for this would not be true of heathenism, but to some mighty supernatural being. In this way we might avoid that endless confusion of speech and idea, which has arisen from not making a proper distinction between the subjective and the objective, and from transferring the characteristics of the one to the other. Nothing would then prevent us from treating religious philosophy as preliminary to the philosophy of revelation, thus making a negative preparation for Christianity. Finally, the investigation about Judaism and Christianity would respect their original derivation, and this would form a suitable introduction to heathen religions as perversions of the

original revelations. Or, more correctly, when the philosophy of revelation, not merely of its proper self, but the perversion of it in all the various forms of the same, comes to be scientifically comprehended and put in contrast with Judaism and Christianity, then heathenism will form the reverse side of the philosophy of revelation. And as then, on the side of the divine-life process, the Old and New Testament fellowship follow their originals, so on the reverse side, gnosticism, Mohammedanism, pantheism, atheism, and all the manifestations belonging thereto, are included in heathen religion, and so two parallel series of historical revelation would arise, of which the one would be a development of the truth, the actual fellowship between God and man; the other, on the contrary, would embrace the perversion of the original revelation, would be an apparent development, and a final self-destruction. Thus the separation of that which does not properly belong together, would be completed, and at the same time the unity of philosophic examination would be preserved.

All the remaining theological sciences might be set forth without difficulty, as belonging to the idea which we have presented. Thus, biblical theology has to do with the scientific presentation of the truth imparted by God in that fellowship of life, received and understood by man, and, indeed, received in its original and proportionate form. Dogmatism would concern itself with the same truth, so far as it has been formed into symbolic propositions, and has become the foundation of ecclesiastical knowledge. Ethics has reference to the same truth, so far as it serves as a measuring-rule for the critical examination of the common and peculiar fellowship of life. Historic science would bring to view the continued series of Divine acts, and of human experience corresponding thereto, in which the living fellowship between God and man is truly unfolded. In the liturgy, we should seek to comprehend the Divine acts through which the fellowship of life existing in the community is partly propagated, partly renewed and strengthened, and the activities by means of which man receives this Divine action upon himself, and also the expressions of the self-acting will through which it authenticates the presence of that fellowship of life as organic in its relation to God. In ecclesiastical law, the Divine working might be considered as coming to utterance in the community through which this fellowship of life is regulated, conformably to the necessities of humanity, in its relation to the worldly life. The teaching of Christian art would bring us, finally, to an understanding of those acts of revelation by means of which Divine thoughts are expressed by human genius in the form of beauty.

If now, by our idea of religion, we gain this advantage, viz. that all the theological sciences come before us in a living and compact membership, whereas before there was scarcely room for one of them, and others were degraded to a place unworthy of them, it seems to be of the utmost importance that we attempt the construction of a theological system on this basis, viz. that religion, instead of being mere knowing or acting or feeling, or a combination of these three elements, is a LIFE, a life of God imparted by Him, and in which all the elements of religion cohere.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

I. MORNINGS AMONG THE JESUITS AT ROME.¹

THIS work has, but a few days since, fallen into the hands of the reviewer, although it is the *fourth* edition, from which the title-page is here copied. It is a recent work; and it must have had a great run in England, to have already passed through so many editions. To these may be added at least one edition, in our own country.

The attentive and intelligent reader of the work will not wonder at its popularity. It discusses one of the most urgent topics of the times in England; and one which seems about to become deeply interesting to American Protestants. The importation into our country of nearly half a million of foreign emigrants in a year, and the fact that the great mass of them are Roman Catholics, are things adapted to take strong hold of a sensitive mind, whose sympathies are strongly on the side of Protestantism. In days that are past, our country has, for the most part, looked calmly and unconcernedly on the immigration of *Romanists*, because they were so few in comparison with our Anglo-Saxon population, who are attached to the cause of the Reformation. But now, when the Irish emigrants and their descendants begin to be reckoned more in number than their countrymen who remain in Ireland, it is time for this *Protestant* country to look about them, and try to discover, if possible, what are to be the issues of this matter. The Romanists, as is well known, from their own boastings, are flushed with hopes of

¹ *Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome.* By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M. A. Fourth edition. London. 1851.

future victory and conquest, especially in the Great West, where they are laboring to anticipate Protestant influence. Nothing but numbers is now wanting, to embolden the Romish Jesuits among us to lift up their voice, in behalf of the universal dominion of the Pope, and the subjugation of all the United States, at least as to their religious concerns, to his mandates. The claims of the Sovereign Pontiff are always and everywhere the same; and if those claims are not at all times and in all places preferred, it is only because prudence forbids urging them prematurely.

England has once more been agitated to its very centre, by the arrogant division, at Rome, of its domain into Catholic bishoprics. Never have we been more forcibly reminded of the old adage: *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, than when we read the rescript of the Pope, parcelling out England just as he would the Roman States. The spirit of Cranmer, of Jewell, of Ridley, of Latimer, and their compeers, awoke at once to new life and vigor. The nation as a body regarded the Pope's doings as an insult to the people of England and to its Queen and Parliament. They have taken, and are taking, measures accordingly. Never were pens and presses more busy, than for the last few months. Protestants, by hundreds of thousands, have lifted up their voice and remonstrated; and the state of feeling has called forth the tongues and pens of those, whose office and duty it is, to enlighten and guide the public sentiment.

Among the many books relative to the Papal controversy, which have lately made their appearance, some grave and argumentative, and others eloquently declamatory, the one whose title stands at the head of this Article seems to us to be specially distinguished. We have read it with unminged and unabated pleasure. There is everywhere an excellent tone and temper manifested. Comity is never infringed upon. Declamation does not once make its appearance, in the whole work. Everything indicates the finished scholar and the gentleman. Not a drop of bitterness is mingled with the refreshing draught. Yet there is no flattery, no cajoling, no game of compliments, no affectation of indifference in order to catch at a reputation for candor, no hanging in doubtful suspense as to whether the balance ought to sink or rise. Mr. Seymour has evidently put on the entire panoply which fitted him to engage in a twenty days' battle, and by means of which he is left unscathed in every rencounter. He must have spent years in training himself for such a contest; for he has manifestly shown himself a greater master, not only of ecclesiastical history and antiquity in general, but even of the Papal Romish records, than any of the Catholic masters in Rome itself. As a theologian he possesses an acute discernment, and an extensive knowledge. As to ratiocination and logic, we think him fairly entitled to a place among the very first rank. The book should be read by every Protestant minister in our land, and by every private Christian who wishes to become well informed of the weak foundation on which the Papal structure rests.

We have said enough, as we hope, at least to excite a curiosity in our readers, to know something specific about Mr. Seymour. We have no in-

dividual personal history of him; but of the manner in which his book originated, and of his conferences with the Jesuits at home, he has furnished us with all requisite information. We quote from his Introduction, p. 2.

"The second source of information was not so dependent upon myself, but was opened to me by circumstances as unexpected as they were gratifying. I allude to the opportunity of close intercourse with many members of the priesthood, by which I might learn their opinions and feelings, and receive their explanations of all that was passing around me. It arose from the following circumstance. During my constant attendance at all the services of the Church of Rome, I was observed by a Roman gentleman who held office in the Papal court; and being acquainted with him, he remarked one day to my wife, that I seemed much interested in these things; and asked whether I would not like to make the acquaintance of some of the clergy. Having learned from her my wishes to that effect, he called some days after to say he had been with his personal friend the Padre Generale, — the Father-General of the Jesuits, and had mentioned to him my wish to enter into communication with the clergy, and he seemed to intimate that this was sure to convert me to the Church of Rome. He added that the Father-General had directed two members of the order to wait on me, to give me any information which I might desire. These gentlemen came in due course. They soon presented me to others. They introduced me to the professors of their establishment, the Collegio Romano, and thus a series of conversations or conferences on the subject of the points at issue between the Churches of England and Rome, commenced and were carried on, as occasion offered, during the whole period of my residence at Rome. A portion of my notes of these conversations constitutes this present volume, of '*MORNINGS AMONG THE JESUITS AT ROME.*'"

In speaking, further on, of the repeated visits of the Jesuit Officials to him, he proceeds thus:

"These visits were not mere visits of courtesy. They were made in obedience to authority. They were made with the frank avowal of an intention, to induce me to enter the Church of Rome. They were not less than twenty in number, and, without a single exception, were exclusively devoted to those religious topics which suited the object they had in view. The Jesuits never concealed their intentions from myself, nor their hopes from others, and — especially as I had never revealed their names — I have ever felt there could be no breach of confidence in publishing, for the instruction of others, the arguments by which they endeavored to entangle me, and the means by which I was enabled to escape them.

"I dealt with all frankness with these several gentlemen, as to the object of their visit. They were under the impression, which they were at no pains to conceal, that I was disposed favorably towards their Church; — that I was one of those Anglican clergymen who neither understand nor love the Church of England, and who, in a restless dissatisfaction and love of change, are prepared to abandon her communion for that of Rome, and who only wait a little encouragement and perhaps instruction, before taking the last step. I was very careful to undeceive them, stating that I should be most happy to confer with them on the differences between the two Churches, but that I could not do so under a false color, — that I was devotedly attached in judgment and in feeling to the

Church of England; — that I looked on her as the Church of God in England, and the most pure, most apostolic, most scriptural of all the churches of Christendom; — that, without unchurching other churches, she was still the church of my judgment and of my affections; and that I had never for a moment harbored the thought of abandoning her for any other church, and especially for the Church of Rome."

Mr. Seymour has here proclaimed himself a hearty friend of the *Anglican church*; but he has, in another passage, shown us that he is no bigot. The conversation related there, turns on the point of the claim, on the part of Romanists, that they are *THE CHURCH*, i. e. exclusively and only the church, in which salvation can be obtained. The wily Jesuit, his antagonist, after Mr. S.'s declaration of hearty adherence to the Anglican church, urges him with the question: 'If you claim to belong to a true Scriptural church, what is to become of Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Protestants, who differ from you?' The Jesuit expected, of course, that Mr. S. would *unchurch* them. But not so. Mr. S.'s reply will enable us to see that he is no bigoted Churchman.

"I said, that I had often observed an error pervading the minds of Roman Catholics, as to the real position which the Church of England claimed for herself — that I had frequently observed it among our mutual friends at Rome, and that it lay at the foundation of his present argument. The error was that which supposes that the Church of England claims to be *THE Catholic Church*, or *THE Church of Christ*, in an exclusive way. She presumes not to so exclusive a claim. She professes to be a branch — a part — a section of "the One holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" of Christ. She believes, that as anciently there was a Church at Jerusalem, a Church at Antioch, a Church in Galatia, a Church in Corinth, a Church in Rome, and there are other seven different Churches described in Asia; — and as each of these was not singly and exclusively *the Catholic Church of Christ*, but only a branch, a part, a section of that Church, — so now the Church of England merely claims for herself to be considered in this subordinate position, not as the whole, but as a part of the whole Church. Now his whole argument was to the effect that if I claimed for the Church of England that she exclusively was *THE Catholic Church*, then I must unchurch the Lutherans, the Wesleyans, and the Calvinists, etc.; or I must, by churching them, make, not one, but many Catholic Churches; whereas not making any such claim for the Church of England, all his inference must vanish away. The truth is, that all these Communities or Churches were branches more or less fruitful, parts more or less sound, sections more or less extended, of the One holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ. The truth is that we all claim the title of Churches, we all claim the title of Christian, we all claim membership with the Church of Christ. We, none of us, pretend to an exclusive claim; and the Church of Rome stands alone in so strange and unproved a pretension."

Such a position will commend Mr. S. to a fair hearing, among Protestants of all denominations. They will see, that he is not fighting the battle of the Anglican church merely, but that of all the churches which admit "the Lord Jesus Christ to be the true and only Head of the church," and who believe

that "the Holy Scriptures are the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice."

Mr. S. exhibits the Jesuits as highly distinguished from all other Romish sects, both as to learning and morality. The fundamental principle of the Order is, *complete, unhesitating, and unshaken obedience* to its Superior. The Jesuit disputant insisted, that where a command is given by the Superior, it must not only be obeyed, whether conscience doubted or not, but that the stronger the doubts were, the more meritorious obedience became, because it demanded a greater sacrifice of one's own feelings. The manner in which Mr. S. managed this, may serve as a specimen both of his reasoning, and of his mode of exhibiting it.

"I felt on hearing this, that I might without the risk of giving offence, proceed a step further: I therefore said that this principle might lead to the utter overthrow of all morality and religion, for it was quite possible that the General might issue some command that might be positively immoral and irreligious, — that it might be utterly opposed to all the religious convictions, moral feelings, and conscientious scruples of the man, — one that must necessarily bring guilt on his soul, as being an act against all his light and knowledge. I said that in such case, obedience would be sin.

"He at once denied my conclusion, saying that the very circumstance of its being against our notions of what was moral and religious — the very circumstance of its being in open hostility to all our convictions, feelings, and conscience, made the act one of greater self-denial, and therefore all the more meritorious. He stated that humility and modesty became the members of the order of Jesus, and that whatever be the private convictions, feelings, or conscience of the individuals, they must at once give way to the declared judgment of the superiors of the order; that humility requires such surrender; that duty demands obedience; that religion demands self-denial, that the more difficult the obedience, the greater the merit, and that as to the character of the act commanded, the responsibility rests not with the subordinate members who obey, but with the superiors who give the command.

"I felt that this was a principle that would justify any crime; and I could not shrink from saying so. I saw that according to this principle, there was no treason against the state, and no villany against individuals, that might not be perpetrated by a Jesuit; he imagining at the moment, that the more hateful and revolting to his own feelings and convictions the act might be, the more really meritorious it was in the sight of God." p. 24.

After the first publication of this, Father Mazio, Professor of Canon Law in the Jesuit College, denied (in a published letter) that the Romish church, or rather, that the Order of the Jesuits, held to the necessity of obedience, in cases where it would be deemed sinful. He appealed to the *Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, and to the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, for information which would enable any one to correct Mr. S.'s mistake. To these documents Mr. S., in his fourth edition, betakes himself; and from the latter of these works he produces the following passage, p. 43.

"That holy obedience may be perfect in us in every point, in execution, in

will, in intellect, doing whatever is enjoined us with all celerity, with spiritual joy and perseverance, *persuading ourselves that all is right, suppressing every repugnant thought of our own*, in a sure obedience, and that moreover in all things which are determined by the Superior, wherein it cannot be defined, as is said, any kind of sin appears. And let every one persuade himself, that they who live under obedience, should permit themselves to be moved and directed under Providence by their Superiors, just AS IF THEY WERE A CORPSE (*ac si cadaver essent*), which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way, or AS THE STAFF of an aged man (*atque senis baculus*) which serves him, wherever and in whatever thing he, who holds it in his hand, pleases to use it. Thus obedient, he should execute anything on which the Superior chooses to employ him in the service of the whole body of the Society, with cheerfulness of mind, and *altogether believe that he will answer the Divine will better in that way than in any other which he can follow in compliance with his own will and differing judgment.*"

From the *Exercises* of the Founder of the Jesuitical Order, Mr. S. next produces the following most extraordinary passage, p. 44.

"In order that we may altogether be of the same mind, and in conformity with the Church herself, *if she shall have defined anything to be BLACK, which to our eyes appears to be WHITE, we ought in the same way to pronounce it to be BLACK.* — [*Autograph.*] — That we may in all things attain to the truth, that we may not err in anything, we ought ever to hold it as A FIXED PRINCIPLE that *what I see to be WHITE I shall believe it to be BLACK, if the Hierarchical Church define it so to be.*"

If now, as the *Constitutions* teach, every subordinate is to "permit himself to be moved and directed, under Providence, by his superiors, just as if he was a corpse, which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way," or "as the staff of an aged man, which is entirely subservient to the pleasure of him who wields it," then in the name of all that is called *free-agency* or *conscience*, where is a trace of either left for the subordinate? Not one; he is the veriest bond-slave among the whole human race. A *corpse* and a *staff*, for Jesuits to experiment on, and to handle at will! In the whole creation of God there exists not a greater absurdity, nor a more complete annihilation of all that constitutes the being made in the image of his Creator. And all this he is to be and do, as answering the highest end of his being. Nor is this all. According to the passage cited from p. 24 of Mr. S., the greater the violence done to conscience and moral feeling, the greater the *merit* of the action in the doer. It shows that self-denial is carried to a higher point, than any mere abstaining from positive pleasure, or even in performing any outward penance. Here the *conscience* undergoes scourging and laceration; the *moral sense* is throttled; and the poor victim becomes not only like a *lifeless staff* or a *corpse*, but in reality a *dead soul* besides. The image of the living God is thus sacrilegiously defaced and marred, and nothing is left, in body or soul, of a free agent and a responsible human being, made to become higher than the angels.

So much for the *Constitutions* of the Jesuit Order. But what shall we say to the extract from Loyola himself, the founder and Coryphaeus of the

sect? A member of the Order is "ever to hold it as a fixed principle, that what he sees to be WHITE, he must believe to be BLACK, if the *Hierarchical Church* define it to be so." So then, it is not enough to tread under foot conscience, and treat the moral sense with contempt, but our understanding even is to be perverted and denied, and in the face of it we are called upon to tell and believe an absolute falsehood, as well as a downright absurdity.

If that apostate archangel, who dared to steal into the paradise of God, and whisper a lie to our first parents, has in the stores of his invention anything more offensive to the majesty of truth and of human reason than this, his power and dexterity must be greater far than we have ever yet given him credit for! We believe, were he himself to compete with the Jesuit for the honor of contriving the most stupendous falsehood, this prince of darkness would be compelled here to cry out: *Do manus!*

What says an infallible authority, on the subject of what has been brought about by such Jesuit tactics? In the Bull of Pope Clement XIV. (July 21, 1773), this supreme and (in this case at least) *infallible* Pontiff, revokes the whole Order of the Jesuits, and "suppresses and abolishes them;" he confiscates all their property, and "annuls and abolishes forever" all their institutions, rules, decrees, constitutions, offices and the like. He gives his reasons for so doing: "Complaints and quarrels are [by them] multiplied on every side; in some places, dangerous seditions arose, tumults, discord, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bands of Christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party hatreds and enmities." Clement then proceeds to state, that his "dearly beloved sons in Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal and Sicily, found themselves reduced to the necessity of *expelling* and driving from their States, kingdoms and provinces, these very companions of Jesus [the Jesuits], persuaded that there remained no other remedy for so great evils, and that this step was necessary, in order to prevent Christians from rising one against another, and from *massacring each other* in the very bosom of our common mother, the Holy Church." So much for the practical workings of Jesuitism!

Infallibly true, in this case, I doubt not, is the testimony of this clever and common-sense Pope. All that the Jesuits have done, and are doing still, serves abundantly to confirm the propriety of his decision.

Mr. S.'s second chapter, in respect to the *pardoning power* of the priest, is an admirably conducted argument, and one to which an answer by his Jesuit collocutor was evaded.

In a subsequent chapter, the subject of *Mariolatry*, or the worship of Mary, is introduced. The declaration of the Jesuit visitor respecting this, we shall give from Mr. Seymour:

"My clerical friend, after a pause which I was unwilling to break, lest I should express myself as strongly as I felt, resumed the conversation, and said, that the worship of the Virgin Mary was a growing worship in Rome—that it was increasing in depth and intenseness of devotion; and that there were now many of their divines, and he spoke of himself as agreeing with them in sentiment,

who were teaching that as a woman brought in death, so a woman was to bring in life; — that as a woman brought in sin, so a woman was to bring in holiness; — that as Eve brought in damnation, so Mary was to bring in salvation; and that the effect of this opinion was largely to increase the reverence and worship given to the Virgin Mary."

A little after, the same collector said :

"That to his own knowledge, the religion of Italy was latterly becoming less and less the religion of Christ; and that 'the devotion of the most Holy Virgin,' as he called it, was certainly on the increase."

In a subsequent part of the conversation, Mr. S. remarked, that the words of his collocutor "seemed to imply that the religion of Rome was becoming more and more the religion of the Virgin Mary." After this Mr. S. thus proceeds :

"I then added, that I had seen some remarkable things in a work by St. Alphonso De Liguori. It was entitled 'The Glories of Mary,' and among other things described the vision of St. Bernard, in which he beheld two ladders extending from earth to heaven, — two ways by which the sinner could have access to heaven. At the top of one ladder appeared Jesus Christ. At the top of the other ladder appeared the Virgin Mary; and that while those, who endeavored to enter into heaven by the way of Christ's ladder, fell constantly back and utterly failed, those, on the other hand, who tried to enter by the ladder of Mary, all succeeded, because she put forth her hands to assist and encourage them. I mentioned also, that I had seen this as an altar-piece in a Church at Milan, where the two ladders were represented, reaching from earth to heaven; Jesus Christ at the head of one, and Mary at the head of the other; and while none were succeeding by the ladder of Christ, all were succeeding by the ladder of the Virgin! I added that this was degrading Christ, in order to exalt the Virgin, and that it was representing her as a more merciful and effectual Saviour, than the Saviour Himself! I felt that I could apply no other language to this, than that I could not imagine a more hideous blasphemy than the language of Liguori, or a more frightful sacrilege than such a picture beside the altar of a Church."

From the same highly exalted saint, Alphonso de Liguori, Mr. S. quotes other passages contained in his work on *the Glory of Christ*; see pp. 164, seq. Among these is the following, which is stated by Liguori with his full approbation. It runs thus: "St. Bernardine of Sienna does not fear to say, that all things, *even God himself*, are subject to Mary's empire," ch. VI. § 1. Again: "St. Peter Damien goes still further, asking himself the question: Why has God, before he became incarnate in Mary's womb, applied for her consent? For two reasons, he replies: First, to oblige us to be very grateful to her; and secondly, to teach us that *our salvation depends on the will of the blessed Virgin*," ch. V. § 1.

All this is too shocking for a Protestant ear. It needs no comment. He who does not shudder at the blasphemy, will be disgusted at the folly and downright heathenism of the whole.

In chap. IV. is an argument respecting the *infallibility* of the Pope, which is most triumphantly conducted. We should like to make long extracts, but our limits absolutely forbid it. We trust that the book itself will soon be in the hands of many intelligent readers. The manner in which Mr. S. draws out from the Jesuit *his tests of infallibility*, and his masterly confutation of the whole, leaves scarcely anything more to be desired.

Transubstantiation and the mass are considered in chap. IX, and treated in a way not less deserving of commendation. No wonder that the Jesuit with whom he conversed, "concluded to make it his business to consult a certain Lecturer then in the College, and also their Professor, to whom such questions belonged." But although Mr. S. saw the Jesuit afterwards, and had a long conversation with him after he had seen the parties referred to, he never could get any answer to the inconsistencies of the Romanists with regard to the *mass*, which Mr. S. had urged.

Many other subjects, such as indulgences, pardon of sin, celibacy, purgatory, praying to saints, worship of pictures and statues, and in a word, all the important distinctive traits of Romanism, are fully discussed, and in the same energetic, discriminating and triumphant manner, as in the cases specifically mentioned above. Were we to begin making extracts any further, we should not know where to stop. We should feel obliged to take in nearly the whole.

Seldom has an assailant of Rome thrown larger bomb-shells or more devastating rockets into the very citadel and arsenal of the *eternal city*, than Mr. Seymour. He is entitled to the hearty thanks of every true Protestant; and he well deserves them from even the Romanists themselves, for unmasking their deceptive leaders, and showing the world how unreasonable, unscriptural and ungrounded their principles are.

And now, while we are compelled to dismiss the book, for want of room to say more, we cannot dismiss the subject without a word to our Protestant religious public.

Are the Anglo-Saxons, Protestants, free-men, educated to read and reverence the Bible — are they to come under a religious dictation, which will wrest that precious book from their hands, and bid them go to a priest for all their knowledge; and a priest too who prays for them only in the *Latin* tongue? Are they to substitute *Mary* for *Jesus Christ*, nay for *God the Father*? Are they to be taught, that, cannibal-like, they are to eat the actual flesh and drink the blood of him, who has ascended to the right hand of God on high, where "flesh and blood can never come?" See 1 Cor. 15: 50. Are they to become as *corpses* and a *staff* in the hands of a Jesuit Superior? Are they, at the mere bidding of ecclesiastics, to bow down to pictures and images, and pray to saints? Is a feeble, old, superstitious, haughty, domineering, time-serving, treacherous monk, on the throne of St. Peter, to dictate laws and customs and tithes and Peter-pence to the sons of the Pilgrims and of the godly in England who resisted unto blood Papal encroachments? Let the answer be No! No!! NO!!! in a voice of thunder that shall even cause the earth to quake, and which, reaching the inmost

recesses of the Vatican, shall make pale the empurpled and enthroned mock Majesty who sitteth there !

No young candidate for the ministry can be excused now, for not acquainting himself with Popery, and the arguments which overthrow it. Mr. S.'s book is a real *Mulum in parvo*, a true *Vade mecum*. In every part of our country the Romanists are spreading; in every part then our preachers and our leading laymen should furnish themselves with armor, for the battle that sooner or later must ensue. Our all is prospectively at stake. Though the danger is, as yet, hardly a present one, to any alarming extent, yet mark our words: The old contest will ere long be renewed, to make America as well as Ireland and Italy, bow in humble subjection at the feet of the Roman Pontiff. May we never live to see that day of more than Egyptian darkness ! But if the young men of this generation are not on the alert, and are not furnished with appropriate armor, they may live to see it, and to weep over it too, with tears of blood. M. S.

II. UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.¹

DR. BACHMAN has long been pastor of a Lutheran church in Charleston, and Professor in the college there. He is highly and widely esteemed as a gentleman, and a thorough and indefatigable scholar. We take pleasure in noticing a book from the distant South, which contains discussions so candid and able, on a subject so vitally interesting to the naturalist and the Christian philologist.

The book has marked characteristics. One is its originality. The author has spent a long life in making personal experiments in some of the more important departments of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Almost every page contains some record of facts observed or experiments made by the author himself. By means of correspondents and personal friends, he has been put in possession of many curious phenomena, and valuable and rare specimens in Natural History. We have seldom perused a volume which is so full of the results of personal investigation. A second characteristic of the work is its exclusive scientific character. It meets the opponents of the unity of the human race on their own ground. Dr. Bachman, though he fully believes in the conclusiveness of the Scriptural argument, yet leaves it entirely out of consideration. We may mention, as a third characteristic, the candor with which the argument is conducted, notwithstanding much provocation to the indulgence of a contrary spirit. It is well known that there are in the Southern States some opponents of the doctrine of the unity of the race, whose discussions have been marked with not a little bitterness and personality. We add that the whole subject was earnestly discussed for several evenings in successive weeks, by a literary society in Charleston, S. C., composing all the leading men of science there.

¹ The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, examined on the Principles of Science. By John Bachman, D. D., Professor of Natural History in the College of Charleston, and member of many learned Societies. Charleston, S. C.: C. Canning. 1850. pp. 312. 8vo.

The positions which Dr. B. thinks he has sustained by sufficient proofs, or which are self-evident, are such as these: There is but one true species in the genus *homo*. All the varieties show a complete correspondence in the number of the teeth, and in the 208 additional bones in the body. They are perfectly alike in the peculiarity of the shedding of the teeth, in erect stature, in the articulation of the head with the spinal column, in the possession of two hands, in the absence of the intermaxillary bone, in the teeth of equal length, in a smooth skin of the body, and a head covered with hair, in the number and arrangement of the muscles, the digestive and all the other organs, in the organs of speech and the power of singing, in the possession of mental faculties, conscience and the hope of immortality; they are all omnivorous, capable of inhabiting all climates, have a slower growth than any other animal, are subject to similar diseases; the varieties in men are not greater than are known to exist among domestic animals; all the varieties of men produce with each other a prolific offspring which is perpetuated in new races, which is not the case with any two species of animals, etc.

A considerable part of the volume is taken up in examining two papers published by Dr. Morton of Philadelphia, in *Silliman's Journal* in 1847, in which Dr. M. undertook to prove from facts, "that different species of animals are capable of producing together a prolific hybrid offspring; therefore hybridity ceases to be a test of specific affiliation, and consequently the mere fact that the several races of mankind produce with each a more or less fertile progeny, constitutes in itself no proof of the unity of the human species." Dr. Bachman, in our opinion, has conclusively shown that some of Dr. M.'s facts are not supported by competent authority; that others are disproved by naturalists of a higher order; and that, when his statements have been freed from matters resting on very doubtful authority, the result proves that his facts militate against his theory, and in reality support the doctrine of the unity of the human species. In another part of the volume, Dr. B. states his objections to the views of Professor Agassiz, and maintains that the same species of animals, as far as our knowledge extends, is not created in separate localities.

III. THE TYPOLOGY OF SCRIPTURE.¹

MARTIN LUTHER was accustomed to say, that human nature was like a drunken Dutchman, who, in attempting to mount his horse on one side, was sure to tumble over on the other. On all topics of permanent interest the human mind is like a vibrating pendulum, now away up from the true centre on one side, and then again immediately as far away from it on the other. A few generations since, almost all writers, preachers and students of the Bible gloried in the types, and found them on every page of the Bible "thick as leaves in Vallombrosa." He that found the greatest number of

¹ The Typology of Scripture, by Rev. Patrick Fairbairn. Two volumes in one. Philadelphia: Daniels & Smith. 1852.

types (and the more odd and grotesque they were the better), was the greatest Scripturist, especially if he sought them where they were very hard to find, and where nobody had ever before thought of looking for them. As it is in the back-woods, "a man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees;" and the thicker the tree the greater the fame. It was an inexhaustible source of innocent amusement to the pious mind gravely playful; and to minds of a different cast a source of amusement not always innocent. The solemn wit of John Bunyan and the mournful mirthfulness of Immanuel Swedenborg, here found abundant materials to work upon; and many a time at little reunions, around the crackling fire of a farmer's kitchen, have we heard and seen solid New England deacons scintillate and sparkle from the portals of the great temple in Ezekiel, and from among the herds of clean and unclean beasts in Moses, in a manner that was to us youngsters utterly astounding. Those were great times, and had no little influence in forming our minds to an intense love of biblical study. "It turns on my mind (said one) that the lilly work on top of the temple pillar (2 Kings 7: 20—22), and the pomegranates over against the belly of the same, are a type of the ministry, and it signifieth, that if ministers will do their duty and be pillars in the church, the Lord will adorn their heads and feed their bellies." Now think of such savory and quickening exposition of Scripture, and call to mind the doughnuts and cheese, the apples and cider, that garnished the close of the social party. But the march of improvement shut up the bright old fireplace, and fixed there a dark, gloomy cook-stove; the temperance reform took away the cider; and a dry, rationalizing exegesis flattened down the types as smooth as a fire-shovel. The types were all gone — human nature, in trying to reach the saddle on one side, had overreached and tumbled to the ground on the other — the pendulum was at the extreme point of the opposite vibration.

But, courage; we begin to breathe again. Here is a new book on the types, and a very big book too; and a book learnedly and ably written. Can we get into the saddle now without tumbling back to where we were fifty years ago?

If the New Testament is to be received as the authoritative interpreter of the Old, the Old Testament is throughout typical of the New. Says De Wette himself, one of the severest and most rationalizing of sober interpreters: "The entire Old Testament was a great prophecy, a *great type*, of Him who was to come. The typological comparison of the New Testament with the Old is by no means a mere play of fancy. Christianity lay in Judaism as leaves and fruit do in the seed."

We hail with pleasure Mr. Fairbairn's very able book, as an indication of good for the future. Though not by any means assenting to all his conclusions, we commend his book to earnest study, both for the subject of it, and the learned and instructive manner in which the subject is treated. This whole topic needs to be gone over entirely anew, and here is a good introduction to a good work. Mr. F. aims at a thorough discussion of principles, and that is just what we need.

C. E. S.

IV. STUART'S COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.¹

THIS is the last work from the pen of Prof. Stuart; he corrected the last proof sheet only two days before his death. Both this commentary and the one preceding it on Ecclesiastes, exhibit a mellowness of spirit which savors of the good man ripening for heaven; and the style is more condensed and, in that respect more agreeable, than in some of the works which were written in the unabated freshness and exuberant vigor of his mind. In learning and critical acumen they are equal to his former works; and there is a touching interest about them which belongs to scarcely any of the others. No English reader, we venture to say, can elsewhere find so complete a philological exposition of these two important books of the Old Testament; and all the friends of Biblical learning will be glad to secure for themselves the last contributions to sacred science of that ardent, active and generous mind, which for forty years kept them constantly awake. C. E. S.

V. WORKS OF LYMAN BEECHER, D. D.²

FEW men, if any, have ever excelled Dr. Lyman Beecher in genuine pulpit power. His mind is thoroughly of the New England stamp; and whatever subject it touches, its constant struggle is for *definiteness, clearness and utility*. Whatever it may be, dogma, metaphor or fact, it must be as exactly shaped and as easily seen and as effectively handled, as a Yankee whittling knife, or he will none of it. Beautiful tropes which adorn nothingness and cover up emptiness, fine language which would express a thought handsomely, if there were any thought there to be expressed by it, language which is a mere cloud in the sunlight, poetic imaginings which float in the air by their own specific levity and never touch either earth or heaven, for such things as these you will look in vain among Dr. Beecher's works. Like a true Yankee schoolmaster, if he intends to use a birch rod, he strips off all the leaves in the first place; and then come the blows in right-hearted good earnest.

In his style there is conciseness and pungency, brilliancy and vigor, clearness and sharpness, rhetoric and logic, in remarkable combination. Thousands who have heard him, and other thousands who can never hear him, will read these pages with delight; and young ministers who wish to learn how to preach to some purpose, should make these sermons their study.

The first volume contains the widely and justly celebrated Discourses on Atheism and on Intemperance; and the second, the most admired of the

¹ A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, by Moses Stuart, lately Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1852. pp. 432. 12mo.

² Works of Lyman Beecher, D. D. Vols. I. and II. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1852.

Occasional Discourses. The subsequent volumes will contain other sermons and lectures, which have never before appeared in print.

We congratulate our venerable friend on his healthy, active and happy old age, in which he is still bringing forth fruit; and we congratulate the religious public on this rich accession to their literary treasures; and we make our bow profoundly to the numerous fruit-bearing branches which have grown from the old trunk.

C. E. S.

VI. THE NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC.¹

DR. MURDOCK, at the age of seventy-five, in less than one year, has completed a work that would have been highly creditable as the result of two years labor of a scholar in the prime of life. The language of the old Syriac Version of the New Testament, is almost identical with the common speech of Palestine in the time of Christ; the version itself is of the earliest antiquity, reaching up almost, if not quite, to the apostolic age; it is a work also, in a critical point of view, of the highest merit. Competent judges have pronounced it the best translation of the New Testament ever made.

Though it is not agreeable to us to read *legate* instead of *apostle*, and *vivifier* instead of *saviour*, and though we do not think fidelity to the original required these words; yet we do not hesitate to say that Dr. Murdock and his publishers have done their respective portions of the work admirably well, and we wish them an abundant remuneration.

C. E. S.

VII. THE BOOK OF GENESIS IN ARABIC.

WE have before us a beautiful copy of the book of Genesis in Arabic, from the press of the American Mission in Syria. It is the commencement of a new translation of the Bible into the language of Ishmael, by the American missionaries, especially the Rev. Dr. Eli Smith, one of the most classical Arabic scholars of the living generation.

What would father Abraham say, if he were now to revisit the earth and light upon the land of his ancient sojournings? He would find there both the children of Sarah and the children of Hagar, as he left them there when he died and was buried by his sons Isaac and Ishmael in the field of Macpelah; but what a strange mutation of things! how sadly the legitimate heirs have fallen from their possessions and their dignity!—and though neither race have forgotten the true God, and though both yet venerate the memory of Abraham their father; yet neither of them have the faith of Abraham, nor are they like him the friends of God. And lo! men of a new race, strange both in countenance and speech, one of the far distant tribes blessed in Abraham's great Descendant, have crossed the to him shoreless ocean, from a land in his time unknown and probably not then in existence, to lead

¹ The New Testament translated from the Syriac Peshito Version, by James Murdock, D. D. New York: Stanford & Swords. 1851.

his children back to their father's faith, and to give God's Holy Word to both branches of his family!

Our friend, Dr. Smith, requests us, in looking over this translation, "to note any expressions that may seem to savor of a local dialect," etc. We can conscientiously assure our learned friend, that we have not discovered any such expressions, that so far as we have been able to examine the translation (and we have looked it carefully through), it seems to us as classical and elegant in diction, as it certainly is neat and beautiful in typography.

How glorious, both in a literary and religious view, have already been the results of the forty years' labor of the American Board of Missions!

C. E. S.

ARTICLE IX.

SELECT THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE number of Students at the German Universities during the winter of 1851-2, has been as follows:

	Theol.	Juris. & Pol.	Med.	Philos. & Philol.	Not matric.
Berlin,	190	710	286	388	809
Bonn,	{ 74 Evang. 214 Cath.	335	104	228	
Erlangen,	167	133	170	15	
Göttingen,	125	223	201	148	
Halle,	337	141	68	48	
Heidelberg,	55	491	96	35	
Königsberg,	39	165	72	70	
Jena,	78	104	75	128	
Tübingen,	{ 141 Evang. 121 Cath.	220	126	162	
Munich,	323	799	291	491	
Breslau,	{ 52 Evang. 251 Cath.	293	86	162	
Leipsic,	164	367	236	70	
Marburg,	71	79	56	60	
Giessen,	56	94	156	73	
Freiburg,	189	56	72	29	
Würzburg,	84	199	300	144	
Zurich,	22	16	76	36	

The number of students during the year 1850-1 was as follows:

	Winter of 1850-1.	Summer 1851.		Winter of 1850-1.	Summer 1851.
Basil,	65	65	Jena,	376	434
Berlin,	2107	2199	Kiel,		119
Berne,	201	184	Königsberg,	332	332
Bonn,	941	1026	Leipsic,	902	846
Breslau,	836	831	Marburg,	277	272
Erlangen,	387	402	Munich,	1884	1817
Freiburg in }			Münster,	323	323
Breisgau, }	405	403	Olmütz,	427	396
Giessen,	413	409	Prague,	1747	1284
Göttingen,	715	691	Rostock,	106	122
Grätz,	611	611	Tübingen,	805	768
Greifswald,	192	208	Vienna		
Halle,	624	646	Würzburg,	672	640
Heidelberg,	580	624	Zurich,	195	201
Innsbruck		257			

In twenty-five universities (omitting Kiel, Innsbruck and Vienna) there were, in the winter semester of 1850-1, 16,128 students, of whom 1759 were not matriculated. The number of professors ordinarii was 781; extraordinarii, 315; honorary, 36; privat docenten, 349; whole number of teachers, 1481. At eleven universities, the number of Catholics studying theology was 1802; at seventeen universities, the number of Protestants studying theology was 1641; at twenty-three universities, the number of law students was 5,800; the medical students at twenty-three universities were 3,030; students of philosophy (including philology, etc.) at twenty-four universities was 2,791.

At twenty-seven universities (omitting Vienna) in the summer semester of 1851, there were 16,074 students, of whom 1,670 were not matriculated. The number of professors ordinarii was 816; extraordinarii, 330; honorary, 37; privat docenten, 403; total, 1586.

Bonn had, during the last year, a greater number of students than ever before. Among these it boasted of eight princes! The number of Catholic theologians was 196; of evangelical, 77. The popularity of the university is not perhaps owing so much to any great distinction in its professors, as to its almost unequalled situation in the valley of the Rhine; to its mixed character as a Catholic and a Protestant Seminary, being in the midst of a great Catholic population; to its accessibility to foreign countries; and to its being a favorite university of the king of Prussia. Among its eminent professors are Lassen, the orientalist, Welcker and Ritschl, the classical philologists, and the theologians Bleek, Dörner and Rothe.

Erlangen is the Protestant university for Bavaria, and is distinguished for its evangelical character. About half the students are preparing for the ministry. Prof. William Stahl, who has taken Schmittenner's place in Gies-

sen, is considered a great loss to Erlangen. Among the well known professors are Von Raumer, Ebrard, Hofmann, etc.

Giessen is likely to lose its department of Catholic Theology, by the establishment of a seminary at Mayence. At the last semester there was but one Catholic student of theology at Giessen. Liebig is the great attraction at this university. It is thought that he will remain here, though strong inducements are held out to him at Heidelberg. His laboratory and means for experimenting are of the most perfect character.

At Göttingen there are 124 students of theology. Wieseler has gone to Kiel in Liebnér's place. Matthäi and Lünemann, the commentator, have been made professors *extraordinarii* of theology.

Breslau has lately lost a very distinguished astronomer by the death Dr. Von Boguslawski.

The university of Heidelberg has purchased the very valuable mineral cabinet of Dr. Schüler of Jena.

The university of Jena has experienced a very severe loss in the death of Dr. Ferdinand Hand, Professor of Eloquence. He was born at Planen, Feb. 15, 1786, and died at Jena, March 14, 1851. He had been professor in the university since 1817. He studied under Hermann, with whom he afterwards kept up a constant correspondence. He was also highly benefited by the instructions of the philosopher Carus. He was an accomplished scholar in the fine arts, as well as in philology. His house was the centre of the musical talent in Jena. The works which have made his name honored throughout the classical world, are his *Tursellinus*, 4 vols., 1829—45, on the Latin particles, his *Manuals of Latin Style*, his *Manual for Exercises*, etc. Prof. Hand was most estimable in all the relations of life, and took a leading part in everything intended to promote the well-being of his fellow citizens. On the 16th of May, 1851, the veteran Dr. J. T. L. Danz died at Jena. He had been for some years an *emeritus* professor, and was nearly eighty-three years of age. The last years of his life were employed in investigations on the German, Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages, which fill several *Ms.* volumes. At his death he had reached the word *lux*!

The university of Kiel has suffered greatly in consequence of the war and subsequent commotions in Schleswig-Holstein. A letter writer there says: "We have troublous times here. God only knows what will be the end!" Some students have gone to foreign universities; others are compelled to give up a university education.

Three eminent professors in the university of Leipsic, Haupt, Jahn and Mommsen, have lately resigned their places. It is still earnestly hoped that they will resume their offices. Dr. Liebnér from Kiel, in his introductory lecture at Leipsic, spoke on the relation of theology to philosophy, taking occasion to attack "the Schleiermacher tendency."

The departure of Dr. Lehnerdt from Königsberg for Berlin, was honored with tokens of the highest regard for his person, and with sorrow for the loss which the university and people of the former place have sustained. He takes with him a very valuable private library.

We have been unable to procure any account of the number of students at the university of Vienna. It still enjoys the special oversight of the "paternal" government. Dr. Galba, a privat docent, was lately dismissed, because he spoke too freely in his lectures of a "rationelle Politik." The philosophical faculty recently chose a dean who was a Protestant. This choice was set aside as illegal, in consequence of the representations of the theological faculty. The Academy of Sciences at Vienna have given a prize of 1000 florins to Dr. Franz Miklosich for his Comparative Grammar of all the Slavic languages.

The university of Pesth in Hungary have secured, as a private teacher of the oriental languages, a young man of extraordinary attainments by the name of Repicsky. He will instruct in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Sanskrit. The number of students in 1850-1 was 742, of whom 506 attended the Hungarian lectures; the rest, the German.

The students at Olmütz fall off in the summer session, as there are no teachers for many special studies.

The number of Protestant students of theology at Tübingen was, in 1850-1, 152; Catholic, 147. The university library contains about 200,000 volumes, 50,000 dissertations and 2000 MSS. There are three catalogues. Two of them are alphabetical, one for the librarian and one for the public, the latter in twelve folio volumes. The third is a catalogue by subjects, divided into twelve departments, viz. philosophy, mathematics and natural sciences, philology, art, political economy, history, theology, law, medicine, general literature, matters relating to Württemberg, and manuscripts.

The university of Dorpat in Finland at the close of 1850 had 30 professors ordinarii, 4 extraordinarii, and 17 other teachers; total, 51. The number of students was 620, of volumes in the library, 82,777.

The three Dutch universities had, in 1849-50, on their books 1037 students, of whom 454 were at Leyden, 367 at Utrecht and 216 at Gröningen. The athenaeum in Amsterdam had 117 students, that in Deventer 11. The last two do not confer degrees.

The aged neologist, Paulus, died, as our readers well know, at Heidelberg, Aug. 10, 1851. He was born at Leonberg near Stuttgart, Sept. 1, 1761. He was active in literary labors till the close of life, though he had not lectured since 1844. The skeptical tendency, of which he was one of the principal authors, long ago left him far behind.

Another veteran scholar, Prof. J. G. Gruber, died at Halle, Aug. 7, 1851. He was born at Naumberg, Nov. 29, 1774. He was transferred from Wittenberg to Halle, on the dissolution of the university in the former place. He was for many years one of the editors of the *Allgemeine Litt. Zeitung*. With Ersch he founded the great "Encyclopaedia of Sciences and Art," which has now reached its 109d volume. Under his editorship the section A—G was nearly completed.

Professor Franz of Berlin, author of the *Elementa Epigraphices Graecae*, and latterly associated with Böckh, as editor of the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, died, in 1851, at the early age of forty-five.

Fifteen volumes of the "*Corpus Reformatorum*," edited by Bretschneider, were published at the time of his death. Bindseil of Halle is now the editor. Vols. 16, 17 and 18 will complete Melancthon's classical works. The first two are now published. Subsequent volumes will be occupied with his theological writings.

The "*Studien und Kritiken*," January Heft, 1852, contains the following articles: By Ullmann, an article introductory to the new volume, reviewing the last quarter of a century, which has passed since the establishment of the S. and K. By Schenkel, "The Object of Biblical Theology," delivered on occasion of the inauguration of the author as Prof. Ord. at Heidelberg. By Tiele, a criticism on "Kurtz on the Unity of Genesis." By Pfeiffer, "The date of the Composition of the Epistle of James." This number contains reviews of "Thenus's Commentary on the Books of the Kings," and other recent publications. Further, in the practical department, an address by Dr. Schenkel on "The Importance of the Ministerial Calling," delivered by the author at the opening of the Preacher's Seminary at Heidelberg. Also an article by West, on "The Propriety and Import of the Christian Oath." The April Heft contains first an article by Bleek, on "The time of the Composition of Zachariah, chaps. 9—14; with expository comments." Also, by Kathardt (a licentiate at Erlangen), an article on "*Ἐργον τοῦ Θεοῦ* and *πίστις*, in their mutual relation, according to John's Gospel." By Umbreit, on "The Change of the name Saul to Paul," and by Ullmann, "A word from France." A review of Martensen's *Dogmatik*, by Dr. Schöberlein; and of Vinet's *Pastoral Theology*, by Kienlen; a notice of the proceedings at the 4th Evangelical "Churchday," at Elberfeld; and the new programme of the Hague Society for the defence of the Christian Religion.

The Lutheran "*Zeitschrift*" of Rudelbach and Guericke, for 1851, contained among other articles the following: by Dr. Kurtz, on "Symbolism in the Old Testament worship;" by Neumann, "Symbolism in the Mosaic worship;" by Delitsch, "When did Obadiah prophesy?" by Kiel, "Names of God in the Pentateuch;" by Rudelbach, "State-Religion and Religious Freedom;" by Ströbel, "The danger of a Protestant Papacy;" by Althaus, "Lutheran Church Constitutions;" by Voss, "Satanology;" by Delitsch, "Two Inquiries respecting the Prophet Joel," and "Critical Inquiries concerning the Pastoral Epistles." The January Heft for 1852 contains an article by Hoke, on "The doctrine of the Church and its Office;" by Manchmeyer, "The Office of the New Testament;" by Ströbel, a continuation of his article on "The danger of a Protestant Papacy," etc.

Baur and Zeller's "*Jahrbuch*" for 1851 contains from Dr. Baur, "Introduction to the New Testament as Theological Science, etc." (continued through three numbers); "The Nature of Montanism," and "A defence of Calvin against Catholic aspersions." From Zeller, "The Acts of the Apostles, its composition and character" (continued through four numbers). From Schweizer, "Sebastian Castellio as opponent of the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination." From Planck, "Ground Elements of the idea of Redemption." From Beck, "The Value of the Old Testament conception

of Immortality." From Ritschl, "The present position of Criticism respecting the Synoptical Gospels," etc. The January Heft for 1852 contains from Baur, "Contributions to the Interpretation of the Epistles to the Corinthians," and on Phil. 2: 6 seq.; an article by Schweitzer on Moses Amyrædus; one by Hilgenfeld on the Gospel of Mark; and one by Zeller on Bruno Bauer's Criticisms on Acts.

Dr. Julius Müller's "*Zeitschrift für theologische Wissenschaft, etc.*" contains in its second volume (1851) articles from Prof. Jacobi, "Remembrances of Neander," and "A review of the new edition of Origines' *Philosophoumena*," from Lange of Zurich, "von dem Zweifachen Bewusstsein, insbesondere von dem Nachtbewusstsein und seinem polaren Verhalten zu dem Tagesbewusstsein des Menschen;" by Lücke, a review of Martensen's *Dogmatik*; from Müller, "Discussions on the Principles of the Evangelical Church, according to their formal side," and a review of "The Science of Modern Speculative Theology in its principles," by C. A. Thilo; from Neander, a letter to Prof. Schaff of Mercersberg, and a sketch of Ratherius; from Nitsch, an article on "Law and Gospel in their special relation to the Christian community," in three parts (not yet complete); from Pfeiffer, on the Temptation of Christ; from Reuter, two articles on The Problem and the Nature of Dogmatic Discussion; by Karl Ritter, one on Hebron, the City of the Patriarchs; by Scherer, a rejoinder to Merle D'Aubigne; from Schneider, a letter of Neander's; from Rudolph Stier, "On Inspiration — a rejoinder;" from Tholuck, a reply to Stier's rejoinder, and two articles on the Lutheran doctrine on the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; from Ullmann, "The words of Christ, 'He who is not with me is against me,' and 'He who is not against you is for you,' in their mutual relation," etc.

Prof. Ewald of Göttingen has published three volumes of his "*Annual of Biblical Science*" (*Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*). It is in a duodecimo form. The last volume, that for 1850, contains 294 pages. About 180 pages are taken up with essays by the author on the Interpretation of the Biblical History of the Creation; the Strophes in Job; the Greek Proverb-book of Jesus, the son of Sirach; a continuation of the essay on the Origin and Nature of the Four Gospels, etc. The remainder of the volume contains the usual brief survey of the works in biblical science, which appeared in Germany, England, etc. in 1850. It includes a notice of the more important articles in the periodicals, as well as of independent works. Those who know the character and writings of Prof. Ewald, need not be told that the praise which is bestowed is faint and "far between." The Tübingen and Erlangen schools are alike the objects of his contempt. With the late Dr. Gesenius, he had no fellowship. Tholuck and Hengstenberg are alike put out of the pale. With Dr. Samuel Lee of England, he has long been in open hostility. Of course his judgment of books must be received with much allowance.

Of the more important works, noticed by Ewald in his third volume, are the third edition of Von Raumer's *Palestine*; the first and second volumes of Ritter's *Geography of Palestine and Syria*; Lynch's *Expedition to the Jordan, etc.* (highly commended as honorable to the author and his country);

Tischendorf's edition of the Seventy; Meier's Commentary on Isaiah; Hahn's and Schlottmann's Commentaries on the book of Job; Hitzig's Daniel ("containing some good investigations"); Ewald's translation and exposition of the first Three Gospels; the second edition of Ebrard's "Kritik" of the Evangelical History; Smith on Paul's Voyage ("no interpreter of the Acts can hereafter neglect this work"); Steinhof's Commentary on the Romans; Lünemann's Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and Huther's on the Pastoral Epistles; the third edition of Tholuck on the Hebrews, and L. Stengel's on the same book; Ebrard and Wiesenger's continuation of Olshausen's Commentary; Knobel's "Völkertafel der Genesis" (commended as an important work), etc.

Dr. Frankel, with the coöperation of others, has recently established a Monthly Periodical: "Für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums." Three numbers had appeared before the close of 1851.

For some years there has been no Review in Germany devoted purely to Philosophy. Drs. Wierth, Fichte and others have recently established a Philosophical Quarterly entitled "Studien Philosophische," the first number of which appeared last autumn.

In addition to the Classical Quarterlies which have been long established, we notice the appearance about a year ago of No. I. of a new Quarterly devoted to purely philological investigation in the Latin, Greek and German languages. With the constant support of such men as Bopp, J. Grimm, Curtius, Hartung, Benary, Weber, Zumpt and others whose names have already appeared in its pages, the review will be of no ordinary value. Its title is "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung," etc.; the editors are Drs. Aufrecht and Kuhn.

In the department of Exegesis and Biblical Criticism, the following recent works deserve notice. A Commentary on the Prophecy of Hosea, by Dr. August Simson, of Königsberg, which is highly commended; on Micah, by Caspari, of the Norwegian university at Christiana (well known as the author of an Arabic Grammar, etc.); on the 68th Psalm, by Ed. Reuss, Jena, pp. 106; on the Apocalypse, by Hengstenberg (Vol. II. Abth. 2.), the second edition of whose Commentary on the Psalms is just completed; a second edition of H. A. W. Meier's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians; a continuation of Bruno Bauer's "Kritik der Evangelien, etc."; and a Commentary on the 2d Epistle of Peter, by W. O. Dietlein, who maintains zealously, and triumphantly it is thought, the genuineness of the Epistle. The well known Commentary of Gerlach, interrupted by the author's death, is now taken up by Dr. Schmieder, Professor in the seminary at Wittenberg. The First Part of Vol. IV., which has just appeared, pp. 626, contains a biographical notice of the former Commentator; and the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The Notes of Dr. S. are concise, clear, and profound. Prof. Dr. Frz. Delitzsch has published a Commentary on Solomon's Song, pp. vii., 239. The author's theory is, that this book was designed to present the true Biblical conception of the marriage relation. Dr. Maurer, Frz. J. B. D., the well known commentator, has recently published

"A Compendious Lexicon of the Hebrew and Chaldee of the Old Testament," pp. xii., 1139. Dr. Julius Furst has also commenced the publication of a new Hebrew and Chaldee Old Testament Lexicon. It is to be speedily completed in 6 parts, the first of which has already appeared, p. 176, handsomely published by B. Tauchnitz, Leipsic; price not to exceed four and a half thalers; (the price of Maurer's is two thalers.) The 16th edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, edited by Rödiger, has recently appeared.

The 5th Part of Vol. II. of the very valuable Polyglott Bible, edited by Drs. Stier and Theile, is now published; and among the many new editions of the German Bible issuing from the press, we notice one of special value, published at Halle, under the supervision of Drs. Bindfiel and Niemeyer. Part 1, pp. 240 has appeared. It is carefully corrected by the original edition. "A Harmony of the Synoptical Gospels, illustrated by selections from the church literature and traditions older than Irenaeus," by Prof. Auger, of Leipsic. "The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," edited by Prof. Tischendorf. Prof. T. has revised the six apocryphal Acts, formerly edited by Thilo, and has added seven, which he now for the first time edits from manuscripts. In connection with this we notice an essay on "The Origin and use of the Apocryphal Gospels," by Prof. T.; an essay to which a prize was recently awarded by the Hague "Society for the defence of the Christian Religion." A Commentary on the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, edited by Drs. O. F. Fritsche, of Zurich, and W. Grimm, of Jena. Vol. I., just published (Fritsche ed.) contains the 3d Book of Ezra, Baruch, and the smaller fragments. Three other volumes, which complete the work, are expected to appear within this year, in a form like that of De Wette's New Testament Commentaries. (Gersdorf's Repert. commends the work highly.) A Commentary by Wessel Albert von Hengel, on the 15th Chapter of 1 Corinthians, pp. xii., 269. Part 2 of Schlottmann's Commentary on Job; Vol. 4 of Hengstenberg on the Psalms (2d ed.); Part 2 of Lücke's "Introduction to the Apocalypse, and apocalyptic Literature in general," (2d revised and enlarged ed.). Part 1 of Lisco's "Practical Commentary on the Old Testament, (2d enlarged ed., without the text)." "Der Schriftbeweis," by Prof. Hofmann, of Erlangen; an Exegetico-dogmatical discussion of the Biblical arguments for the various doctrines of Dogmatic Theology, Part 1. By Dr. L. Reinke (Catholic), "Contributions to the interpretation of the Old Test." The work discusses the origin and true solution of the numerical difficulties and contradictions of the Old Testament; the right of the Israelites to Canaan, and the various modes of justifying the plundering and destruction of the Canaanites, and Jephthah's vow, pp. vii. 532. Vol. I. of a 2d edition of Steir's "Discourses of the Lord Jesus." "Die Weisheit's Lehre der Hebräer," by Dr. Bruch, of Strasburg; an attempt to develop, principally from the didactic portions of the Old Testament, the philosophical system of the Hebrews, of which, strangely enough, they alone of all ancient nations have often been considered destitute. Dr. Z. Frankel, whose 'Vorstudien zum Septuaginta' is well known, has recently written a work, "Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische

Hermenentik." Of some interest with regard to Luther's German Bible, is the "History of the Bible translations (German) before Luther, together with 34 of the earlier versions of Matth. 5th, by Dr. Kehrein. The author's object is to discuss the claim of Luther's translation to originality. Kindred works in the department of oriental literature, are an edition of the Book of Henoch in Ethiopic, edited by Dr. Aug. Dillman, and the Book of Genesis according to Abā-Sa'idō's Arabic version from the Samaritan Pentateuch, edited by Dr. Kuenen; also, "Pistis Sophia, a Gnostic work ascribed to Valentinus," translated from the Coptic into Latin by Schwartz, and edited by Petermann. In the oriental department we have also the first two volumes of a History of Arabic literature, by von Hammer Purgstall. These bring down the history to A. D. 750. Also, from Spiegel, "Alexander Sage bei den Orientalen," and the first part of a new edition of the (Zend) Avesta. From Ewald, a treatise on the Phœnician views of the Creation, and the historical merit of Sanchoniathon. The Catalogues report among other works: the first part of Pfizmaier's great Wörterbuch der Japonischen Sprache; the continuation of Freytag's Commentary on the Hamasa; the Pehlvi Bundeheah, edited by Westergaard, with a dissertation on the antiquity of the Pehlvi language; Heldensagen von Firdusi, consisting of selections from the Shah Nameh, translated into German by A. F. von Schaack, with an Introduction on the Iranian Epos. An Article read by Lepsius in the Berlin Academy, on "The first circle of the Egyptian Gods, and its historico-mythological origin," has just appeared in print. A new Sanscrit Grammar has just been published, by Dr. Benfry, of Göttingen. We notice also two interesting works on the ancient and modern pagan systems: Cavovè's "Vorhalle des Christenthums," which presents a historical view of the religions preceding Christianity; and Part 1 of Wattke's "History of Heathenism, in relation to Religion, Science, Art, Morals and Politics." This Part discusses heathenism among the savage nations, as also among the Huns, Monguls of the Middle Ages, Mexicans and Peruvians. A short time ago, Wattke received a prize from the Hague Society for an essay "on the Cosmogony of the heathen nations," which has recently been published.

Those curious in Cabalistic studies will be interested in some treatises, recently announced, by Adolph Jellinek. One bears the title "Moses Ben Schem-Tob de heon, and his connection with the book Sohar." This Spanish scholar of the latter part of the 13th century, is proved to be the author of the Sohar; and Jellinek points out the various evidences which disprove the claim of the book to a greater antiquity. In Part I. of "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Rabbala," Jellinek gives two valuable articles in the same department of study. In regard to the study of the very old book Jezira, which gives evidence of the influence of the Ionic natural philosophy, Pythagoreanism, and Gnoeticism upon Jewish mind, the author gives much curious information. He sketches the history of the Jezira and its commentators since the 10th century in Egypt, Barbary, Babylonia, Spain, Thrace, Italy, Germany and Palestine, and adds a history of the text. In regard to the Sohar, the author adds an article in which he discusses the language and

style of the book, its mystical interpretations and doctrines, especially its curious Natural Philosophy and Zoology, etc. He promises future articles on the Mystical Sich Saadja, and on the Speculative Cabbala of Rabbi Asriel.

In more immediate connection with Church History we notice Vol. VI. of Neander's Church History, edited from the author's papers by Dr. Schneider. This volume continues the history from the time of Boniface VIII. to the Basle Council. Dr. Jacobi has recently edited a collection of Neander's Miscellaneous and Scientific essays, most of which were read before the Berlin Academy. A second edition of Hagenbach's History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland has lately appeared; also from the same author a little treatise on "Leonard Euler as Apologist for Christianity." Vol. I. of a new edition of Ranke's History of the Reformation has just been published. A new contribution of considerable interest in its relation to the History of the Reformation, is an edition of Spalatin's writings, many of which are now for the first time published. There are to be seven volumes; Vol. I. (just published), contains "The Life and Times of Frederic the Wise;" in the following volumes are to be included sketches of the Elector John the Constant, the Elector Ernest and his two sons, together with other papers relating to the Papacy and Empire in the time of the Reformation; and Spalatin's Autobiography and Correspondence. Licent. A. W. Dieckhoff has written a History of the Waldenses of the Middle Ages, pp. xii., 408. On the Catholic side we have Vol. I. of a revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Dollinger's History of the Reformation. This volume takes up the History, and the Effects of the Reformation within the precincts of the Lutheran Confession. Part I of Tholuck's History of Rationalism is expected to appear in a few days.

A work of decided interest has recently been published by Prof. Karl Hase, of Jena, under the title "Neue Propheten." The work consists of three historical political sketches in Church History, the subjects of which are "The Maid of Orleans," "Savonarola," and "The Anabaptists." The author has a twofold object: to discuss the relation of Old Testament Prophecy to the prophetic inspiration claimed in modern times; and also to show how a Church History might be written, which should cast off the style of the lecture-room, without descending to a familiar, commonplace style, and should thus meet the wants of the educated community. The author displays great skill in managing this style himself. References to authorities, etc. he has collected in an appendix. pp. 262—367.

A new Manual of Church History, intended for Students of Theology, has been published by Prof. Heinrich Schmid of Erlangen. It omits altogether references to the sources of its information. 8vo. pp. 434. Prof. Ludwig Richter, author of a work on "Kirchenrecht," has published a History of Evangelical Church Government in Germany. F. W. Krug has published a volume of Lectures on the Protestant religious fanaticism, sectarianism, and disorganizing innovations which have exhibited themselves in the Grand Duchy of Bey, especially in Wappertal. The book, although apparently of only local importance, becomes of general interest, as it in-

volve discussions relating to men like Dippel, Tersteegen, Collenbusch and Koulbrügge.

Some interesting sketches in Church History appear in the Evangelical Calendar for 1852. This Calendar has appeared two years before, under the supervision of Prof. Piper of Berlin. Adopting the general custom of designating each day by the name of some person prominent in the annals of the church, the author's intention is to make the series one of evangelical names. Where it may be, the individual gives his name to the day of his death, which, in the happy conception of the early church, was commemorated as the birthday of a new life. Accompanying each Calendar is a Year Book, containing sketches of individuals named in the Calendar. In the preceding numbers sketches were given by such writers as Neander, Tholuck, Ullmann, etc. In the Year Book for 1852, among others are, biographical notices of Clement of Rome, by Hagenbach; Gregory of Nazianzen, by Ullmann; Henry of Zutphen, by Claus Harms; Bartholomew Ziegenbald, by Nitzsch, etc.

In the department of Dogmatic Theology, we have a new (6th) edition of Nitzsch's "*System der Christlichen Lehre.*" Vol. II. of Rückert's Theology. A small posthumous work of Bretschneider's, entitled "*Trifolium,*" containing essays on the doctrine of the Trinity, the Fall and Original Sin, etc. The concluding part of a little work by Dr. Theile, "*Pro confessionis religionis adversus confessionum theologiam.*" A sixth edition of Ullmann's "*Sündlosigkeit Jesu*" is in press. Dr. Julius Müller has in preparation for publication his system of Dogmatics. Here we may mention that a translation of Müller's "*Christian Doctrine of Sin,*" which is to form a part of Clark's Theological Library, is nearly completed. A new volume of the "*Corpus Reformatorum,*" edited by Bretschneider and Bindseil, contains Vol. XVII. of Melancthon's works. The concluding Parts of Dr. Schenkel's "*Wesen des Protestantismus,*" are recently published. The author announces a supplementary treatise on "*Der Princip des Protestantismus.*"

A new Theological work of great interest and value has recently been undertaken, in the shape of a Theological Lexicon. It is to consist of eight or ten large octavo volumes, and is to cover the whole ground of theological science, representing in its articles the views of the more evangelical party among the German theologians. The superintending editor is Dr. Weissenborn of Halle, who has the coöperation of the Heidelberg Faculty, with Prof. Tholuck and others as referees. Contributions are to be solicited from theologians throughout all Germany.

Dr. Nitzsch's "*Practical Theology,*" Vol. II. Book 2. Part 2. "*On Evangelical Worship,*" pp. viii. and 245—473. Hagenbach's "*Encyclopædia and Method. Theolog. Wissenschaft,*" third edition. Lange's "*Christliche Dogmatik.*" Book 2. "*Positive Dogmatik.*" A work by Prof. Dr. K. Fr. A. Kahnis on the Lord's Supper. A second enlarged and revised edition of the well known work of Dr. Alt on the "*Christliche Cultus.*" Of Sartorius's work on "*The Doctrine of Holy Love,*" the first part of Vol. III. has at length appeared. It treats of uniting, purifying, active and obedient love.

The concluding part is to discuss love of neighbors, enduring, hoping, and finally, triumphant love. Simultaneously with this appears the third edition of Vol. I. We see announced also Dr. J. W. Hanne's "*Vorhöfe zum Glauben, oder das Wunder des Christenthums im Einklange menschlichen Vernunft und Natur.*" Vol. II. Part 2.

From Erlangen we have Dr. J. W. F. Höfning's "*Doctrine of the early church on the sacrifice in the life and worship of Christians.*" Two works of considerable interest from their connection with the early history of German Protestantism, are "*Theologia deutsch*, which teaches many sweet and divine truths, and is a very great and fine thing (help) for a perfect life." A new edition, from the only hitherto known manuscript, by Frz. Pfeiffer, pp. xvi. and 120. The connection of this work with the early history of the Reformation, makes this new edition interesting. The other work referred to is "*The Smaller Catechism*" of Luther; the first edition, found in a Low Saxon translation; edited by Bed. C. Mönkebey, and published with an inquiry into its origin, pp. xi. and 176.

We are glad to notice the publication in Berlin of a German translation of Prof. Rogers's Article on "*Reason and Faith*," which appeared some two years since in the *Edinburgh Review*. The 7th and 8th volumes of a translation of Dr. Channing's works are also recently announced.

A book attracting no little attention in the department of Controversial Theology, has appeared from the pen of C. A. Thilo, a Hanoverian pastor, hitherto unknown in literature. The title of the work is "*The Science of Modern Speculative Theology examined in its principles.*" The work examines the weapons with which the prevalent theology is contending against Pantheism and Atheism, and finds that they are drawn from the armory of these very foes, i. e. from Spinoza. The author adopting Herbart's philosophy, which he manages with great earnestness and ability, combats particularly the modern theology of Schleiermacher, Rothe and Julius Müller. In No. 42 of "*Die deutsche Zeitschrift*," Dr. Müller commences a critical examination and refutation of Thilo's book, admitting the great merit and ability of the work which he reviews.

In the department of philosophy, we notice the recent publication of Vol. IV. VIII. IX. X. and XI. of Hartenstein's edition of Herbart's *Philosophical Works*. The publication of the collected works of Baader, under the supervision of Frz. Hoffmann and other of Baader's pupils, has recently commenced. The series is to include the posthumous works, memoir and correspondence, together with the works published during the author's life. Vol. I. contains his speculative logic; Vol. II. commences the metaphysics, pp. lxxii. 420, lxxx. 536. The treatises of Hoffmann introductory to these two volumes, have been published separately under the title "*Outlines of the History of Logic in Germany from Kant to Baader*," and "*Frz. Baader in his relation to Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Herbart.*" Vol. II. Part 1 of J. H. Fichte's "*System der Ethik*" has just appeared. A work of more general and popular character is entitled "*Buch der Weltweisheit.*" It contains an abstract of the doctrines of the

most eminent philosophers of all times, two volumes, pp. viii. 343, viii. 352. From Prof. Erdmann we have a popular work entitled "Psychological Letters," and another more elaborate work entitled "Philosophical Lectures on the State." Parts 2 and 3, completing Dr. Weissenborn's "Logic and Metaphysics," have recently appeared; also Ulrici's *Logic*. Vol. XI. of Ritter's *History of Philosophy* is in press. Vol. III. of Zeller's *History of Philosophy*, containing the history from Aristotle to the Stoics, is just out. Aristotle's *Ethica Eudemia* has just been published in a new edition, edited by A. T. N. Fritsche.

In the department of Classical Literature, we notice the recent publication in the *Bibl. Graeca* (Jacobs and Rost) of Vol. IV. Part 2 of Poppo's *Thucydides* (VI. 2 of Greek Prose writers), and Part 1 of Kühner's *Anabasis* (IX. 1 of the whole work). Part IV. of the Leipzig edition of Poppo's *Thucydides*, containing the supplements and index. Vol. II. of Boehme's *Thucydides*. Part 1 and 2 of Vol. III. of the revised edition of Dindorf's *Demosthenes*, containing Or. XLI—LXI. Vol. I. of the 4th edition of Rost's *Greek Lexicon*, pp. xx. 684. Among the Latin authors, Part 1 of Freund's *Virgil*, containing Books 1—6 of the *Aeneid*. Vol. II. of Klotz's *Cicero*; Koch's *Horace*, and Vol. I. of Baiter's *Horace*. Hermann's work on *Grecian Antiquities* is just completed. Part 1 of Vol. III. of Marquand's continuation of Becker's *Roman Antiquities* has lately appeared. Also the first of two volumes of a *Geographico-Historical* work on the *Peloponnesus*, by Prof. Curtius, pp. vi. 496.

Among other works in the Classical department, we have continuations of Schneidewin's *Sophocles*, Ritschl's *Plautus*, Passow's *Greek Lexicon* edited by Rost, Palm and Krenssler (to art. *πρόδρομος*), Pauly's *Encyclopaedia of Classical Antiquity*, continued by Walz and Teuffel (to art. *Vocatio*); the second volume of Böckh's *Civil Economy of the Athenians*, new and enlarged edition; the sixth volume of Schwenck's *Mythology*, containing the *Mythology of the Germans*.

Marcus Niebuhr, son of the great historian, has published the third volume of his father's *Lectures on Ancient History* exclusive of the Roman. The subjects of this volume are, the Macedonian kingdoms, Hellenizing of the East, fall of ancient Greece, and universal empire of Rome. The work consists of lectures delivered by Niebuhr while Professor of History at Bonn, and now collected and arranged from the manuscript notes of his pupils. An English translation by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz will appear in London, in three volumes; it is announced as already in press. Chapman and Hall of London advertise the *Life and Letters of B. G. Niebuhr*, with essays on his character and influence, by the Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Loebell.

SWITZERLAND.

THERE were in 1846, 1847, and 1848, fourteen higher seminaries, viz. three universities, three academies, and eight lyceums. The academy at Neufchatel was closed in 1848. To the three universities, Basil, Zurich and

Berne, belong the four faculties of theology, law, medicine and philosophy. Berne has a special department for veterinary science. In the two academies of Geneva and Lausanne, there are three departments, law, theology and philosophy. The lyceum at Sion teaches theology, law and philosophy; the lyceums at Lucerne, Freiburg and Solothurn teach theology and philosophy; and those in Einsiedeln, Schaffhausen and Lugano, philosophy. The universities and academies are Protestant, the lyceums are Catholic. No polytechnic department is attached to any of the seminaries. The number of students, during the three years referred to, was 1028, viz. 372 philosophy, 296 theology, 187 medicine, 168 law. The number at the universities was as follows: Berne 213, Zurich 128, Basil 80; at the academies: Geneva 168, Lausanne 104, Neuchâtel 22; the remainder were at the lyceums. About 165 were foreigners, frequenting particularly the Jesuit lyceums at Freiburg and Sion, which are now closed.

The number of professors in the above institutions, not including Neuchâtel, was 180: laymen 117, clergymen 63. The number of professors at Berne was 34, Zurich 27, Basil 25, Geneva 20, Lausanne 16, and 58 at the lyceums. The maximum of a professor's salary at Berne is 3000 old Swiss francs, at Basil 2800, at Zurich 2300, at Lausanne 2200, at Geneva 2180.

The expenditure of these seminaries, for teachers, libraries, museums, etc. is provided for from special foundations or funds. Still the income is inadequate. The institutions at Berne and Lausanne are sustained exclusively from the public treasury. In Zurich 20,000 francs from the city treasury, and from 26 to 27,000 from the so-called foundation fund, are distributed to the university, the gymnasium, and the industrial school. The academy at Geneva is entirely supported by the cantonal government. The Economical Society at Geneva raise annually for public instruction from 38 to 39,000 French francs. The university fund at Basil about half supports the university. It suffered a great loss a few years ago on the division of the canton. The following is about the annual cost of all kinds of the five institutions:

Berne,	75—78,000 old Swiss francs,
Zurich,	50—54,000 “
Basil,	39—40,000 “
Lausanne,	40—45,000 “
Geneva,	58—60,000 “

In the way of stipends, helps, etc. for students, nearly all the cantons have cantonal, town or family funds or foundations. The whole sum of these charities amounts to 970,000 Swiss francs. Among the most important of these funds are two in Berne, one of 400,000 francs, the other of 72,000. Basil has an academical stipend fund of 153,000. In the canton Grisons, there is a fund of 14,000 francs given by several families. For theological stipends, Berne appropriates yearly about 9000 francs, Basil 1500, Aargau 2500, Grisons 200, Thurgau 1500, and Lucerne 1800.

The number of Swiss students at foreign universities is estimated at from 600 to 700. They resort mainly to Heidelberg, Munich, Halle, Freiburg,

Tubingen, Berlin, Vienna and Paris. The students of the Canton Tessino repair to Pisa, Padua and Turin. Catholic theologians from Switzerland are somewhat numerous at Como, Milan and Rome. Those who pursue mechanical studies go to Karlsruhe in Baden. About 27 Swiss are now professors in foreign universities; some of them, e. g. Agassiz and Guyot, have a European reputation.

Earnest discussions are now going on in Switzerland in respect to changes and improvements in education. Sixteen cantons have decided more or less in favor of a central university for Switzerland; ten cantons, more or less in favor of a central polytechnic school; two cantons, Uri and Schwytz, against such a school. If a central university should be established, it will be placed, it is supposed, at Zurich. A commission of four members have lately made a report in favor of a central university, and given a detail of the plan. But special and, perhaps, insurmountable difficulties are in the way of such an institution, from the diversity of languages and religions (a part of the Catholic population being very bigoted, and a part of the Protestant being strongly tinctured with infidelity); from the want of a system of elementary education in a part of the cantons; from fear that the university would injure existing institutions, and from the mutual jealousies and spirit of independence in the different cantons.

The university of Basil seems to be in a somewhat depressed state. The number of students is diminishing. Dr. Schenkel, who was elected in De Wette's place, has just had a call to Heidelberg, as professor of theology and superintendent of the preacher's seminary.

At the beginning of 1851, there were published in Switzerland 204 journals devoted to politics, belles lettres, religion, etc., of which 102 were in the German language, 46 in the French, 5 in the Italian, and one in a peculiar language spoken in the Grisons. Forty were published in the canton of Berne, 23 in Zurich, 16 in Basil, 15 in St. Gall, 14 in De Vaud, etc.

GREAT BRITAIN.

We have examined with interest some parts of the first volume of Alford's Greek Testament. This volume embraces only the Gospels, though it occupies 750 pages. The author is a clergyman of the established church in Leicestershire, and late fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge. It is the first production from his pen which we have seen, and furnishes encouraging indications of what may be expected. It is on the general plan of Dr. Bloomfield's Testament, but differs from it in important particulars. Mr. Alford appears to be much more familiar than Dr. B., with the most recent German treatises and speculations on the Gospels. He, also, grapples more closely with the difficult questions which occur, and gives his own opinions in a more independent manner. Both are well trained in the classical Greek as studied at Cambridge. Both profess to have paid special attention to the state of the text. Mr. Alford's revision has been conducted on the following principles. Wherever the primary MSS. (the seven principal in the uncial

character), are unanimous, in any reading affecting the sense, that reading has been adopted, to the rejection of the commonly received text. Where the primary MSS. are divided, the received reading is retained, but marked as doubtful, with an asterisk. A digest of various readings is given between the text and the Notes, from Lachmann, Scholz, and after Luke xvi., from Tischendorf. Besides the topics just alluded to, the author treats in his Prolegomena, of the general characteristics of the first three Gospels, and the characteristics of each Gospel singly, and finally describes his *apparatus criticus*. Mr. Alford agrees with Dr. Davidson and others in regard to the Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel, the doubtful genuineness of the last ten verses of Mark's Gospel, etc. Whatever may be the ultimate judgment of the critical public in regard to the value of Mr. Alford's labors, it is pleasant to see the awakened attention which able English scholars are paying to the inspired records.

Dr. Bloomfield's volume of Additional Annotations was published in 1850, in 448 pages, small print, double columns. The author remarks that "he has seen reason not unfrequently to alter or modify his former opinions as to certain readings. On the whole, however, he has felt constrained to differ almost *in toto* from Lachmann, and in a great measure from Tischendorf." Yet he speaks of the latter as having laid the Christian world under the highest obligations by his travels and researches, and his discoveries and collations of several most ancient MSS. of the New Testament. In the philological Notes, Dr. B. "has adduced several thousands of illustrations, in citations from the Greek classical writers, or from Josephus, Philo, and the Septuagint, with few exceptions collected by the author himself, in the course of twelve years' further study of those writers."

Mr. John Kenrick, author of the elaborate work on Ancient Egypt, London, two vols., 1850, is preparing, on the same plan, the history of those countries of the East, whose civilization preceded and influenced that of Greece. Syria and Phoenicia will form the next volume.

Among the works advertised in Great Britain we find the following: "Nestorians and their Rituals, Narrative of a journey to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in 1842, and a visit in 1850, by George P. Badger, chaplain to the East India Company," a name that acquired some undesirable celebrity a few years ago; a History of France, by Sir James Stephen, Professor of History in the University of Cambridge, compiled from Sismondi and other French writers, in one volume, for Schools; Gutzlaff's Life of Taou Kwang, late Emperor of China, with Memoirs of the Court of Peking, 8vo.; Five Letters to Archdeacon Hare, by the Chevalier Bunsen, on Hippolytus, author of a recently discovered book ascribed to Origen, and on the bearing of this work on leading questions of Church History and polity; Dindorf's Aeschylus, vol. 3d, containing Greek Scholia; Paul's Analysis of the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis; Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, from the 124th Olympiad to the death of Augustus, 2d edition; Clinton's Epitome of the Fasti Hellenici; Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. 3d, from the death of Julius Caesar to the establishment of the empire under

Augustus; *Madvig's Latin Grammar*, translated by Wood, 2d edition; *Stoll's Handbook of the Religion and Mythology of the Greeks*, translated by the Rev. R. Paul, and edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold; *Germania of Tacitus*, with *Ethnographical Dissertation and Notes*, by R. G. Latham.

The first Part of the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, edited by Dr. William Smith, has been received. This Part contains 128 pages; the other Parts are to appear quarterly, the whole forming one octavo volume. The first Part gives promise that the work will be as valuable and complete in the department of Ancient Geography, as the previous works by the same editor are in their respective departments. The present number has small plans of several cities, and also the coins of many places. The more important Articles on Greek Geography, are furnished by the editor. The work is strictly a treatise on Ancient Geography, not being confined to Greek and Roman Geography.

The second and last volume of Dr. Traill's translation of the "*Jewish War*" by Josephus, has appeared. This is a very beautiful as well as valuable edition of the "*Jewish War*," and is illustrated by seventy-five engravings made in Palestine for the work.

Among the deaths of eminent men in Great Britain, during the last year, we notice that of Prof. George Dunbar, who had long held the chair of Greek Literature in the university of Edinburgh, and was well known for his dictionaries and other works.

UNITED STATES.

MR. G. P. PUTNAM, of New York, has published, as a part of his *Home Cyclopaedia*, a very valuable *Handbook of Literature and the Fine Arts*, compiled and arranged by George Ripley and Bayard Taylor.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, of Boston, propose to publish an elementary work on Geology, for the use of Colleges and High Schools, by Prof. J. R. Loomis of Waterville, Maine; also a new Geological Chart, prepared by Prof. James Hall, of Albany, N. Y. A new edition of Lyell's *Elements of Geology* is soon to be published by Messrs. Little & Brown, in connection with a London House.

Mr. Putnam, of New York, has published a work entitled, "*Five Years in an English University*, by Charles Astor Bristed, two volumes." The work contains some severe reflections upon the University system in our own country.

Sir James Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France* have been republished by the Messrs. Harpers, of New York.

A new and revised edition of President Woolsey's *Antigone of Sophocles*, has been published by Munroe & Co., Boston.

Blanchard & Lea, of Philadelphia, have published a *School Dictionary of the Latin Language*, by Dr. T. H. Kaltschmidt, in two Parts. Part I. *Latin English*, 18mo. pp. 478. They have reprinted the *School Horace* of Schmitz and Zumpt's series; and also R. W. Browne's *History of Greek Classical Literature*.

The fourth volume of Bancroft's History of the United States, has just been sent from the press of Little & Brown, Boston. This volume is more elaborate than its predecessors in its style. It embraces the period from 1748 to 1763. It was published simultaneously in Boston and London.

James Munroe & Co., Boston, have announced their intention to republish "A Selection of English Synonyms, second edition, revised and enlarged.

Mr. R. G. Latham's "Elementary English Grammar for the use of schools," has been published at the Cambridge University Press. It is edited by Prof. F. G. Child of Harvard University.

Crosby & Nichols have published the third and fourth volumes of Dr. Paley's "Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities."

It is refreshing to notice the tendency, at the present day, to publish the collected writings of eminent Americans. In addition to the works of the two Adamses, which are still in process of publication, we have the "Life and Letters of Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law at Harvard University, edited by his son Wm. W. Story," in two volumes. Hon. Edward Everett has been for some time engaged in preparing for the press, the "Speeches, Forensic Arguments and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster," in six volumes. A part of the first volume is devoted to Mr. Everett's "Biographical Memoir of Daniel Webster."

The American Doctrinal Tract and Book Society will publish in the month of April, the collected Works of Samuel Hopkins, D. D., in three 8vo. volumes, comprising more than 2000 pages. Some of Dr. Hopkins's writings, as his four Biographical works, his "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's Late Dialogue," and the larger part of his essays for the Periodicals, are not reprinted in this collection. All his publications deserve a reprint for their historical value. They produced a great effect in their day; and posterity will desire to understand the influences which operated on the mind of their fathers. The writings of Hopkins are characterized by great strength of thought and of feeling. His views of African Slavery are very remarkable, and well worth the study of philanthropists.

Crocker & Brewster, Boston, have recently published, in two volumes, "The Life and Labors of Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., former Pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass., by his son, Samuel M. Worcester, D. D., present Pastor of the Tabernacle Church."

It has been proposed that the Pupils of the late PROFESSOR STUART, of Andover, erect a suitable monument to his memory. The proposal has been received with favor by all who have reflected on it. No teacher has been more beloved than he, by his numerous scholars; and many of those whom he has trained for usefulness in the church, will cheerfully contribute to the rendering of appropriate honors to his name. He lies interred by the side of the venerated Porter, in the cemetery of the Theological Institution at Andover.

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ARTICLE I.

OBSERVATIONS ON MATTHEW 24: 29—31, AND THE PARALLEL
PASSAGES IN MARK AND LUKE, WITH REMARKS ON THE
DOUBLE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

By M. Stuart, lately Professor of Sacred Literature at Andover.
[Concluded from p. 355.]

WE have now gone through with the minute examination of the whole passage under consideration. We have seen that, first of all, a literal sense, as insisted on, is impossible; in some cases even palpable absurdities would follow from it. In the second place we have seen, that all the phraseology here employed, is applicable, and is actually applied, to political, civil and natural changes and overturns. Most of it is applied to events even far less consequential and significant, than the destruction of the Jewish capital and commonwealth; and this, not in one or two instances merely, but in many passages of the Old Testament. Of course, the allegation that the destruction of Jerusalem is immeasurably, yea infinitely, *below* the magnitude of an event to which such language as is now before us must necessarily be applied, has no foundation in the usage of Scripture. The simple answer to the allegation is, that *fact* shows it to be incorrect; for it is a fact that such language is actually applied by the sacred writers to the describing of events inferior in importance to the final catastrophe of the Jewish nation. The proofs of this, ample ones, have already been laid before the reader. The way is perfectly open,

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then, for the application of the passage to the destruction of Jerusalem, so far as the diction and style are concerned.

Here comes up, now, the question: What says the *context* and the course of thought? We have also made inquiry in part, as to what answer is to be given to this question. The discourse was prompted by no inquiries about the general judgment. Jerusalem was the only theme which prompted it. The coming of Christ to punish the Jews and the end of the Jewish *aión*, are questions intimately connected with the main one. The whole course of thought is such as relates only to the generation living at and immediately after the death of Christ. The first part, vs. 4—28, terminates with the invasion of Jerusalem by the army with *eagle*-ensigns. The destruction itself is yet to come. The eagles are gathered around the corse, but they have not yet devoured it. Then follows the devouring. Emblems of this are drawn from the darkening and fall of the heavenly bodies; from terrific appearances in the air; and from the bitter lamentations and agitating terrors that ensue. The coming of the Son of man, with his mighty host in splendid array, closes the scene. The particulars of what is consequential upon his coming, are not told. Every reader must spontaneously know, what such a threatening array against the enemies of Christ and the church would of course accomplish. A *σῶσις* here is expressive eloquence.

Finally comes the deliverance of Christians from their danger and terror. The great Shepherd "*gathers them* in his arms, and carries them in his bosom." Here then is a complete *tout ensemble*, a beginning, a progress, and an end. What more is needed then to commend the exegesis which I have been defending?

On the other hand; if the *general judgment* be the only theme, then how imperfect, how incomplete is the representation! Not a word of the *wicked* being summoned to the judgment; nothing indicating that *all nations* are to appear before the Son of man, or even that he ascends the judgment-seat. Only the *righteous* are gathered. But it is not even said for what purpose, provided we interpret in this fashion. In the other method of interpreting, all is easy. But, on other ground, there is a sudden defection of the half finished transaction. Three parables foreign to the immediate subject then supervene; and after these, there commences an account of the judgment-process. Here moreover (Matt. 25: 31 seq.), the righteous are *again* congregated along with the wicked (*πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*), and then separated from them, and so each party are respectively adjudged. For what purpose, then, we may well ask, on this ground of interpretation,

was the previous "gathering of the elect" in 24: 31? It is a question which its advocates are bound to answer; but one which De Wette blinks out of sight. He says merely, that believers, according to 1 Thess. 4: 17. 2 Thess. 2: 1, are first to be assembled around Christ. Be it so then; but we ask again in this case (and this question he has not considered), why is there a *reassembling* described in 25: 31? The righteous had already been assembled; how came they to be scattered again among the wicked?

This whole scheme, then, is full of crudities and incongruities. It maintains impossibilities. It insists on leaving pictures half made, or an abrupt desertion of them in this state. It introduces matter, which the subjects urged on the attention of our Lord, by the questions of his disciples, did not comprise. And if there were no other reasons, these are enough of themselves to justify the abandonment of such a scheme of exegesis.

But there are other reasons, and if possible weightier ones still, for abandoning it. These are comprised in the *limitations of time* which precede and follow vs. 29—31. We come now, last of all, to the examination of these limitations.

The first limitation is made by *εὐθέως*, at the beginning of v. 29. It is conceded that the *transition* to the judgment-scene is made here, and that all which precedes, pertains to the destruction of Jerusalem.

What says the next (29th) verse? "*Εὐθέως, immediately after the affliction of those days, the sun shall be darkened,*" etc. That is (if the alleged views of the application of what follows are correct), *immediately* after the destruction of Jerusalem comes on the general judgment. But they labor strenuously to show, that *εὐθέως* does not here import *immediate sequency* in time, but is equivalent to *suddenly*, or rather to the Latin *inopinato, unexpectedly*. It is then, as is supposed, the *unexpected* nature of the event, which is marked by *εὐθέως*. But what says Mark? "*Ἐν ἑσπέραις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην, in those days after that affliction, viz. of Jerusalem.*" But this, it is said, "is *wholly indefinite* as to time, indicating only the latter days [viz. those] of the Messiah." But if it be ever used with such a latitude of meaning (which is doubtful), it surely is not so here. To the words *those days* is added the limiting or defining clause, *after that affliction*, showing that a generic sense of *those days* is out of question. The days that *follow the affliction*, are of course the days in question, and no others; for then there would be no specification of time at all. Who was there that would not know, that events in general which were to come after the destruction of

Jerusalem, must come of course in the Messianic period or latter days? What other period was there than this? On the contrary, the events of vs. 29—31 were to come in *immediate sequency* after those before described. In this connection it should be observed, that Luke (21: 25) has omitted all distinction or any notation of time, and relates the whole as one continuous matter. By so doing, he does not disagree with the other evangelists. They have merely taken pains expressly to say, that the things predicted in Matt. 24: 29—31 will follow the others in rapid succession. But Luke takes this for granted, and makes therefore no break in his narration.

As to all attempts to show that *ἐνθίως* means *inopinato*, they are altogether in vain. An appeal is made to the Heb. עֲרָא, rendered *ἐνθίως* by the Septuagint. Well, so rendered, I should say; for עֲרָא is the adverbial form of עָרָא, which means *in the twinkling of an eye, subito*. And so *ἐνθίως* is well chosen. Schleusner, Passow, Rost and Schmidt are also appealed to, to show that the Greek word is equivalent to *plötzlich, speedily or suddenly*. Full truly in respect to time it is so; but *ἐνθίως*, be it remembered, never dismisses the signification of *suddenness* as to time. The word *unexpectedly* has nothing to do with the sense of *straightway, immediately or suddenly* in respect to time. Kuinoel's Comm. on Mark 9: 15, is a poor specimen of *grammatical* interpretation. *Ἐνθίως* there does not, as Schleusner supposes, qualify *ἰδών*; if it did, it would immediately precede or follow it. It looks back to Christ's *coming to his disciples*, as mentioned in the preceding verse (so our English translation), and it expresses the idea, that "*forthwith [upon that coming], the multitude, when they saw Jesus, were astonished;*" Mark does not say why, but probably it was because they knew that he had been absent from his disciples (as the preceding chapter shows), and his appearance, therefore, filled them with amazement. In fact, it is in vain to seek for *authorities*. I have looked through the whole of the eighty cases, in which *ἐνθίως* is employed in the New Testament, and examined their connection. I cannot hesitate now to say, that not one of them justifies the version by *inopinato*. In some few cases, this sense would give a meaning not bad in itself; but even these cases are those where the *suddenness* of the event is the ground why it is *unexpected*. But this alters not the word *ἐνθίως* itself. Its very derivation indeed shows, that it has nothing to do with the meaning of *inopinato*. *Ἐνθύς* (the root) means *straight, straight-forward, direct*, and the like. So *ἐνθίως* means *straightforward* in point of time, and corresponds very exactly to our word *straightway*

or *directly*. The latter word is the veriest counterpart possible of the simple meaning of the Greek word *ἐνθίως*; for its first meaning is *straightforward* in respect to *space*, and its secondary meaning *straightforward* in respect to *time*, i. e. immediately, forthwith, straightway. There is not a word in the New Testament whose meaning is more clear and certain, than that of *ἐνθίως*.

De Wette says: "*Ενθίως* designates *everywhere* & more or less rapid sequency; and there is no doubt, that according to Matthew the coming of the Messiah was to follow immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. Hammond, Paulus and others, *arbitrarily* translate it *unexpectedly*; Schott aims to obtain the same meaning, by the suggestion that it is an error of translation [by the Greek translator of Matthew] in rendering *ἐκτός*. But not only is this not allowable on exegetical ground, but there is moreover nothing gained by it. *For how can any one persuade us, that between v. 28 and v. 29 there is such a huge interval, as between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world as we view the matter.*" Thus far De Wette. Nothing can be plainer, in philology, than that he is here in the right.

Where are we then, in respect to our present attitude? Just here, viz. that the events of vs. 29—31 are *closely connected*, in point of *time*, with those predicted in vs. 4—28. As I view the subject (and my reasons for this view have already been given), this close connection in *time* is grounded on a close connection in the sequency of *events*. All then is easy and natural in respect to *ἐνθίως*. We have no philological impossibilities to achieve—no *hineinezegesiren* to practise. But in the other method of exegesis, we have first the Saviour, teaching the contact of the judgment-day and the destruction of Jerusalem, and the apostles believing in his prediction and proclaiming their belief. It is impossible to avoid it. The *specific limitations* of time prevent the application of the principle of prophetic interpretation contended for. De Wette makes a slight attempt to remove the difficulty, in respect to the Saviour. "Probably," says he, "neither Matthew nor Luke has transmitted the speech of Jesus with verbal exactness; yea, perhaps they do not at all give the first original apprehension of the apostles. It was very natural that they, and still more that their disciples, caught at the expectation of the Lord's coming with such animated feeling, that they brought nearer together those relations of time which Jesus had left in the dark." In other words: 'He will not venture to charge ignorance and error directly upon the Saviour, but he has no difficulty in supposing that the evangelists might err, and in this case did err, being led away by their

excited feelings and wishes, rather than guided by sobriety of judgment.'

I shall enter into no defence of the Evangelists, on this occasion. There they stand in their simplicity and majesty, three of them relating the same discourse in various ways, discrepant somewhat as to manner, but altogether concordant in matter. In respect to the point in question, viz. *immediate sequency of time*, they perfectly accord. No one of them makes a break in his discourse, at v. 29. No one separates this verse by even a mark of transition from the preceding matter or subject, except by the usual and familiar *δε*. How came this union? If Christ said anything on the subject in question, and the *original* hearers rightly understood him in what he said (as we may suppose to be the case), how comes it that some of the Evangelists at least did not get intelligence of their views, and give us a hint of it? Yet, as would seem, they all agree in giving us wrong views. Neander, as usual, concedes such a position pretty much in its full length and breadth. In all such cases, in his *Life of Jesus*, he never undertakes to defend the Evangelists against the attacks of Strauss, and the imputation of discrepancy and contradiction. He concedes to Strauss that they were sometimes mistaken as to historical and chronological matters, and sometimes even in regard to doctrines which he would call unessential. Schott, Olshausen, Hahn, Ullmann, Umbreit and (as I believe) Tholuck, and at last even Hengstenberg, either concede the same thing, or keep silence in regard to it on certain occasions, i. e. make no opposition to it. Neander, too, in his New Testament criticisms, stands on the ground taken in his *Life of Jesus*; criticism which, though less able than De Wette's, approaches very near to it in point of spirit, respecting the matter in question. I would hope, however, that I have sufficiently shown, that *philology* not only does not demand this of us, but that it does not even permit us to go in such a path. As to *theology*, the *authority* of the New Testament is at an end, when it is once shown that Christ, or the Evangelists, embraced and taught error, either in matters pertaining to religion, or in historical matters which stand intimately connected with it. I would not consciously accommodate my *exegesis* to my *theology*; for there is no security of attaining scriptural truth when we do that. But I have a strong conviction that simple philology, apart from all *à priori* conclusions, marks out our road on the present occasion, and makes it quite plain before us.

Thus much for *εὐθὺς* at the beginning of the passage under consideration. Let us now look at the context in the sequel. "Now,"

says the Saviour, "learn the parable [i. e. an appropriate parable which would show at what period the things predicted would be accomplished], from the fig-tree. When its branches are tender, and the leaves are putting forth, ye know that the summer is nigh. Even so ye, when ye see *all these things*, know *ὅτι ἔγγις ἔστιν ἡ θύρα*, i. e. that [he] is near, at the door," vs. 32, 33. Our version puts *it* instead of *he* before the predicate, *is near*. Erroneously, as it seems to me, for the meaning plainly is this: 'You may know, when you see all these things, that my coming [see the question of the disciples about *παρουσία* in v. 3] has then taken place. I am already near, I am at the very doors.' Of course, then, the events predicted are the indexes or proofs of his *presence*, *παρουσία*. But here again our translation (which I have followed above) misleads. *Παρουσία* means not *coming*; it means *presence*, *being present*, as is plain by referring to its root *παράωμι*, *I am present*. The taking place of *all these things* so as to be *seen*, is of itself complete proof of the presence (not ocularly visible presence, but presence in the scriptural sense) of Christ. Observe that the Saviour does not say that *some* of these things predicted are to take place, before Christ will come, but that when *all* of the things predicted shall have so taken place as to be seen by the disciples, then is there sufficient evidence of his actual *παρουσία* in the sense intended. Now the *all*, beyond any question, includes of course what is described in vs. 29—31. The disciples then, according to the exegesis of some, were, *in seeing all these things*, to see the general judgment, for they were a part of its proceedings. The bare statement of the matter, in this light, is its own refutation.

Still, the simple imagery of the fig-tree was somewhat too indefinite to satisfy the mind of the speaker. He therefore adds another clause, in order to make it more definite: "*Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away, until all these things take place.*" In other and equivalent words: 'I solemnly assure you that all these things shall happen, before the present generation shall become extinct.' "Not," says De Wette, "this generation of the Jews; not the generation of the apostles (Paulus); but *exclusively the generation of men now living.*" His explanation is doubtless correct. Such is the ordinary meaning of the phrase, in established usage.

A mistake has been made by an altogether erroneous view of the meaning of *this generation*. The apostles were no more particularized by it, than other classes of men then living. Multitudes of persons then living, did witness the destruction of Jerusalem;

for it was only about thirty-seven years after our Saviour's words were uttered.

But we are not yet through. The verb *γίγνται* may mean *begin to be*. *Γίγνται*, with *Iota* in the first syllable, is the Subj. Pres. from *γίνομαι*; of course, we may render the word, *shall, may, or must, take place*. According to either way, the taking place of *all these things* PRECEDES the end of the then present generation. This is enough for our purpose.

That the verb *γίνομαι* sometimes means *entstehen, to take rise, to commence existence*, no one will gainsay. But no one can look into a Concordance or a Lexicon, without being satisfied that this is but a small portion of the meanings of *γίνομαι*. One needs but to look into Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, to see that *γίνομαι* has for its original meaning the sense of *happening, occurring, becoming, taking place*, and the like. *To be or to be born* comes next; and then *to commence being*. Nothing can be more incongruous, than to apply this last sense to most of the examples where *γίνομαι* and its derivatives occur. E. g. Luke 1: 5, *ἔγέρετο . . . ἱερεὺς τις*, "a certain priest *began to be*." V. 8, "It *began to be* (*ἔγέρετο*), while he was performing the office of a priest," etc. After the message of the angel to Zacharias, the latter expresses his incredulity. Gabriel then tells him, that he should be dumb *ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας γίγνεται ταῦτα*, i. e. until the time in which these things [his praeternatural conception and birth] *shall begin to be*. What kind of sense would *begin to be* make here? So v. 23 we must read: "And *it began to be*, when the days of his public service were accomplished." So John 1: 6, "A man *began to be sent* from God," etc.

The question still remains: Which of the senses of *γίνομαι* has the passage before us? Let us look, then, at the like of it. Matt. 5: 18, "Until heaven and earth pass away, not one jot or tittle shall pass away from the law, *ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται*, i. e. until all *shall have been fulfilled or completed*." What would be the meaning of *begin to be fulfilled* here? But the case now before us is still plainer. Here are, according to this exegesis, two sets of events, separated by thousands of years; God alone knows how many, but we ourselves know that nearly 2000 years have already separated them. The proposed plan of interpretation, then, would bring out the following result, viz. that the general judgment was *to begin to be*, before the decease of the generation then living. There is no avoiding this result. If all the events were but one series, one *tout ensemble*, one continuous train of things, all having some bond that might make them a *unity* in the

view of the mind, then *begin to be* would not be an impossible sense here. It might be even a probable one. But to speak of the general judgment as coming into union, or into a unity, with the destruction of Jerusalem, while the two events are dissevered by thousands of years not yet numbered, would be very strange to my apprehension. Let it be noted, that the events are not only dissevered by boundless years, or it may be even ages, but they are altogether *dissimilar*. The visitation and punishment of the Jews were temporal; they pertained to the present world, as one of its occurring events. But the general judgment is a spiritual and celestial transaction. In the case of Jerusalem, the *coming* was to chastise the wicked; the *future coming* will be to judge the righteous and the wicked to their final doom. Had the second supposed series of events been another merely temporal occurrence or calamity, then some kind of unity as a whole could be made out. But not so now. There is no intercommunion between the two events, and therefore they cannot properly be associated. How then can the general judgment, yet thousands of years distant, *have begun to be* during the apostolic age? Nothing can be more forced than such an exegesis.

Look at it in another light. Jerusalem, according to the proposed exegesis, was not threatened with entire destruction during the lives of the then present generation, but only assured that it would *begin to be* destroyed. Is it possible to acquiesce in such an interpretation?

If Christ had said *ταῦτα γένηται*, or *πάντα γένηται*, simply, it would be more feasible to make a kind of compound whole, under these generic expressions. But when he says *πάντα ταῦτα*, *all these things*, he plainly means that each particular thing, viz. the very particulars that he had before named (*ταῦτα*), should each and all take place before the demise of the generation then living. If these particulars, then, are very diverse, both as to the *nature* of the things concerned and as to the *time* when they are to take place, and yet *all of these* are to be accomplished, what else can we conclude, than that the day of judgment is closely connected with the destruction of Jerusalem, and was immediately to follow it? On such a ground, De Wette is undoubtedly in the right, when he attributes misapprehension and ignorance to the apostles. Give him his premises, and sound logic will oblige us to come to his conclusions.

What follows v. 34, in respect to "this generation," shows that the Saviour had predicted only what was *speedily* to happen. The disciples were cautioned to "watch," and always to keep on the watch. Why? Because the specific time, i. e. the day and hour, was not

revealed, nor to be revealed. The coming itself, and also the coming before the end of the then existing generation, was made quite certain by the declarations of Christ. But the specific "day and hour" neither man nor angel knew, v. 36. Consequently it behoved all to keep on the watch, for the signs of the times. The faithful servant, who keeps on the watch, will be amply rewarded whenever his Lord shall come. Negligent and revelling servants will be severely punished.

All this is apposite, on the ground which I have taken; but on the other ground, to what would it amount? Just this: 'Keep on the anxious watch, expecting Christ will come, for some thousands of years hereafter, he will come to final judgment.' This is the real amount of the warning, on this ground. It cannot be said, that Christ or the disciples were ignorant of the fact, that the general judgment was far remote. If they were not ignorant, then these exhortations, on the ground of such a motive, wear very much the appearance of a pious fraud. De Wette liberates the apostles from this, by supposing them to be ignorant of the real time of the end, and then that they might honestly warn others in accordance with their mistaken apprehensions. I hardly know which to choose, between these two schemes. The first assails the simplicity and sincerity of the apostles; the other subjects them to the reproach of ignorance. I am heartily glad to know, that there are critical, philological and theological reasons enough for rejecting both of them.

One word as to the connection between Matt. 24: 29—31, and the disclosures in chap. 25: 31 seq. De Wette says, that the subject of vs. 29—31, viz. the general judgment, is there broken off, and is resumed again in 25: 31 seq. But the parables of the ten virgins and of the talents intervene. I am unable to imagine that these are a mere digression in one and the same discourse; and that the theme broken off is then resumed again in 25: 31 seq. There is something so incongruous in all this, so contrary to the Saviour's usual method of discourse, that I am unable to give credit to it. In the latter passage, everything is congruous and homogeneous. It has a beginning of its own, a progress, and an appropriate end. In itself it is *teres atque rotundus*. What has this gathering together of all nations, good and bad, to do with the gathering merely of the elect, in 24: 31? How are the righteous to be *twice* gathered? For what were they gathered the first time? All these and other insuperable difficulties thrust themselves in the way of the interpretation which I am opposing. I call them *insuperable*, because I see no effectual way of removing them.

What a deal of discussion and frustrated efforts, a simple view of Matt. xxiv, had it been early and constantly entertained, would have saved interpreters and theologians, is manifest on a moment's reflection. Thousands of sober readers, anxious to get at the truth, have been misled by want of a familiar acquaintance with the tropical diction of the Scriptures, and specially of the prophetic parts of them. It strikes them, that such imagery as Matt. 24: 29—31 employs, cannot be meant for any mere temporal or worldly occurrences. Yet how entirely is this conviction refuted, by the actual and frequent application of the like or the same language to occurrences of this nature, in the Old Testament Scriptures! Every discerning and scrutinizing reader will concede, that the Old Testament is the source from which most of the tropical language of the New Testament is obviously drawn. We have seen above, that every expression of this nature in the passage before us, has its parallel in the Old Testament; and this, in cases where a *literal* meaning is out of all question. What necessity for it here then? None; as I have already said. But I have gone beyond this, and shown, at least as it seems to my own mind, that there are so many critical, exegetical, aesthetical and doctrinal objections in the way, as to render the exegesis which finds the general judgment in vs. 29—31, altogether improbable, if not impossible. Whatever victories Neology, or the *double-sense* theory of interpretation may achieve, I apprehend it will be a long time before they will be able to celebrate an ovation here.

I believe that the Bible, the *whole* Bible, is a revelation from God; a revelation made in human language, and intelligible to us, if it is at all intelligible, only by being interpreted according to the laws and principles of human language. Any rule above this, presupposes or assumes inspiration in the interpreter. The Bible is a book written by men, and for men — for all men, under the expectation that they can read and understand it. Otherwise it is no *revelation*. It follows, of course, that, if the laws of human language are to be applied to its interpretation, it stands, in this respect, on the same ground as all other books. It contains, of course, many things which other books do not. But this alters not the *nature of the language*, in which its disclosures are made. The language is used *more humano*.

Let me put one question, then, and ask for a candid ingenuous answer: What other book on earth, written for grave purposes and in order to give instruction, ever requires or admits a *double-sense* theory of interpretation. A book of riddles or conundrums might, to a certain extent, admit of this; but the Bible is not such a

book. If I admit a double-sense of the same words in the same passage, then one of these senses is an *occult* sense, not conveyed by any natural meaning of the words. How are the unlearned, then, or even the learned, to get at this *occult sense*? If the words do not naturally convey it, it must of course be guessed at, or merely conjectured. But to what *test* shall we bring the occult meaning, in order to decide whether we have rightly obtained it? We cannot appeal to the *language*; for the very resort itself to a *double* sense is a confession, that the words do not, in their natural and ordinary meaning, yield such a sense. Are we then to be cast on the foggy ocean of conjecture? Is there no difficulty in sailing with surety there, where we have no sun, nor stars, nor landmarks, nor lighthouses to guide us on our course? Long since have I endeavored to steer my little barque out of that ocean of mist and obscurity, and sought for something visible and palpable to guide me. I find it at least more comfortable, to sail on a clear than on a beclouded expanse of waters, where I can see the buoys and the headlands and the lighthouses, and know where I am, and how I ought to steer.

Three plain principles cover the whole ground. (1) The case of *simple prediction* in the Old Testament, which is *de facto* fulfilled, according to something related in the New. This needs no illustration. But,

(2) A *πλήρωσις* or *fulfilment* of something said or related in the Old Testament, by the *happening of a like thing* under the New. In this case the matter stands thus: What took place of old, takes place for substance afterwards, either in the same way, or in a higher and fuller sense still. Hence it is called a *πλήρωσις*, i. e. a *filling out* or *completing*, namely of what had already commenced. The second event belongs to a series which ranks under the same category as the first. Thus, in Hos. 11: 1, the prophet says: "When Israel was a child, I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt." Here now is no *prediction*, but merely and simply a historical declaration. Yet in Matt. 2: 15 it is said, that this passage was *fulfilled*, when the infant Jesus was carried to Egypt, in order to avoid the rage of Herod, and was brought thence by the command and aid of the angel of the Lord. Now how was this a *fulfilment* of Hos. 11: 1? Not because that was *prediction*, and this was *accomplishment*, in the more usual sense of the words. Not because there was in the simply historical declaration of Hosea, an occult *ἐνόρτια* or *under sense* which was prophetic; for who, in ancient times, would ever imagine any such thing, while merely reading Hosea? No; it was because that in the

second case, an occurrence took place *like* the ancient one. God's son (Israel) had of old gone down to Egypt and lived there in exile. He was redeemed from that condition and brought out from the country by extraordinary Divine interposition. So in the later occurrence. God's Son in a higher sense had gone down to Egypt, and dwelt there in exile. He was brought thence by Divine interposition. Here then was a real and true *πλήρωσις*, i. e. a *filling out*, a *completion*, by a like event. Nor was this all. The latter case was plainly of a higher and more important nature than the former. In this there was a *πλήρωσις*, then, i. e. something done in the way of a *completion*. The case in question, the exile and the deliverance, had its acme or consummation in the person of Christ. Why then should the Evangelist hesitate to say, that what Hosea relates *ἐπληρώθη*, *was fulfilled, completed*, in the person of Christ?

Like this is a large portion of the *πληρώσεις* of the New Testament. An intelligent reader need not hesitate or blunder here. The simple question before him is, not whether there is a *fulfilling* in the first sense of the word, but whether there is one in the second; not in our usual sense of the word *fulfil*, but in the sense which the *Jews* gave to the corresponding Greek word. The last is the only thing necessary to be known, in order to remove every difficulty. But here is no *double sense* of Hosea's words. There is merely the repetition of a thing, or an occurrence, like that which Hosea relates.

So is it with the weeping at Bethlehem (Matt. 2: 17, 18), on account of the slaughtered infants, when compared with what Jeremiah declares in 31: 15, in respect to the wailings at Rama. And so is it with many of the *fulfillings*, to which the New Testament appeals.

(8) There is one more *πλήρωσις*, which completes the covering of the whole ground. It is, where a principle or proceeding of the Divine government, or a doctrine, is asserted or illustrated in the Old Testament, and a new illustration or confirmation of it takes place under the New. The case in Matt. 2: 23 furnishes an instance substantially of this kind. "He shall be called a *Nazarene*," is said to fulfil what was spoken by the prophets. Yet no such passage is found in the prophets. But there is in them what is equivalent to this, viz. the declaration that "he [the Saviour] shall be despised and rejected of men," that "he will not be esteemed by them," that he will be "as a root out of a dry ground" (Is. lii.); that he will be "a worm and no man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people"

(Ps. 22: 6). Or, if any one may choose to rest the stress of the fulfilment here on the appellation *Nazarene*, then does Isaiah say, that "a נָחֵל (*branch*) shall spring from the roots of Jesse" (11: 1). But if we adopt the first method of explanation, then the declarations respecting the Messiah as rejected and despised, i. e. the truths thus taught, are illustrated and confirmed in the case of his becoming a *Nazarene*; for such an one was contemned by the Jews.

Isaiah's declaration (42: 1), that "the servant of the Lord should not strive nor cry, and that no one should hear his voice in the streets," was *fulfilled* when Jesus, after having performed a notable miracle, charged the multitudes around him not to blazon it abroad (Matt. 12: 16). The position of the prophet, that he should be gentle and unassuming, and indisposed to vaunt himself, to celebrate his own fame, or to challenge the public gaze, was illustrated and confirmed by the demeanor of our Lord on that occasion. This is one of the species of *fulfilment*, and one by no means unfrequent.

With this third class I would reckon those cases, in which there is some principle of the Divine government developed, and this principle is afterwards again developed. In this way a passage in the Old Testament may have, or rather may comprise, an *apotelesmatic* sense, i. e. one of *after* or *final* accomplishment. The thing is what can take place more than once. The matter described in the Old Testament may teach a Divine principle, or lay down a rule, which may have accomplishment, i. e. completion or fulfilment, just as often as, and whenever, a thing occurs that illustrates and confirms it; in other words, a thing which teaches the same principle or rule. Or the Old Testament may declare something which is indicative of the conduct and character of wicked men, and the like thing afterwards *fills out* (fulfils) this declaration. E. g. in Zech. 11: 13, the prophet represents thirty pieces of silver as the price which the Jews gave, in the way of contempt for him and his services. In Matt. 27: 9, 10, the priests and elders gave Judas thirty pieces of silver, in order to procure or purchase the death of Christ; thus showing both their malice and their contempt. This is called *fulfilling*, by the Evangelist. And why not, when Jesus was sold in the same way, for the same price, and for the like purpose, as had before been the case with the prophet?

But I must forbear. After a long and anxious and often repeated investigation of this interesting subject, I have satisfied myself, that the principles now developed will cover the whole ground of reference to fulfilment in the New Testament. In these principles there

is no double sense; no *ἐνένοια*, in the sense in which that word is usually employed and understood. But there may be an *apotelesmatic* view or sense of a passage in the ancient Scriptures; and this is the case whenever a proceeding or a principle is reillustrated or reconfirmed. This makes out no *double sense*, but a fuller and more complete exhibition of the one and simple meaning of the original. Well may it be named a *πλήρωσις*.

The ground of mistake, in cases of this nature, lies in a wrong or imperfect view of *ἐληγγελία* and *πλήρωσις*. The reader often gives to it only the first and most obvious meaning, viz. that of simple fulfilment of a historical prediction, i. e. where a thing or occurrence is foretold, and afterwards happens literally, or is historically accomplished. Of course a reader in this condition, wherever he finds an *ἐληγγελία*, deems it necessary to find a corresponding *prediction* of the thing said to be *fulfilled*. Consequently, such a text as that in Hos. 11: 1, "When Israel was a child I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt," which contains nothing to all appearance but a simple historical description of a past occurrence, is tortured to elicit from it some confession of an occult sense, a pregnant meaning, a *ἐνένοια*, i. e. a sense *lying under* the surface. Without this, it is supposed that *prediction* cannot be made out; and if not, how can there be a *fulfilment*? And so of all the cases that rank under the second and third divisions which have been designated above. A *ἐνένοια* becomes necessary, in all such cases, whenever a *fulfilment* is spoken of.

How much plainer and easier all this is made, by the exegetical principles above brought to view and discussed, seems to my mind very obvious. On the ground proposed, the question is not, whether there is a proper literal prediction and a fulfilment, in the common *English* sense of these words; but whether there is a *πλήρωσις* according to *Jewish* or *Hebrew* view of this matter. Let us guard against confounding these two things; for this it is, which occasions nearly all the difficulty in most minds. We should aim *διακρίνειν τὰ διαφέροντα*, to distinguish things that differ. If the Jews very frequently gave to the word *πλήρωσις*, *fulfilment*, as applied to any passage of the Old Testament, the wide latitude of signification which has been stated and illustrated above, then no Jew would be misled by such passages in the New Testament, as speak of *fulfilment*; and speak of it in many cases where a properly prophetic *prediction* is not to be found. He of course spontaneously gave to *πλήρωσις* the wider sense needed; and whether it was the taking place merely of

an occurrence *like* some ancient one, or a new illustration and confirmation of an old truth or declaration, it was, in his view, a real and proper *πλήρωσις*. Why should we not concede to him the familiar usages of his country? And if we do, and then study well the nature of the corresponding texts of this class in the Old and New Testaments, there can be no serious difficulty in the way of a sober, diligent, earnest and accurate inquirer.

It is to be deeply regretted, that we have not, in our language, any full, adequate and impartial discussion of this great subject. The minds of beginners in hermeneutical study, as I have had abundant occasion to know, are greatly perplexed with regard to it. No wonder at this, when they carry along with them the stunted and merely English notion of *fulfilment*, in which they have been educated. I have known several cases, where shipwreck of the faith has ensued upon such doubts. The *double sense* of the Old Testament words some inquirers could not see so as to believe in it; nor could they satisfy themselves that others were able to make it out without guessing. They found themselves called upon by the common mode of exegesis, to launch on a boundless ocean (for such, *conjecture* must be), and this without compass, or sun, or stars, or even rudder, to guide them. The next step was to revolt at the whole, and go over into the neological position. This, as we have seen, is to take *fulfilment* only in its first and limited sense; then to regard the apostles as believing in the mystic or secondary sense, and arbitrarily adopting and pursuing it; and last of all, they put such exegesis to the account of *ignorance* and *prejudice* in the apostles and primitive disciples. The Neologists everywhere appeal to this *Unkundigkeit*, i. e. *unknowingness*, of the apostles and primitive Christians, as direct and satisfactory proof of their lack of inspiration. They ask us with a smile which is more than half contemptuous, whether the *dicta* of such men are *authoritative* and *binding* on the rational and enlightened inquirer? And of course we may expect to find them as they are, that is, strenuous defenders of the position, that the apostles believed in and taught the *double sense* of many a passage in the Old Testament Scriptures.

Their scoffing would be no good reason, in my view, for abandoning anything which I believed to be true. But for myself, I must tread under foot the fundamental position, that *the Bible is to be interpreted by the usual laws of language*, before I can adopt the double sense. No other serious book on earth contains or exhibits such a sense. It was the Oracle at Delphos, which gloried in the art of

predicting in such a way, and practised it. But this will not serve much to commend the practice to simple-hearted Christians.

At all events, the simple principles of exegesis, relieve us of most of the difficulties in question. And far, very far, are they from leading us to "repudiate the authority of the New Testament writers." I know of no such tendency in them. On the contrary, we see what use is made of the opposite principles by the Neologists. It does not seem meet to put this armor into their hands, if we can fairly and honorably avoid it. Above all, if we can honestly avoid mystical meanings, obscurity, *ἐνόρσια* and guessing, in sacred things, and come out into open day, where our path is plain, and our landmarks are in distinct view, I do not see why we should hesitate as to adopting the principles that I have labored to defend. After all that I have seen in others, and experienced in my own mind, I am unable to perceive how we can avoid being driven to and fro, while we are in a state of mere conjecture as to an *under sense*, or what can prevent our being tossed on every wave of doctrine, when we are cut loose from the sheet-anchor of simple historico-grammatical and common-sense exegesis.

Paul has given us a notable passage (Gal. 4: 22 seq.) of the tropical use of Old Testament history, which is pregnant with instruction. He is speaking of the *bondage* of the Jews under the yoke of ceremonies and sacrifices imposed by the Mosaic Law, and of the spiritual freedom of Christians under the Gospel. He illustrates the case by a parable or comparison drawn from the history of Abraham's family. Abraham, he says, had two sons, one by a bond-woman (Hagar), the other by a free woman (Sarah). The one was a son in a merely natural way, the other in the way of promise, i. e. promise of preternatural conception and birth. He then subjoins: *αἰνὰ ἔστιν ἀλληγορούμενα*, *which things are allegorized*, i. e. an allegorical signification is attached to them for the purpose of illustration. He goes on to state the allegory. These two sons symbolize the two covenants. The son of Hagar, a bond-woman, answers to the Law at Sinai which is productive of bondage; for Hagar is here made the representative of mount Sinai in Arabia, and being a bond-woman, her progeny follows of course the condition of the mother. In the same way Hagar is also the representative of the then literal Jerusalem, whose children were at that time in bondage. But Isaac, the heir of promise and born preternaturally, represents or corresponds to the spiritual or Christian Jerusalem, the heavenly city, which, like Isaac and his mother, is free from the law of bondage. When Paul adds, that "this Jerusalem is the mother of us all," he means to carry through

his comparison. Sarah the mother was free, and of course her progeny were free. The Jerusalem above, which she represents, and to which all true Christians belong by a new birth and a new birthright, is free from all legal yokes and ceremonies. Consequently her children, i. e. those born in her, inherit her freedom.

This is one of the most striking cases of allegorizing, that occurs in the New Testament. Indeed, Paul has gone so far, on this occasion, that he has deemed it advisable to caution the reader, by expressly reminding him that he is speaking *allegorically*. Plain enough is it, indeed, that such is really the case; for who ever thought of attaching to the story of Sarah and Hagar and of their respective children, a *ὑπόνοια* like that which the apostle now suggests in the way of declared allegory? And what do we or can we mean, when we say that this simple history in the Old Testament, has, and was designed to have, a concealed and mystical sense? No; a reader in ancient times could never have thought of such a thing. The whole gist of the matter lies in a small compass. The history in question had furnished facts that might be made the basis of an analogy or parable. The apostle selects them for this very purpose. He tells his readers that he is doing so, i. e. that he is *allegorizing*. Nor is this all. His allegory is striking, and, as he has employed it, very significant. At all events it was adapted to strike the *Jewish* mind with great force; for the Jews of that day, and afterwards, dealt very freely with allegory; as the writings of Philo Judaeus abundantly show. But no part of its force depends on finding a *ὑπόνοια* lying under the simple names of Sarah and Hagar, of Isaac and Ishmael. No reader could of himself ever have conjectured, that *Sarah* meant not only the person of that name, but also *Jerusalem above*; or that *Hagar* meant not only Sarah's bond-woman, but also mount *Sinai* and moreover the *literal Jerusalem*. In fact, the apostle has put the reader on his guard against *mysticizing* in this way. He tells him expressly, that these things are *allegorically* employed. This is enough. Wherever *resemblance* can be traced, there is a foundation for allegory. Here the resemblance is striking, because the persons proposed in the history are characters of much interest and importance, the two mothers being the sources of two great nations, still living, and separated from themselves and from all the world besides.

The main difficulty in this case has been made by the supposition of a *ὑπόνοια*, and then by concluding that the apostle is making out of the case before him an *argument* to prove the spiritual freedom of

the Christian church, instead of the vivid *illustration* of the corresponding antithetic relation between the Old Covenant and the New. There is no *logical ratiocination* here; none is designed; but there is rhetorical *illustration* and confirmation. Sure I am, that our minds would be left quite unsatisfied with any *logical process* in this case, when it must rest on the assumption, that Sarah in the original text means the Jerusalem above, and Hagar that below. But we can look at the two cases as standing on the ground of analogy or allegory, and not only find no difficulty, but even find the parallels to be striking. To a Jewish mind, it could not fail of being highly impressive.

I have selected this example from Paul's writings, because of its apparent difficulties; and I know well, from experience, how the mind is troubled, and how it wanders in the darkness of uncertainty, so long as the true point of view is missed, from which we ought to survey the whole ground. This point once reached, the mists below begin to scatter, until, like the famous *Fata morgana*, they entirely vanish before the rising of the morning-light.

I have often been tempted to wish, that such a hint as Paul has here given about his *allegorizing*, might have been elsewhere suggested. It would have prevented a world of mysticism and extravagant speculation and phantasy, besides liberating many honest minds from doubt and obscurity. But still, I do not think complaint on this subject would come with any good grace from us, so long as the Bible is put into our hands in languages that are intelligible, and in a style that needs nothing more to be understood, than a sympathizing heart and a well-informed critical and common-sense power of exegesis. So long as we read the Bible as mere Englishmen or Americans, and remain unacquainted with its peculiar idioms and usages, as well as with the objects to which it refers, and the history of the times in which it was written, just so long shall we find dark places in it, and even make them still darker, by forcing our own views upon them.

The remedy for the evils of doubt and oscillation is a pious heart, a sound judgment, an accurate knowledge of Scripture-language, a sober and consistent view of hermeneutical principles, and unwearied diligence in the study and comparison of the Old Testament and the New. The "wondrous things" out of God's holy word, which we daily beseech him to show us, should include only those which the Bible itself discloses, and not the unseemly excrescences and fantastic wonders which we may thrust upon it.

In view of the many difficulties that beset the subject of New Testament quotations, and the application of them, I deem it of great

importance, that the beginner in exegetical study should be freed from his embarrassments, and led in a path on which the light is shining, and where is little or nothing that will perplex him as to finding his way. A few simple principles, well digested and thoroughly understood, will serve as an effectual compass, when mist or night may supervene. The whole subject lies within a moderate compass, and might be satisfactorily and effectually exhibited in a short course of Lectures. One can scarcely tell, how many conceits and whimsies and phantasies the *double sense* has developed, when indulged in by ardent and visionary interpreters. The *νόησις* or *occult sense* becomes immeasurably more important than the plain, obvious and common-sense meaning; and he who is most expert in finding or making secondary and occult senses, thinks himself the most expert interpreter. Paul had no very good opinion of *occult* senses. He says (1 Cor. 14: 19): "I had rather speak five words in the church by my understanding, that I might instruct others, than ten thousand words in an obscure language."

ARTICLE II.

THE PLATONIC DIALOGUE THEAETETUS — WITH A TRANSLATION OF THE EPISODAL SKETCH OF THE WORLDLING AND THE PHILOSOPHER.

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THE Platonic dialogue entitled Theaetetus, is a discussion of the question: *What is knowledge?* an inquiry which will appear profound or superficial, according to the aspect under which it is viewed, and the habit of thought in him who contemplates it. What is knowledge? What do we *do*, or *suffer*, when we are said to *know*? or, in other words, is there a knowledge of knowledge itself, just as there is a knowledge of those things which are ordinarily regarded as its objects? The principal speakers are Socrates and a boy on whom he is represented as trying his maieutical powers in the parturition, development, or bringing to the birth, of the right idea with which the soul travails in the attempt to answer the great inquiry. The youth

of Theaetetus, the junior speaker, modifies the whole style of the dialogue, without at all detracting from its interest and profoundness. It is, indeed, a boy to whom the questions are addressed, and whose answers are so closely analyzed. To a superficial reader, therefore, the style may sometimes assume the aspect of the puerile — an appearance for which the principal speaker occasionally apologizes — and yet this boy-talk, as he styles it, is evidently adopted as the best means of bringing out some of those starting queries in psychology that are as puzzling to the man as to the child, and in respect to which all the advantage an Aristotle, a Kant, or a Locke may possess, consists in being able to state intelligently the immense difficulty attending them.

The dialogue throughout may be ranked among those that have been entitled *tentative* (*πειραστικοί*), and which have all, more or less, a sceptical aspect. The great question with which it begins, and which is never lost sight of, is after all left without a satisfactory solution. The curtain drops, and still we *know* not what it is to *know*. There have been, however, negative results of a most useful and practical kind. The grand idea has not, indeed, been born; but many a spurious birth has been tested; many an abortion has been cast away; counterfeit travail of the soul has been distinguished from the genuine; or, to adopt another metaphor, which is also employed in the dialogue, falsehood and false knowledge, have been hunted out of their dark hiding places, and their disguised deformity clearly brought forth to light.

The first answer of our young respondent is, that *knowledge is sense, or sensation*. This is analyzed into its ultimate element of mere *feeling* (*αἴσθησις*). And all sense is *feeling*, and all feeling is ultimately resolvable into motion, the sole result of which is phantasy or seeming. Knowledge, on this ground, is feeling. To know is to feel, and to feel is to know. The quantity and quality of the one must correspond exactly with the quantity and quality of the other, and in neither can there be anything aside from such a principle of measurement. Any seemingly higher element is only resolvable into another feeling, and this again into another, without ever actually getting out of the region of the sense. The assumption of the rigid truth of this first answer, is employed by Socrates in the examination of the old Ionic doctrine as maintained by Protagoras, namely that *man is the measure* of all things — another mode of saying that which appears *is*, — or rather that nothing *is* but what *appears*, and that what *appears* is ever true. In other words, there is no *perducing* being aside from ever-flowing

phenomena, and the ever-flowing affections that correspond to them. Hence there is, on the other hand, nothing false; for the real existence of falsehood would involve the real existence of something true *per se*, or, to use the language of the Protagorean school, something that *stands*, irrespective of phenomena, or objective *seemings*, on the one hand, and ever varying affections, or subjective phantasies on the other.

This first answer, or first birth of the boy's soul, to preserve the favorite figure of the dialogue, is closely examined, its features carefully scanned, its capacities analyzed, its consequences cautiously traced; after which it is either pronounced an abortion, a false conception, a wind-egg (ὄν ἀνεμιαῖον), or else, cast away as a monster that should not have seen the light, and ought not to be permitted to live.

And so with every successively developed answer. Knowledge is not sense or feeling. It is not *seeming*. It is not belief. It is not opinion (δόξα). It is not even *true opinion*, where this happens to exist without λόγος or *reason*. Nay more, it is not true opinion even, though accompanied in certain cases with reason, or what may be called reason. This, too, has its difficulties. For this reason, or λόγος, on close analysis, runs down ultimately into sense, or opinion as before defined, without knowledge, or into *elemental facts* which run out at last into particular seemings or notices of sensation,—in short, supposes a *knowledge* of something, and this knowledge, when thus treated, involving all the same old difficulties over again,—thus running round continually through an endless circle, in which we are ever striving to get out of or above the sense, and yet ever finding ourselves immersed in it. It is just as λόγος, or *speech*, in its most literal meaning, dissolves itself, on analysis, into sentences, sentences into words, words into syllables, and syllables into letters, which, as στοιχεῖα, or elements, either of sound or sight, are supposed to be *alogal*, that is, have no reason, but are simply objects of sense, without anything else about them that the mind perceives as distinct from the sensation. On this account, if sense is not knowledge, the ultimate elements of things are not only ἄλογα, but ἄγνωστα, absolutely *unknowable*. They may be *felt* but not *known*. The lowest material element, and the *essence*, or immaterial entity of any object alike, on the one hypothesis or the other, elude the grasp of science.

Along with these come in collateral inquiries, once famous topics of discussion, and which may have some interest for thinking minds even in this practical age; although, as presented in the Socratic irony, they may have a slight tinge of the humorous, and even of the

ludicrous. They are such as these: Whether knowledge necessarily implies the true being of what is known, and, if so, Whether it can be of anything else, or lower, than *οὐσία*, or essential existence? Whether if this be unknown, anything else can be said to be known? Whether we can be truly said ever to *think a lie* (τὸ δοξάζειν ψευδῆ), and if so, how it is, and what it is? Whether we can be said to know, in any sense, and in what sense, what we do not know? and if not, How can there be *allodoxy*, or a false judgment that one thing is another, such allodoxy being necessarily confined to the three cases when we judge one thing we know to be another thing we know, or one thing we know to be another thing we know not, or one thing we know not to be another thing we know not, the first seeming to present a contradiction, the last two to involve the very paradox that forms the strange query? Whether, if sense is knowledge, memory is sense, so that a thing remembered is a thing known? Whether there may be a *knowledge unknown*, or how far a man may be said to *possess* a knowledge which he *has* not, or has not in actual exercise? Whether falsehood, pure or mixed, or as far as it is falsehood, is identical with *not-being*? etc.

In respect, however, to the main question: What is knowledge? the dialogue closes unsatisfactorily. Whatever clue may be presented in other Platonic writings, no answer is here given. From beginning to end it is occupied in pulling down and not in building up. The same scepticism prevails throughout. It is not, however, on these accounts, any the less a discussion of the deepest interest to the most matured intellects, and none the less useful as an exercise to the young soul that is just beginning to travail with thought. There is a good as well as an evil scepticism; and of these, the first kind is that which so often appears in the Platonic dialogues. It is a scepticism which only produces a stronger belief in the reality of fixed and absolute truth, by the very difficulty of finding it in our own experience of our own subjective states, or of the flowing nature around us. By exhausting the sense and the understanding or reason regarded as occupied simply with the phenomena of sense, it diminishes our confidence in the substantiality and finality of physical science, regarded (as it ever must be by the school that boasts the most of it) as the knowledge of facts, or of *laws* that ever run out into *series* of facts, and these again, in the last resort, into *seemings*, *feelings*, or the merest notices of sensation. It takes away that conceit which tends to rest in such a knowledge as the highest portion of the soul; and it is on this account that the Theaetetus, and similar dialogues, have

been called *cathartic* (*καθαρτικοί*) *purgative*, producing a necessary evacuation of false knowledge, that the soul may wait in purified preparation for the advent of the true. Such a moral effect is admirably and impressively set forth by Socrates, in his closing address to his youthful pupil: "If after this, my dear boy, you ever again conceive other spiritual offspring, then one of two results will follow. Should a genuine conception actually take place, it will be something of a better kind in consequence of the present close examination; but should it turn out an abortion, you will be less harsh to those with whom you converse, more gentle, and not only more gentle, but more sober also, because you will not then be inclined to think you know what you do not know." To the same effect in another place (187. c): "And thus, my dear Theaetetus, ought we to be ever earnest and never discouraged in the search of truth. For if we persevere, there will be one of two things: either we shall find that which we are after, or we shall learn not to think we know what we know not. And yet even this would be no small reward for our pains."

It was one great charge against Socrates that he corrupted the youth by making them doubt (*ἀπορεῖν*), in other words, by throwing them into perplexity, and thus unsettling their confidence in former opinions. This, however, may be said to be the spirit of the Socratic scepticism, when viewed by that higher light which gives us an advantage over Socrates and Plato, in interpreting the rich suggestiveness of their own teachings. Theirs was a good and useful scepticism which unsettles and takes down that it may the more firmly build; which drives one to faith, and to a faith in the highest degree rational, by showing the darkness and insecurity that, without it, must belong to everything called science. It is a scepticism that purges the soul of error, that there may be room and a clear space for truth; which leads us from "the things *seen* and temporal to the things unseen and eternal;" in other words, to a communion with the "immutable righteousness," and to that "assimilation to the Divine," which, in the remarkable passage contained in the extract that follows, the writer presents as the great end of the philosophic life. It is a scepticism which has characterized some of the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church. It was its negative power which, more than other human means, led Augustine to faith. It appears everywhere in the life and "Thoughts" of Pascal. No one can carefully read the writings of Baxter without perceiving how strong an element it was of his religious experience. Edwards would seem to belong to the more positive order of believers, and yet his works, in many places, reveal

much of the same style of thought and feeling. It was the characteristic of these and similar minds, that they ever extracted light out of the darkness that surrounded them; or to express the same thought with less appearance of paradox, the more intense the obscurity that hung over nature and human history, in themselves considered, the brighter the evidence of revelation and the "things unseen."

But we must proceed to the extract which is intended mainly to constitute this article. It is one of those episodes, or discussions, that often occur in the Platonic dialogues, and which, although they may, at first view, seem abrupt, and out of place, will be found, on close examination, to have been introduced with the most consummate skill, and in the most real and intimate unity with the leading design. The present episode may be entitled: *The Politician and the Philosopher, The Worldling and the Sage, or The Business Talent as compared with Contemplative Wisdom.* It is by no means, as the reader will see, an eulogistic rhapsody on the one, and an unmitigated condemnation of the other. There is no difficulty in determining who is the favorite; but his faults are not spared, and there is even an exquisite humor in depicting some of the extravagances of his un-earthly style of thought. The sketch given us of the other character no one can mistake. The nineteenth century may sit for the picture with as much fitness as the age of Cleon and Pericles. The episode is complete in itself, but in order to present more clearly the transition we give a few sentences immediately preceding it. The previous question had been: How it was that the same men who denied the existence of any immutable standard of the just, the holy, the fair, or who maintained that these were in every case just what each State or age, might conventionally make them, — how it was that such could maintain, on the other hand that, in respect to what they called the useful, or profitable, there was no such conventionality, and that nothing was useful simply because any State or convention of men had so declared it to be. This in fact is the point from which commences the wide divergency between the two characters; and from this we commence our translation; in relation to which it need only be observed, that along with the strictest fidelity to the sense, we have aimed, not only to turn Greek idioms into corresponding English ones, but to make the English itself, in all other respects, as idiomatic and as familiar as possible.

Translation from Theaetetus, 172. B.

SOCRATES. And yet in the former case of which I spoke, namely, in regard to just and unjust, holy and unholy, in respect to these, I say, there are men who are perfectly willing to affirm that no one of them hath by nature any real being or essence of its own, but that in these cases, the common *seeming* or opinion *becomes* true, just when it *seems* true, and for just so long a time as it may continue to *seem* true. In some such manner would all hold in regard to wisdom, or knowledge, who do not embrace in full, but only partially, the doctrine of Protagoras. But in this way, Theodorus,¹ argument after argument, a greater ever growing out of a less, comes crowding in upon us.

THEODORUS. True, but have we not leisure in plenty for them all?

SOC. It would seem so. And by the way, your speaking of leisure, my good sir, puts me in mind how often, on other occasions as well as the present, the thought has occurred to me, that it is really no wonder if those who give their days to philosophy, should make but a sorry figure when they come to appear in the public courts.

THEOD. What would you mean by that?

SOC. The men who are occupied with an endless round of business in the courts and similar popular assemblies — such men as these, when compared with those who are nurtured in philosophy, seem to have a training, if we may venture to say it, like that of drudging slaves, contrasted with the education of a freeman.

THEOD. In what respect?

SOC. In this. The one class have all that leisure² of which you spoke, and can, therefore, carry on their discussions deliberately and in quiet. Just as we now entertain question after question, being already on the third, so they also do, whenever the one occurring at the moment (as it happened in our case), has more interest for them than the matter first proposed. And, moreover, it concerns them not at all whether they argue briefly, or at length, provided only they get at last at truth and reality. But the other class never speak with leisure; for the water (or hourglass) ever urges them onwards as it flows, and it is never permitted one of them to discourse simply in

¹ In this part of the dialogue the respondent is no longer the boy Theaetetus, but his old tutor, the Mathematician Theodorus.

² Hence the term *scholastic*, *schoolmen*, the men of *contemplation* instead of business, or practical men, as they are called. It is the first class that our age, and especially our country, most needs. There is plenty of the other.

such a way, and on such topics, as his own thoughts may lead him to, since the opposite party, having the compulsive authority of the law, is ever calling him to order by the reading of the opposing plea or libel, called the *antomoria*, appealing to it as the record out of which he must never say a word. And the speeches themselves are ever like those of a slave made for a fellow slave before the master, the judge, who has in his hands the decision of the cause. The pleadings, moreover, admit no license, no variety, but must evermore follow the track of the cause in hand; and often the race may be for the very life itself. From all these causes it follows that such men become indeed intense and keen, well knowing how to fawn upon the master in their speech, and gain his favor by their act, yet still ever small and crooked in their souls. For all growth, enlargement, rectitude and freedom of thought, their servile life from boyhood takes quite away, compelling them to do all things obliquely, and thus producing in their souls, while yet impressible at all, strong suspicions of hazard, together with continued apprehensions. Now, because they cannot well endure these in a firm reliance upon the *right* and *true*, they betake themselves forthwith to falsehood, and mutual retaliations, until they are so *distorted* and *corrupted*,¹ that, when they finally pass from youth to active manhood, there is no longer any part of the mind that is sound, however sharp and wise they may have become in their own fond conceits. Such are these, friend Theodorus, but how is it with those who belong to our choir? Shall we give a description of these too, or let them go, and turn back again to our argument?

THEOD. By no means, O Socrates, but go through with it. For you have well said this, that we, the members of this choir, as you call it, are not slaves to our arguments, but rather is it that they are our servants, and must wait, each one of them, for that termination that may best suit our leisure. For there is no judge, nor even spectator, such as awaits the recitations of the poets; no one in short, who is going to control us either as critic or magistrate.

SOC. Since you think so, then, let us commence, as is fitting, by speaking of the Coryphaeans, or those at the very head of the choir, for why should one dwell upon those who play the inferior parts in

¹ Our metaphorical terms here have the same radical ideas with the Greek, but we are in danger of overlooking their expressive import in consequence of familiarity — *clean bent from the line of right and truth, corrupted — broken up — the moral organism dissolved* — like a putrid physical mass from which the organic life has departed. The student of the Bible will recall the same metaphors in Isaiah i.

the philosophic chorus? Now these Coryphaeans are of this sort: Even from boyhood up they never know the way to the Agora, nor even where the Court, or the Senate Hall is situated, nor where any other assemblage for public business may have its session. As for laws and statutes, proclaimed or written, they neither hear nor read them. As for the political factions and their jealous rivalries for office, the caucusses, the banquets, not even in a dream has it ever come into the mind of one of this class that they have anything to do with them. All questions, too, of public scandal, as whether our political character is base or nobly born, or whether any taint has come to another from his ancestors,¹ either male or female — all such matters are more out of his ken, to quote the old proverb, than the number of gallons contained in the waters of the sea. And in respect to such things, moreover, he does not even know that he does not know them. For he keeps away, not simply for the sake of his good repute, but because it is in fact his body that lies in the city, and stays at home, while the soul in its small opinion and contempt of all these matters, is borne everywhere, Pindar says, geologizing² the depths below the earth, geometrizing its wide extended surface, mounting the heavens in the contemplations of astronomy, searching out, in all directions, every nature of every whole belonging to the realities of the universe, and yet never letting itself down to the serious thought of anything that is close at hand.

THEOD. What do you mean, O Socrates, by such a sketch?

SOC. It is just like this. Thales, O Theodorus, was once so wrapped up in the reveries of astronomy, and so intently gazing upward, that he tumbled down into a well. Whereupon, as we are told, a facetious Thracian waiting-maid, who had her wits about her, made fine sport of him, as one whose whole mind was upon the knowledge of things in the heavens, while that which lay right before his feet utterly escaped his notice. Now, this same joke will do for all those who live for nothing but philosophy. For in truth, from such a man, that which is nearest to him attracts no notice, and even of his next neighbor he knows nothing, neither what he does, nor hardly whether he is a man at all, and not some other curious sort of beast. But, man in the abstract, or the universal man, what *he* is, what

¹ Democrats as they were, no men attached more importance to family distinctions, and an unsullied ancestry, than the Athenians.

² The word *geometrizing* is a literal transfer of the Greek. *Astronomizing* is also employed. The other word expresses the idea, but is coined, in form, to keep up the spirit of the passage.

is his nature, what active and passive properties belong to such a nature, in distinction from that of other animals,—this he is ever exploring, and intently searching out, at whatever cost of trouble or pains. You understand me now, Theodorus, do you not?

THEOD. I do, and it is nothing but the truth you say.

SOC. Wherefore, such a man, my friend, both in his public and private intercourse, and especially, as I said at first, when he is required in a court of justice, or any other place, to discourse of things at his feet and right before his eyes, such a man, I say, furnishes laughter, not to Thracian waiting-maids only, but for all the rest of the rabble, as he tumbles into wells, in other words, into distressing embarrassments, arising from his inexperience; so that his awkwardness is really terrible, procuring for him the reputation of utter stupidity. For in these revilings of him, he has nothing to throw back upon any one in return, because he knows no evil of any one, simply from having never made his neighbor's individual character¹ the subject of careful study. Wherefore, in his embarrassment, as we said, he appears ridiculous. Again, when he himself, on his part, is seen openly to laugh at those praises and glorifications which are so common among other men, although he may do this without the least affectation, and in all simplicity, still is he set down as the veriest trifler. As an instance of this: When some autocrat or king is made the subject of encomium, he knows no better than to regard it, just as though some mere keeper of animals, a swineherd, for example, or a shepherd, was thus lauded, or some cowherd, perhaps, was pronounced most fortunate, because, forsooth, he knew how to milk his drove to the "best advantage." For he really regards these, the tyrant and the king, as having a much more treacherous and unmanageable animal to herd and milk than the others; and thinks, moreover, that such a one, with his never ceasing cares, living, too, as he does, ever surrounded by a wall, as in a herdsman's lodge, on a mountain top, must surely become, even still more wild and uncultivated than the rude cattle-feeders themselves. Again,² when he is told of ten thousand acres, what a wonderful amount it is for one man to possess,

¹ Not simply on the ground that such a man would be averse to slander, and the inspection of individual character from ordinary motives, but because he is wholly taken up with the study of the *universal homo*, in distinction from what is commonly called a *knowledge of human nature*.

² This very long Greek sentence might have been broken up to suit the modern style; but it would, in that case, have lost much of the power which comes from its compactness and unity of idea.

he seems to hear it as a very trifling affair, accustomed as he is to make the whole earth the object of his contemplations. And when the multitude are sounding aloud the praises of high birth, and telling how this or that noble personage has the names of seven rich ancestors to show on his geneological record, he regards it merely as the applause of men, who take a very dim and diminutive view of things, and who, by reason of their never having been trained to higher thoughts, are unable to keep their mind upon the *whole*, or to reason with themselves, that every man, be he who he may, has myriads innumerable of *pappi* and *progoni*, forefathers and progenitors, among whom there have been all sorts of characters, rich men and beggars, kings and slaves, Greeks and barbarians, thousands of times repeated — unable, we say, to reason thus, but on the contrary *piquing* themselves upon a sorry catalogue of some bare five and twenty names, making it a matter of solemn consequence, that they can count back to some Hercules, the son of some Amphytrion, it is really wonderful, we repeat it, what wretched gabble all this appears to him, especially when he sees them so besotted as never to have it come into their minds, that the ancestor who may stand still farther back in the scale, so as to be twenty-five degrees beyond Amphytrion, or even fifty, may have been, after all, just such a man as you might meet with anywhere, in other words, one of the commonest sort of fellows. He laughs, we say, at men who cannot make this simple calculation, and by so doing let out the vain glory of their unreasoning souls. Wherefore, in all such cases, the man we have described, is himself derided by the multitude, on the one hand for what seems his extravagant pride, and on the other, for his ignorance and embarrassment in respect to all matters that lie right before his feet.

THEOD. You describe things just as they really are.

SOC. But should our philosopher, on his part, succeed in drawing upwards¹ any of his mockers, and should it happen, moreover, that any one of them is even willing to get out of his *cases* and his *actions* his *What have I wronged you or you me?* into a consideration of justice and injustice universally, in themselves, that he might know what each of them is, and in what respect they differ from one another, and from all else, or should desire to rise from such trite and particular inquiries as these:² *Is a king happy, or one who has abundance*

¹ There seems allusion here to that simile of the cave which, although set forth in full only in the beginning of the 7th book of the Republic, seems to have been often elsewhere in the mind of the writer.

² Examples of the *cases*, or questions of *casuistry* discussed by the sophists,

of gold? into a contemplation of royalty itself in its very essence, and of human happiness and misery in their most catholic acceptations, that he might know what these really are, and after what manner it pertains to the human nature to acquire the one and to avoid the other; when, I say, it becomes necessary for our man of acute yet contracted mind, our sharp politician, our dealer in points and cases, to render a reason in respect to any questions of this kind, then it is, that he, in turn, presents a spectacle the exact antistrophe, or counterpart, to that before described. For it is he then who gets dizzy as he swings suspended high, and his "deficient sight" looks "toppling down"¹ from his airy elevation;² then he it is who filled with all amazement, as one out of his native element,³ distressed,

and probably forming the themes of many a debating club at Athens; logomachies which never could be settled without a previous determination of the universal ideas involved.

¹ It may seem strange to translate Plato by the language of Shakspeare, but whoever will examine the original can hardly fail to see that no expressions, and no image, could more appropriately represent it.

² ἰλιγγῶν — ἀπ' ὑψηλοῦ κρεμασθεὶς καὶ βλέπων μετώρως ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ ἀηθρίας. It is a favorite opinion of a certain modern school who would show their critical learning by denying (what has heretofore been regarded as settled in literature), that the clouds of Aristophanes was in any way the cause, or the occasion, of the popular odium, and subsequently of the indictment and death of Socrates. We cannot enter upon the discussion here, but there can be no doubt that the expressions in the text have direct reference to that well known and painfully remembered Aristophanic representation. They are almost the very words of the comic poet. Many things, also, in the Gorgias, Republic and elsewhere, might be adduced in support of the same idea; and the manner in which they are brought in, ever betrays a warmth of feeling that could have only come from Plato's regarding them as the cause of deadly injury to a much loved friend. The apparent anachronisms attending such an hypothesis might easily be explained; and it could be shown, too, if we had time, that the representation of Socrates and Aristophanes in the Symposium is not inconsistent with it.

³ Ἀδύνατον. The Greek word here is remarkable, not only for its most expressive sense, but as being the very term used to characterize one peculiar element of our Saviour's agony in the garden. It is of rare occurrence, because possessing a peculiar significance which unfits it for frequent use. The rendering "very heavy" (Matt. 26: 37) is only a general accommodation of its sense. Buttmann makes it from ἄ-δύναμις, according to which it would denote *one away from home*, one oppressed with a sense of *loneliness and desertion*. It most expressively denotes the sorrow of Him who had left "the bosom of his Father" and "the glory which he had with him before the world was," to sojourn as a lonely stranger in a distant, unsympathizing land, mocked and hated by those he came to save, and, at the same time, appearing to be strangely abandoned by that consolation he had ever before drawn from communion with his native Heaven.

perplexed, himself the barbarian now,¹ makes laughter in his turn, not for Thracian girls indeed, nor for any other one uncultivated like himself — for they have no sense of his real state — but for all, in truth, who have received a nurture the opposite of that of slaves. This, my friend Theodorus, is the several way of each, the one peculiar to him who is nurtured in freedom and leisure, in other words, the man you call the philosopher, and in regard to whom it is neither cause of blame, nor wonder, that he should seem simple and good for nothing when he chances to be drawn into servile employments, as when, for example, one who knows nothing of the business, is called, perchance, to pack up baggage, or bedding, for a journey, or to season some dainty dish, in other words, to spice some popular discourse with exciting and flattering terms. The other is the likeness of one who can, indeed, do all these servile things with sharpness and alacrity, but knows not how to fold his robe about him like a freeman, nor with becoming harmony of speech to chant that true life which is the portion of God and blessed men.²

THEOD. Could you, O Socrates, thus persuade all of the truth of what you say, as you now do me, there would surely be more peace, and fewer evils among men.

SOC. You are mistaken, Theodorus, since evil can neither perish (for there must be always something opposed to the good) nor have its seat above in Heaven; but, of necessity, must it hover round this mortal nature, and this lower world.³ It becomes our great business,

¹ Compare with this what is said in the Gorgias, 527, A. of the condition of the worldly wise man when brought before the post mortem judgment in Hades. He had mocked the philosophic pietist for his defencelessness arising from ignorance of earthly ways and forms. But there he stands in turn before that un-earthly tribunal, in a manner characterized by the same terms he had himself before applied to the object of his derision, trembling, confounded, and utterly *speechless*, like the man in the New Testament parable who came into the marriage feast without the wedding garment.

² The philosopher is contrasted with the lawyer, the rhetorician, and the politician, as the freeman with the slave. Hence the language descriptive of the one side, or the so called *practical* men, is of the most servile character, while the epithets applied to the other are derived from the most free and elevated life. Among the former, however, although all are servile, there may have been intended distinctions. The mere demagogues, the Cleons of the day, are occupied in the lowest drudgery, such as packing baggage, etc. The rhetorician is the cook, who prepares nice things for the popular palate. So in the Gorgias, the mere orator or spouter is compared with the *ὀψοποιός*.

³ ἡπεναντίον γὰρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ δεῖ εἶναι ἀνάγκη. We have here very clearly the Platonic doctrine of the eternity and necessity of evil as the logical opposite of the good. It is expelled from Heaven, and, therefore, must have its seat on earth.

therefore, to try, with all our speed, to flee from hence towards their other place. But the mode of flight is ever by *assimilation to the Deity, and this assimilation, again, ever consists in becoming holy, just, and truly wise*. It is, however, far from being an easy thing to persuade men that it is not for the reasons which the multitude assign for avoiding vice and attaining virtue, that we must practise the one and not the other, namely that a man may not *seem* to be bad, or may *seem* to be good; for all this *seems* to me, if I may use a very common expression, to be no better than an old wife's tale. But let us thus declare the real truth: God is in no respect unjust, but ever most supremely just; and, therefore, nothing among us is more like him than the man who is most just. Here then, in very truth, as to a standard is all to be referred; whether it be man's highest powers, his weakness, or his utter nothingness. For the knowledge¹ of this (the Divine righteousness) is both wisdom and true virtue, and the ignorance thereof is folly and clear depravity; while all other excellences which *seem* to be such, and all other kinds of *seeming* wisdom are but vulgar things, even as existing in the exercise of political powers, and meaner still as they are manifested in the mechanical arts, or the lower walks of life. Wherefore, when one commits injustice, or says or does anything impious, it is far the best never to concede that he excels in craft and shrewdness; for they actually joy in the reproach, and fancy that they hear themselves praised as being no triflers, no good-for-nothing cumberers of the earth, but *proper* men, just such as those ought to be who expect to get well off in all the hazards of the State. On this very account, however, ought we to tell them the truth; because the more they imagine themselves what they are not, the more are they, in fact, just what they never think themselves to be. Thus they know not that last thing of which they should be ignorant, the true penalty of unrighteousness. For it is not what they suppose, merely stripes and death — which sometimes they suffer who are innocent of all crime — but a penalty which it is an utter impossibility for any one ever to escape.

THEOD. What penalty can you mean?

SOC. There being, O Theodorus, in the very nature of things,²

¹ In the elevated, serious, and, may we not say without irreverence, Scriptural thoughts presented in this remarkable passage, we find the reasons of the digression. This is the truth, the rock, in the all surrounding sea of scepticism. Here is solid ground. Whether sense, and opinion, or reason even, be knowledge or not, the soul has firm anchorage in this faith, that God is, and that man may become blest by becoming like Him.

² ἐν τῷ ὄντι ἰσχυρῶν, fixed in the nature of things. Senanus would render this,

two fixed paradigms,¹ or exemplars, the one the godly, most blessed, the other the ungodly, most miserable — such men, in their utter blindness to this truth, and by reason of their folly and their extreme clementness, are ever insensibly becoming through their wicked deeds more and more like the one, and unlike the other; of which course they pay the penalty in living a life corresponding to that nature to which they become assimilated. But should we tell them that unless they get rid of this excelling cleverness, that holy place² where evil never dwells, shall not receive them when they die, and that, even in this world, they shall ever lead a life the likeness of themselves, the bad in converse ever with what is evil; should we tell them this, I say, they would hear it just as the keen and worldly wise might be supposed to listen to those whom they regard as destitute of common sense.

THEOD. Most truly said.

SOC. I know it for a fact,³ my friend, I know it well. Nevertheless there is one thing which is wont to happen to them, should it become necessary in private to give or receive a reason of what they

in *ipsa rerum humanarum communitate*. His objection to the larger and more obvious sense, comes from his desire to maintain Plato's orthodoxy against the charge of holding to an eternal and necessary principle of evil. But this cannot be done. The philosopher is certainly heretical on this point. His heresy, however, came from a keen sense of the existence of positive evil, and is better than the seeming orthodoxy of some systems of optimism, which virtually deny the existence of any evil *per se*.

¹ *Paradigms*. The first thought here would be of the passage in the Gorgias, 525. B. where he speaks of the eternal paradigms or *spectacles* kept in *terrorem* in Hades. But on examination it will be seen that he has reference to two grand *types* or models of existence, to one or the other of which all moral agents are, and eternally will be assimilating — tending to a "partaking of the Divine nature," or to become *ἄθροιστοι* — farther and farther from God — "without God" — that is, pure evil — pure devil — pure misery — utter irrecoverableness.

² *ὁ τῶν κακῶν καθαρὸς τόπος κ. τ. λ.* This sentiment is so purely Scriptural, that it at once suggests the similar passages in the Bible: "*The pure in heart shall see God.*" "*Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.*" We do not say that Plato means the same thing with Christ and the Apostle. But certainly, no such language is to be found in anything else that ever called itself philosophy, either ancient or modern. Compare the striking passage in the Phaedon, 82. B: "*Most blessed of all are they who go to the most blessed place, etc.; but to this Divine abode (εἰς θεῶν γένος) or family, there is no admission to any one who departs not wholly pure*" — *παντελῶς καθαρῷ ἀπρόντι*.

³ *οἶδ' αὖτοι*. There is an emphasis in the particle. Whether regarded as expressing the feeling of Plato or Socrates, it is the language of one who had, in his own day, been stigmatized as an unpractical visionary, destitute of common sense.

censure, and should it even be their purpose to bear up with a bold face for a long time, and never to flee like a coward, yet it does somehow strangely turn out, my good friend, that in the end they do not even gain their own applause, and there are times when this boasted rhetoric of theirs so fades and loses all its strength, as to seem in fact, no better than the prattle of a child. But since all this is said by way of scholastic digression, let us now desist. Otherwise such topics as these flowing in upon us more and more, will in the end wholly bury under the main inquiry with which we set out. If you please, then, let us resume our former positions, or return to the question: What is knowledge?

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ZUINGLI.

By R. D. C. Robbins, Professor of Languages, Middlebury College.
[Concluded from p. 299.]

The Conference at Baden.

EARLY in 1526, the proposition for a disputation to be held at Baden was renewed. It is not, perhaps, to be doubted, that the object with more than one of the movers was to deprive the reformed party of its head. They had tried flattery and threats in vain. As to reasoning, the man could not be found who could cope with Zuingli, especially where he had the Bible on his side. The grand vicar of the bishop of Constance, ever after the first colloquy at Zurich, had been looking out for some means to put down the fast spreading heresy. The only effectual method seemed to be, to induce Zuingli to leave the territories of Zurich, when it would be easy to have him arrested and condemned to death. Eck had been interested in this plan, and they were determined that their prey should not escape them. The diet of the cantons, influenced by Faber, Eck and others, demanded of Zurich to send Zuingli to Baden, to engage in a discussion with Eck upon important points of Christian doctrine. The council of Zurich, thinking that they had reason to suspect foul play,

entirely refused this request, but sent a safe escort to convey Eck to Zurich. But this would not answer their designs, and Eck declined. Zuingli then expressed his willingness to meet Eck at Schaffhausen or St. Gall, but the diet decided that a disputation should be held at Baden, which actually commenced on the 19th of May.

Some may be inclined to believe that an undue suspicion or timidity influenced the council of Zurich and Zuingli, in not yielding to the request of the diet. But in the circumstances, it would have been little better than foolhardiness, for Zuingli to have trusted himself among his enemies at this time. The five cantons that exercised authority at Baden, most devoted to the cause of the Pope, had heaped every indignity upon the head of his now most active opponent; they had declared that if he set foot upon their territory he should be seized; popular clamor had demanded his death; individual leaders in these cantons had not left it doubtful what his fate would be, if they could lay hands upon him. Only a few days before the disputation was to be held, two pastors in the diocese of the bishop of Constance had been condemned to death, because they would not renounce Lutheranism. The brother-in-law of Zuingli, Leonard Tremp, wrote to him from Berne: "I conjure you, as you value your life, not to repair to Baden. I know they will not respect your safe-conduct."¹ Oecolampadius, who at first favored his going, wrote to him from Baden: "I thank God that you are not here. The turn which matters have taken, makes me clearly perceive, that had you been present we should *neither* of us have escaped the stake."²

This debate was attended by a large concourse of people, and conducted with as little fairness as could have been anticipated from those who took the lead in it. For Eck, who was the leader of the Catholics, a splendid chair was placed, but a very unpretending one was deemed good enough for his antagonist Oecolampadius. During the eighteen days of the discussion no sermons were permitted except from partisans of Rome. Oecolampadius, scarcely inferior to Zuingli in courage, firmness or learning, wanted his vivacity and warmth in order to enable him to carry with him in his discourse a mixed audience. Yet his noble bearing, serenity, firmness and ability could not fail to attract the more thoughtful of his antagonists, and the whisper was heard: "Oh! that that tall fallow man were on our side."³ It is to be doubted, however, whether even the reformer himself could

¹ Quoted by D'Aubigne from Zuingli. Epp. p. 483.

² Melch. Adami Vitae Theology. Germ. p. 45 seq.

³ Bull. Chron. i. p. 353, quoted by D'Aubigne.

have materially influenced the decision. The whole plan had been made by the Romanists, and everything that could thwart it was watched with lynx-eyed vigilance. Eck, as it is said, with a voice like that of a town-crier, and the look of a butcher, could be allowed any declaration or severity,¹ but any free or pointed remarks upon the other side were at once checked. Still, Oecolampadius was not at all daunted, but followed up his antagonist with promptness. When Eck was driven by Haller and Oecolampadius to take refuge for argument in the custom of the church, the latter replied: "In our Switzerland, custom is of no force unless it be according to the constitution; and in all matters of faith the Bible is our constitution."

The inquiry naturally arises, how did Zuingli busy himself during these eighteen days. He did not, we may be assured, eat the bread of idleness or drink the waters of forgetfulness. Four persons were appointed by the Catholics to take notes of the proceedings, and all others were prohibited from doing it under penalty of death. One young student, however, whose memory was unfailing, listened, and in secret committed his recollections to writing, which with letters from Oecolampadius, were daily despatched to Zuingli by persons who gained access to the city as market men or otherwise; and his answers returned. In this way he was after all the soul of the discussion. Myconius² says: "Zuingli availed more in meditating upon and watching the contest, and transmitting his advice to Baden, than he could have done by disputing in person in the midst of his enemies." He also prepared an address to the cantons, containing a refutation of the theses of Eck, and likewise answers to Fabius and Eck.

During the progress of this disputation, the Romanists caused the most extravagant accounts of their success in disputation with their antagonists to be circulated abroad. At the close of the meeting a large majority of the ecclesiastics signed the theses of Eck, and voted to exclude the books of Zuingli and Luther, forbade any change in worship, pronounced an excommunication against Zuingli, and required of Basle the deposition of Oecolampadius from the pastoral office. Still, even at Baden, there was a strong feeling that the

¹ An oath was said to break from his lips at times. Thus a contemporary poet writes:

"Eck stamps his feet, and claps his hands,
He raves, he swears, he scolds;
I do what Rome commands,
And teach whate'er she holds."

² Vit. Zuingli.

advocates of reform had been silenced by vociferation and intrigue, rather than argument. Oecolampadius turned his face toward Basle with trembling steps, not knowing what might befall him on the way or at the end of his journey. But his people not heeding the decree passed at Baden, received him with open arms. Haller, too, returned to Berne to receive a fresh accession to the number of the faithful, after a short struggle with his enemies. At Glaris, Schaffhausen and Appenzel, the decisions also were not received as binding. Thus it not unfrequently happens that a triumph procured by unlawful means is ruinous in its consequences. There was great unanimity of sentiment in the canton and town of Zurich. Zuingli writes to Haller about this time: "Everything here below follows its appointed course; after the rude north blast, comes the gentle breeze. The scorching heat of summer is succeeded by the treasures of autumn. And now after stern contest, the Creator of all things, whom we serve, has opened for us a passage into the enemies' camp. We are permitted at last to receive among us the Christian doctrine, that dove so long denied entrance, but which has never ceased to watch for the hour when she might return. Be thou the Noah to receive and shelter her."¹

The Convocation at Berne, and its Results.

For a time subsequent to the conference at Baden, Berne became the principal seat of the struggle between the papal and reformed parties. The elections of the year 1527, placed a number who favored reformation in the larger, while some violent partisans of the Pope were excluded from the smaller council. The people were urging upon them a decision in reference to the two mandates emanating from them in 1523 and 1526, the former in favor of the free preaching of the Gospel, the latter in favor of the Mass, reverence for images, and other Catholic superstitions. The larger part favored the form of worship introduced at Zurich. A majority of the citizens of the town, too, had embraced the new views. Six of the city companies (divided according to their trades), had abolished all unscriptural usages from their churches, and three others were prepared to follow their example; of the other six, the butchers only were decided for the Pope; others were hesitating. Many parishes, too, were ready for the abolition of the Mass, and the substitution of a more Scriptural mode of worship. The importance of the question both to themselves and the other cantons, several of whom would follow the lead of Berne,

¹ Quoted by D'Aubigne, Book XI. ad fin.

was so great, it was thought that another convocation of the clergy should be called to decide upon the matter. Accordingly, in November, the invitation was given out to all "Bernese and strangers, priests and laymen," to assemble there, at the beginning of the following year. The Catholic cantons immediately taking alarm at the unexpected position of Berne, and fearing the result of the discussion, met at Lucerne to concert measures to prevent its taking place. But their opposition, although couched in terms friendly to Berne, yet contained menaces which rather confirmed than weakened the Bernese in their resolution. Offended at the firmness of the council of Berne, they prohibited a free passage through their territory to attend this convocation. Even the emperor was desirous that the meeting should at least be postponed.

In the meantime, preparations were making at Berne for the reception of the convocation. Both Oecolampadius and Haller depended upon Zuingli to take the lead in the discussion. The latter wrote to him: "All look to you for support. . . I do not doubt that you will come and confound our enemies. I am too weak for so great a burden; show me how to acquit myself of the task imposed upon me, or rather fulfil it yourself."

Zuingli did not hesitate to comply with this request. He felt too sensibly the importance of this discussion, in enabling even Zurich to maintain her freedom of worship against those cantons who were ready to take arms for the reëstablishment of the Catholic religion. A considerable number of the doctors from the neighboring cantons, and from Germany, and the rural clergy around, assembled at Zurich, to proceed under the same escort with Zuingli. On Tuesday, the 2nd of January, the clerical corps started with three hundred men, chosen from the companies of Zurich, and headed by a civil officer. Notwithstanding the declaration of some of the enemy, that they would go a hunting when this game passed, and kill or cage some of them, they arrived at Berne on the 4th, without any considerable disturbance on the way.

On the 7th of January the discussion commenced. Besides Zuingli, Oecolampadius and Haller, Pellican, Collinus and Bullinger, Capito, Burer and Andrew Blarer, and other distinguished men, were present. The ecclesiastics altogether numbered about 350. The meeting continued nineteen days, on each of which, except one, two sessions were held, each opened by prayer. The most important regulation, which the presidents solemnly promised to enforce, was, that no proof should be admitted which was not taken from the Scrip-

tures, and no explanation of the Scriptures, that did not come from the Scriptures themselves. Our limits do not allow us to detail the particulars of this convocation. Its influence, even during its progress, was manifest to every beholder. In the same pulpit, where a few years before Samson had made his arrogant and groundless offers of expiation for him, Zuingli's voice now almost daily resounded. Not in vain did he expound the oracles of truth. On one occasion, it is said, when a priest came in to say Mass at one of the altars, just as Zuingli entered the pulpit, he had the curiosity to hear what the heretic would say. His subject was the Eucharist, and his arguments were as goads fastened in a sure place. The feelings of the priest were immediately so changed, that he laid his sacerdotal robes on the altar upon which he was to officiate, and in the presence of the assembled multitudes, embraced the reformed doctrines. The feast of St. Vincent occurred on the 22nd, and the question was asked by the canons whether they should perform the regular service. It was replied, that those who received the doctrine of the theses as discussed in the meeting, ought not to say Mass; others could proceed as usual. All preparation was made for the festival; the tapers were lighted, incense filled the house of worship, but silence reigned. No sound of the voice of the priest, or response of the lay-worshipper, echoed from the naked walls. At evening only the organist appeared, where usually the vespers were chanted with great pomp, and played a dirge over the lost worship, by which he had gained his bread. After he had left, some misguided men, who could not distinguish the instrument of superstitious rites from the intelligent agent, broke the organ to pieces. On the next day only the butchers made their appearance at Mass, with a foreign priest to lead their devotions, attended by a few poor scholars whose soft voices took the place of the mutilated organ.

The convocation had now nearly finished its session. The several points at issue had been fully discussed, and the two councils felt called upon to decide what action they would take. Accordingly, on the 27th of January, they decreed that the Mass should no more be celebrated. Forthwith twenty-five altars were cast down and many images either mutilated or destroyed. This aroused the few champions of the Pope, and bitter and threatening words were here and there uttered through the streets. On the next day, while the fragments of images and altars were yet scattered about the aisles and porches, Zuingli entered the cathedral before an immense crowd and preached his farewell sermon with much emotion. "Victory," he said, "has

declared for the truth, but perseverance alone can complete the triumph. Christ persevered unto death. *Ferendo vincitur fortuna*. . . . Behold these idols, behold them conquered, mute and shattered before us. . . . The gold you have spent upon these foolish images must henceforward be devoted to comforting in their misery the living images of God. . . . In conclusion, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage (Gal. 5: 1). Fear not! that God who has enlightened you, will enlighten your confederates also; and Switzerland regenerated by the Holy Ghost shall flourish in righteousness and peace." This appeal, made with the fervor for which the oratory of Zuingli was distinguished, was not without its influence. Some opposition was made on the return of the clergy to their respective abodes.

- But the three hundred chosen soldiers of Zurich, emboldened by victory, soon dispelled all annoyances, and on the 1st day of February, Zuingli reëntered Zurich as a conqueror, which he really was. The results in Berne need not here be detailed. It is sufficient to say that this most influential and conservative canton, except the small district of the Upper Limmenthus, soon after adopted fully the reformed mode of worship, and passed rules and made regulations for the suppression of all kinds of vice. Charity, too, here as elsewhere proved to be the attendant of faith. Cloisters and monasteries were soon filled with the poor, the sick, and the maimed. Learning was a special object of attention. "An extensive college was founded," from the resources of the monasteries, "and Hoffmeister, Meyander and John Rellicanus were immediately appointed professors, the two former of divinity, the latter of the Greek and Hebrew languages."

It must not be supposed that the reformed had not many struggles to pass through in becoming fully settled in religious belief and practice, both with external and internal enemies. Before the close of the year, a spirit of revolt, fostered by the inhabitants of Unterwalden, their near neighbors, was everywhere rife in the valleys and hillsides of the Hasli. Troops were in readiness for their aid both in Unterwalden and Uri; and if the council had not after some vacillation acted with spirit, the result could not have been other than disastrous. Indeed, the malcontents, with eight hundred from Unterwalden, actually marched to within six leagues of Berne, on their way "to re-establish the Pope, the idols and the Mass in that rebellious city." Now the right to repel this invasion was without question. The Bernese recalled their ancient virtues, and to the exclamation of *Avoyer d' Erlack*: "Let the strength of the city of Berne be in God

alone, and in the loyalty of its people," the council and the whole body of the people responded with noisy acclamation. Troops forthwith assembled, the revolted and their allies retreated to Unterlachen or entirely deserted, and scarcely did the first report of musketry resound among the neighboring hills, before, in answer to an address from the Bernese commander, the insurgents fell on their knees, confessed their wrong, and sued for pardon. Peace again brooded over the hills and valleys, and the eagle of Unterlachen, with the wild goat of Hasli, cowered before the bear of Berne. "The Bernese," said Zwingli, "as Alexander of Macedon in times of old, have cut the Gordian knot with courage and with glory."¹ The influence of this proceeding of Berne was for the time most happy.

War between Zurich and the Catholic Cantons; Differences adjusted by Berne.

The separation between the reformed and Catholic cantons, however, was not at all lessened by the suspension of hostilities at Unterlachen. The Catholic cantons, "enraged at the spread of the reformed religion," and fearing that it would soon gain the ascendancy throughout the country, began a system of more direct and violent persecutions. Fines and imprisonment, torture, banishment, were all visited upon the unoffending head of any one who would not say Mass. The clergyman who preached the reformed doctrines, was fortunate if he escaped mutilation, the faggots, or the halter. The union of the other cantons for self-defence, naturally became stronger as the rage of the enemy increased. Early in the year 1529, the Catholics took a step which was deemed an outrage not to be overlooked. They formed an alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. According to the agreement, all who formed new sects among the Swiss people, should be considered worthy of death, which should be inflicted, if necessary, by the aid of Austria. Six thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horse were to be at the command of the Swiss, if they required them, and the reformed cantons blockaded and all provisions intercepted. As it may be supposed, this alliance produced not a little consternation, mingled with indignation. All the cantons not included in the alliance, except Friburg, met in diet at Zurich, and agreed to send a deputation to their neighbors to expostulate with them for their violation of the Helvetic confederacy in this alliance with Ferdinand, and to seek things that make for peace.

¹ Epist. ii. p. 243, quoted by D'Aubigne.

But they were evasively, insolently or violently received by the respective cantons, and returned with the feeling that nothing would satisfy but the subjugation or expulsion of the reformed. The Zurichers burned with indignation and rage at such treatment. They were ready for immediate war. Even Zuingli, as averse as he had shown himself to mercenary war, could not look on and see the fair heritage that he had planted, overrun by the wild beast from the wood. He counselled immediate preparation for a forcible defence of their rights. The other allied cantons, and especially Berne, were unwilling to be precipitate in their movements. The latter would undoubtedly have prevailed but for an act of violence in the canton of Schweiz, in waylaying, condemning and executing a pastor when on his way to preach to a parish under the protection of Zurich. The flames of the pyre of the innocent man did not rage more furiously than the anger of the Zurichers, when the report of this wanton and brutal act came to their ears. Zuingli, in the pulpit, in the council and in the private circle, as well as by letters, urged to immediate and energetic action. "Let us," he said, "be firm, and fear not to take up arms. This peace, which some desire so much, is not peace, but war; while the war that we call for, is not war, but peace. If we shun it, the truth of the Gospel and the ministers' lives will never be secure among us." Zuingli did not doubt that this contest would lead to the attainment of the object for which he had labored hard and long, the free preaching of the Gospel throughout Switzerland. This it was that allured him on, while the sense of injustice impelled him forward. He was the leading, guiding spirit in Zurich at this time. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the council, drew up resolutions, composed proclamations, and wrote letters for them. Even the details of warlike defences and the proper course of conduct to be pursued in reference to neighboring countries, was all thought out and committed to paper by him.

When the first clarion sounded the note of war, as it soon did, Zuingli was ready in person. The council told him that they did not wish him to expose himself to danger, especially as he would be singled out as a particular object of hatred. But he could not trust this cause in other hands. He knew, that the army as well as the State without him, would be as a vessel without a pilot. "No!" he replied, "when my brethren expose their lives, I will not remain quietly at home by my fireside. Besides, the army also requires a watchful eye that looks continually around it." On the 9th of June, four thousand armed men marched forth from Zurich, when, from the

walls, towers and battlements, the eyes of fathers, mothers, wives and children, among whom was Anna, the pastor's wife, looked anxiously, though proudly forth upon their departing relatives and friends. Zurich went forth alone to this contest. The army on the tenth, at daybreak, sent forth a herald to proclaim to the men of Zug the rupture of the alliance. A scene of the utmost confusion and dismay followed. The forces of the confederate cantons had not sufficiently arrived to insure a defence against the four thousand from Zurich. Just as the first detachment was to advance to the attack, a horseman was seen pressing with all possible speed up the hill toward them. He was soon within hearing, and besought the army with tears to postpone their march for a little while, and he would return, with God's grace, with the propositions of an honorable peace. The character of the man, who was known, had sufficient influence to decide the leaders of the army to halt. Zuingli alone had sufficient discernment to understand the reason of this proposal. The king of Austria, just at this time occupied with the Turks, could not bring the proffered succor, and therefore present peace was desirable for the hostile cantons. When the herald had turned to depart, Zuingli approached him and said: "You, sir, will render to God an account for all this. Our adversaries are caught in a sack; on this account they give you sweet words. By and by they will fall upon us unawares, and there will be none to deliver us." The herald replied: "I have confidence in God that all will go well. Let each one do his best." The Zurichers began to pitch their tents, while Zuingli paced his own, in uneasy and anxious thought, not knowing what catastrophe an hour might bring upon them.

While the preliminaries of a peace were pending between the armies, the deputies of the Zurich council presented themselves to make known what Zuingli had been apprehensive a delay might bring. Berne had risen up to compel the belligerents to make peace, and sent five thousand men in arms to sustain their authority. This, with the returning answer of the herald, was enough to stagger any one of less firmness, but Zuingli was not ready to yield. "Let us not," he cried, "be staggered; our destiny depends upon our courage; to-day they beg and entreat, and in a month, when we have laid down our arms, they will crush us. Let us stand firm in God. Before all things let us be just; peace will come after that." In the mean time both armies were increased and encamped so near each other, that they could call to each other, and the army of Zurich imparted in a friendly manner of their abundance to the wants of

the army of the five cantons. Zuingli's influence was most conspicuous among the troops of Zurich. Everything was conducted with the most perfect order. Every day Zuingli or some other minister preached. No gaming, profanity or lewdness was practised. Prayers were offered before each meal, and obedience to superiors was nowhere questioned. Psalms, hymns, national songs and amusements which tended to give strength and activity to the body, were everywhere the pastime of the soldiers.

After the complaints on both sides had been listened to, in accordance with the decision of the diet that had been assembled by Berne at Aran, a treaty was concluded on the 26th of June, 1529. This treaty was apparently favorable to the reformed party, although it did not guarantee all that Zuingli desired. It stipulated liberty of conscience, a renunciation of the alliance with Ferdinand, the defraying of the expenses of the war by the Catholic cantons, and the redress of some minor grievances. It was, however, hard for the five cantons to give up the deed of the alliance with Austria, but they were finally compelled to do so. When the reading of this document was commenced, the bailiff of Glaris was so indignant at its treason and meanness, that he dashed his knife into the parchment and cut it to pieces in the presence of the army. Bullinger expressed his feelings about it in few but significant words: "It was not Swiss."

The troops of Zurich returned in triumph to their homes. But the deeper insight of Zuingli did not allow him to join in the general rejoicing. The most that his inclination not to seem obstinate could allow him to say, was: "I *hope* that we bring back an honorable peace to our dwellings. It was not to shed blood that we set out." But in the midst of the rejoicings of his fellow-citizens he could not refrain from using the almost prophetic words: "This peace which you consider a triumph, you will soon repent of, striking your breasts." The hymn that he composed at this time, being burdened in spirit, has often resounded among his native mountains and echoed from palace to cottage in the Swiss valleys.

The Conference at Marburg between Luther and Zuingli.

It was in the month of September of this year (1529), that the conference at Marburg was held between Luther, Melancthon and their coadjutors, and Zuingli, Oecolampadius and others of the Swiss theologians. We cannot do justice to Zuingli, without here giving a brief outline of the controversy that occasioned this conference.

Nothing, perhaps, is more characteristic of the German and Swiss reformers than the way in which their views in reference to the Eucharist became established and were defended. Luther, in 1519, had attempted to reform the sacrament of the Eucharist. He then said: "I go to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and I there receive a sign from God that Christ's righteousness and passion justify me; such is the use of the sacrament." Precisely what he meant may be doubtful, and probably his own views were not so fully established as at a later day; but he was understood as advocating the same doctrine which Zuingli subsequently maintained: that the bread and the wine are merely symbols of the body and blood of Christ. The abuses of the Anabaptists seem to have called forth from Zuingli a renunciation of the doctrine that he had been supposed to hold, accompanied with the most violent and unreasonable invectives against the Sacramentarians, as he termed the Swiss divines.

Zuingli early doubted in regard to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but with characteristic prudence and good sense, he did not feel justified in attacking a dogma so deeply rooted in the minds of men, and on which so many religious usages and feelings were based, until he was himself perfectly assured of its erroneousness, and could both refute it from Scripture and substantiate the true doctrine. His mission was not to throw down merely, but to build again upon an imperishable foundation. Before 1525, he maintained in his sermons the absurdity of the idea that the bread and wine were the actual body and blood of Christ, and in that year, as has been before stated, in his "Commentary on True and False Religion," he established fully his belief that the symbols undergo no supernatural change in the Eucharist. In 1527 he again felt called upon to take his pen in order to answer "the excellent Martin Luther." He replied to heated and violent words with the coolness, not to say haughty calmness, of one who was sure of his position, and was prepared to defend it against any opposition. Pamphlet followed pamphlet without avail, since Zuingli's calm reasoning had as little influence with the impetuous Luther, as the mystical and subtle attempt of Luther to hold a middle way between the doctrines of the Romish church and the Swiss reformers, did with him whose only source of appeal was the word of God interpreted by the proper use of reason and common sense.

A rupture seemed inevitable between the parties of the reformers. Already, indeed, the Saxons and a great part of northern Germany were declaring for Luther, while the Swiss and several of the imperial

cities were ready to follow Zuingli. The Catholics in Germany were also prepared to take advantage of this discord, which they were zealously fomenting, in order that they might be enabled to suppress the two parties one after another. The landgrave of Hesse perceived the danger which threatened the Protestants, and immediately exerted himself to bring about a reconciliation. But when he found that he availed nothing, he formed a design of confronting the two chief antagonists with one another, hoping thus to procure the agreement which he had hitherto labored for in vain. He accordingly invited them to his town of Marburg with such friends as they would choose to bring with them. At first, Zuingli, with the manly, open and daring spirit which he ever exhibited, assented to the landgrave's request. Still, for a time he seemed likely to be detained. The danger to him of passing from Zurich to Marburg, through the territory of the enemies of the reformation, was not doubted even by the landgrave. He accordingly promised an escort from Strasburg to Hesse. But this was not enough to satisfy the Zurichers. Zuingli, who would have gone through fire and water, if the prospect of aiding the reform had been before him, entreated the council to permit him to go. "Be assured," said he, "if we doctors meet face to face, the splendor of truth will illuminate our eyes." But the council positively refused the request.

Zuingli considered the matter conscientiously, and decided that the welfare of all Christendom was in jeopardy, and that his own private interests and those of Zurich ought not to come into the account. He therefore desired to take the responsibility of going to Marburg, confiding in that Being who never abandons those that put their trust in him. On the night of the 31st of August, he and Collin, the Greek professor, mounted two horses, hired for the purpose, and, without even informing his family of his destination, lest they should be anxious for his safety, set off at full speed towards Basle. Before leaving, however, he addressed a note to the two councils, saying: "If I leave without informing you, it is not because I despise your authority, most wise lords; but because, knowing the love you bear towards me, I foresee that your anxiety will oppose my going." This he sent to the burgomaster, with a new and more urgent request from the landgrave, which arrived at the very moment in which he was penning the above lines to the council. His absence was known the next day, and gave occasion to the greatest rejoicing among his enemies, who circulated various reports in respect to his absence. "The devil has seized him bodily and carried him off," says one; "No, he has

run away with a pack of scoundrels," says another; and a third, was sure "he had been drowned in attempting to cross the river at Bruck." The council, moved more by the mild and conscientious decision of Zuingli, than by the request of the landgrave, now approved of the step which he had taken, and appointed one of the councillors to attend him, who forthwith departed with his servant, and an armed guard. In six days Zuingli embarked at Basle, where he had safely arrived, with Oecolampadius and a company of merchants for Strasburg. After remaining a little time at the latter place, and counselling the magistrates in regard to resisting the power of Rome and strengthening their own little community in the true faith, he started with his friends for Marburg, escorted by forty Hessian cavaliers. Their way was over mountains and through valleys, but by taking secret and safe paths they arrived at Marburg without molestation or injury.

We must now look for a moment at the reception given to the request of the landgrave in Germany. "Luther at first," says D'Aubigne, "discovered leagues and battles behind this pretended concord, and rejected it." Then both he and Melanchthon were suspicious of the influence of the Zuinglians over the landgrave. The reason which they gave for this influence was certainly not to the disadvantage of Zuingli: "Their error is of such a nature that acute minds are easily tainted with it. Reason loves what it understands, particularly when learned men clothe their ideas in a Scriptural dress." In fact they tried every means to avoid this conference. They desired the elector to prohibit their going, but in vain; they were compelled to comply with the request of Philip, and arrived at Marburg on the 30th of September, the day after the arrival of the Swiss delegation. Both parties were invited to the castle of Philip in order to bring them into closer contact, and were there entertained in a princely manner.

In accordance with the plan of the landgrave, the different parties were brought together for private conference before the public discussion. Luther was closeted with Oecolampadius, and Zuingli with Melanchthon, it not being deemed expedient yet to confront the two principal antagonists. They commenced the colloquy early in the morning, and when the dinner hour arrived, they were yet closely engaged in discussion. After dinner Zuingli and Melanchthon again renewed the discussion. The "Zurich doctor" in order to hold the "Wittenberg professor" who, he said, escaped him like an eel and was of Protean forms, took his pen and committed to writing what Melanchthon dictated, and gave his answer in writing. Thus they

passed the afternoon in preparation for the general conference. This Zuingli wished to be public, but Luther objected, and finally all were excluded but "the princes, nobles, deputies and theologians." Many who had assembled from various places in Germany and Switzerland, were much disappointed at this exclusion, but were compelled to submit.

On Saturday morning, the 2nd of October, the landgrave, in citizen's dress, seated himself with his court beneath the Gothic arches of an ancient hall in his castle. Before him, at a table, Luther, Melancthon, Zuingli and Oecolampadius took their places, with their followers behind them. Luther, as he approached the table, took a piece of chalk and slowly wrote upon the velvet cloth: *Hoc est corpus meum*. Zuingli took his place without ostentation or parade. The discussion began between Luther and Oecolampadius, but soon passed from the latter to Zuingli. It is not possible to trace the progress of this conference. It may be found at length in various histories of the reformation. We cannot but feel that Luther exhibited some of his worst traits of character during this discussion; and where Zuingli used reason, he had recourse to dogmatic assertion. "This is my body," he would reiterate with violent asseverations, although he knew or ought to have known that it was merely begging the question, since the meaning of the passage was the point in discussion. In respect to argument, we cannot question that Zuingli's clear head, coolness and self-command gave him great advantage over his antagonist. In spirit, the most zealous defender of Luther must, it seems to us, yield the preference to Zuingli. It is true, he carried a little of roughness of expression from his native mountains, but we cannot see anything which does not exhibit a sincere desire for an honorable conciliation, or any desire to maintain his own positions when they were not in accordance with Scripture. We are ready to grant that there is a baldness in the expressions that Zuingli uses in explanation of his views, which strikes coldly upon the heart glowing with warmth of feeling toward the Saviour of sinners for the gift of his body and blood as an atonement for sin; and yet who could intelligently believe, in accordance with the doctrine maintained by Luther, that the body of Christ is drawn down into the sacramental emblems, so that the very substance of it is received by the communicant?

The landgrave was exceedingly disappointed that the conference was likely to end in even a further separation of the two parties of the reformed church, and did everything in his power, by entreaty, warning and exhortation in private, to effect a union; but in vain.

When was the sturdy German ever known to yield when he had taken his stand? The determined spirit that enabled him to accomplish so much for the reformation, had now taken an unfortunate direction, and its consequences are felt to this day.

Renewed Hostilities, Conflict, Defeat. The Death of Zuingli.

The cessation of hostilities by the treaty of the 26th of June, 1529, returned Zuingli again to his more immediate duties as preacher of the Gospel, and pastor of his flock. "His eye and his arm were everywhere." He preached daily, and his house was constantly open for consultation, for the clearing away of difficulties, exposition of difficult passages of Scripture, for consolation to those in trouble. "The sweetness of his disposition, too, and the holiness of his life, gave an efficacy to his words which few could resist." As a natural consequence of these labors, and the encouragement given to all by the late triumph of free principles, the cause of the reformed was everywhere strengthened. Aggressions were not unfrequently made by those desirous of extending the principles of reform, upon the territory of the Five cantons, perhaps not always in the most judicious manner, yet with the best intentions, and with unquestioned success. These cantons, which had rebelled against the treaty that circumstances forced upon them, now began to gnash their teeth in anger. The persecution of the Protestants commenced anew. The gulf that separated the two parties, was daily deepening and widening. The victims of intolerance appealed to Zurich for protection and aid. Zuingli could not resist such an appeal. His eloquence again resounded in the senate-chamber. "These are Swiss," said he, "whom a faction is attempting to deprive of a portion of the liberty transmitted to them by their ancestors. If it would be unjust to force our adversaries to abolish the Catholic religion from among them; it is no less so, to imprison, to banish and to deprive citizens of their property, because their consciences have urged them to embrace opinions which they think true."¹ The senate of Zurich, influenced by this appeal, not only offered an asylum in their midst for the persecuted, but sent a remonstrance to the other cantons against their violation of the previous treaty, which forbade compulsion in matters pertaining to religion. But things were continually growing worse and worse. A meeting of the cities in favor of the reformed religion was called. They met first in February, 1531, at Basle, and in March at

¹ Hess's Life, p. 300.

Zurich. The latter city was in favor of an immediate appeal to arms, but Berne plead for a diet of all the cantons, and finally carried the measure. The 10th of April was appointed, and the meeting was to be held at Baden. The evangelical cantons assembled, but were still divided in opinion. Zuingli maintained that the rupture of the alliance on the part of the Five cantons, and their "unheard-of insults" called loudly for decisive action, before the emperor should have done with the Turks, when he would be ready to assist their enemies who had renewed their alliance with him. The deputies again separated without definitive action. Zuingli raised his voice anew, with a power that was not to be contained within the walls of the church in which he stood; it penetrated the council chamber, and was heard in the hovel and in ceiled houses. Before April had passed, a deputation was sent from Zurich to all the allied cities to lay before them the grievances and abuses of the Five cantons, and to demand of them a careful and immediate decision as to what should be done. The advice of Berne was finally adopted. An armed intervention is richly deserved, say they, but we fear the interference of Austria and Italy; our crops will be destroyed, and innocent men will fall with the guilty. Let us rather than take up arms, close our markets against them, and cut of all intercourse with them. They will thus appreciate our value to them, and be disposed to bring about an adjustment of difficulties. Zurich was warm in its opposition to this course of proceeding, and Zuingli repudiated it as neither humane nor likely to be successful. It would only irritate, not soften, and would give time for preparation on the part of the enemy. Now as ever, when the judgment respecting the result of a course of conduct was in question, Zuingli was right. The effects of this blockade were no sooner felt, than "one general cry of indignation arose among all the inhabitants of the Five cantons." War would have ensued forthwith, if the interest of the Catholics had not favored delay. The reformed cantons were not prepared for this effect upon their enemies, and began to be at variance among themselves. Some blamed the inaction that had given new strength to their enemies. Others reproached Zuingli with stirring up civil war by his defence of the persecuted. The Catholics, too, took occasion to foster the discontents against Zuingli, and thus weaken his influence. His wise and active counsels they most of all feared, and would if possible counteract. It is not strange that they in some degree succeeded. More than human wisdom and influence would have been required, to rebuke sin, censure wrong and restrain sensual indulgence as Zuingli had done, without some

enemies. He was sensible of the secret opposition to him, and, as it was of a nature not to allow a public defence, he began to think that his usefulness would be impeded, and he accordingly resolved to leave Zurich. His determination was communicated to the council in July, 1531, in the following words: "For eleven years I have announced to you the Gospel in all its purity, as became a faithful pastor. I have spared neither exhortations, nor reprimands, nor warnings; I have represented to you on many occasions how great a misfortune it would be to all Switzerland that you should again allow yourselves to be guided by those whose ambition is their God. You have made no account of my remonstrances. I see introduced into the council, men destitute of morality and religion, who have nothing in view but their own interest; who are enemies of evangelical doctrine, and zealous partisans of our adversaries. These are the men who are now listened to, and who have the sole direction of affairs. As long as you act in this manner, no good is to be hoped for; and, since it is to me that all our misfortunes are attributed, though none of my counsels are followed, I demand my dismissal, and will go and seek an asylum elsewhere."¹

This determination, so sudden and unexpected, found neither friends nor enemies prepared for it. But the council immediately sent a deputation to urge him, by all the motives of friendship and patriotism, to relinquish his purpose. But he was not to be moved by such arguments. He stood like a rock, and would have done so until his dying day, if more powerful motives had not been presented. The blow that would be given the reformation by the step he was now taking, was then explained to him, and he at once relented, and promised to remain and labor on as in former days. But union was never reinstated in the council.

In the meantime, France attempted to bring the contending cantons to an agreement; but in vain. The diet was again the only remaining hope. It convened five times in a little more than two months, from June 18th to August 23d. But the Five cantons would not listen to any propositions before the law of non-intercourse was repealed; and Zurich and Berne would not rescind that, until the preaching of the Gospel was made free throughout Switzerland. Zurich was constantly becoming more undecided and vacillating; and from this Zuingli augured unfavorably both for the cause, and for himself. Still, his courage was proof against all opposition and discouragement. He was conscientiously walking in the path of duty

¹ Hess, p. 306.

and could not be turned aside. He felt little anxiety for himself. His great solicitude was for the cause which he had espoused. He writes: "In vain do you attempt to divert me from my career, by reminding me of the tragical end of those who have preceded me; your predictions cannot inspire me with dismay; I will not deny my Saviour before men, etc. Whatever may be my fate, I know that truth will triumph even when my bones shall long have been reduced to dust. We ought to regard ourselves as instruments in the hand of the Most High. We may be broken, but his will shall nevertheless be accomplished. Let us shun neither the dangers nor the sufferings necessary to reëstablish Christianity in its ancient purity, even though we ourselves should never enjoy its restoration, but should resemble those warriors whose eyes have closed forever before they have beheld the victory purchased by their blood. There is a God in heaven who beholds and judges the combatants; there are men on earth who will reap the fruit of our labors, when we shall have obtained their recompense in a better world."¹

While things were in this most unsatisfactory state at Zurich, Zuingli with two attendants went with the utmost precaution at night to Bremgarten to consult with Bullinger and the two deputies from Berne. This caution was necessary, since if the Catholics should know of Zuingli's presence there, he could not hope to escape violence. His words were most solemn and impressive on that night, and but little hope was in them. He seemed to look forward to disaster, whatever course might be taken. The Bernese were filled with agitation, and promised to do all in their power to sustain the sinking cause. Before daybreak, Zuingli and the others who had been consulting with him, accompanied by Bullinger, might have been seen threading their way through the deserted streets, in the direction of the gate toward Zurich. The silence which precedes intense action, was in their steps; and their faces, though calm, were burdened with care and solicitude. The warmth of Zuingli's nature shone out in the darkness of this night. He felt that he was taking a final adieu of his former pupil and friend. Three several times he repeated farewell greetings, and with gushing tears gave him a parting blessing. "Oh, my dear Henry!" said he, "may God protect you! Be faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his church." At the separation an omen appeared to the soldiers, which, when described to Bullinger, filled him with sorrow, as foreshadowing the death of his friend.

¹ Hess, p. 311 seq.

Sadness and gloom seemed to envelop the reformer more and more at every step, but the light from within and from above shone upon and enlivened his path. His words of fire no longer softened the stony hearts of his people. They were more and more indisposed to active measures. His cry of anguish was uttered, and he already saw his flock scattered and torn by the beasts of prey that were lying in wait for them. "They will give thee, O Zurich, thy reward; they will strike thee on the head, but God will not the less preserve his word." Omens of ill were seen by one and another in Zurich, and passed from mouth to mouth until all but Zuingli were in a fever of excitement and consternation. Blood flowing, phantoms clothed in white, banners floating in the clouds, and other unusual phenomena in the heavens above and in the earth beneath, portended, it was thought, the direst calamity. Even a comet made its appearance in the sky, with some manifestations not understood by the popular star-gazers of the age. Zuingli himself, such was the spirit of the time, seemed rather to contemplate with calmness the result of the premonitions than to reject the warnings. "This ominous globe," said he, alluding to the meteor, "is come to light the path that leads to my grave. I must yield up my life, and many other good men will fall with me. I see great calamities in the future; the truth and the church will mourn, but Christ will not abandon us." Thus Zuingli often expressed the certainty of his own death, and the defeat of the reformed cantons; yet the shadow of a doubt does not seem to have crossed his mind, that the course that they were taking was the only one which would be approved by the Master whom he served, and which out of the midst of evil would educe good.

While inactivity was the watchword at Zurich, preparations were making with the utmost diligence and secrecy in the Five cantons. Means were taken to ensure the concealment of their purposes and actions. The silence of a summer noon seemed to have settled down upon hill and valley. At length a whispering breeze came over the towns and villages of Zurich, betokening a rising tempest. But the people saw nothing unusual in it. It had not, however, swept over one cheek without sending the blood to the heart, although a stouter heart never beat. One eye had discerned in the black cloud that was hanging over them, the thunderbolt that was ready to fall upon their defenceless heads. At length on the 8th of October a messenger appeared, and announced that two days before, the banner of Lucerne was floating in the great square, and before another sun had descended far in the western heavens, the troops of the

Five cantons would be in the disputed territory of the bailiwicks. This report was not believed by the councils, but they thought fit to dispatch a messenger to reconnoitre. He crept stealthily upon Zug, and heard the beating drum and saw the rushing to arms. He hurried back with all possible speed, and made his report. Still, but a few members of the council assembled, saying: The Five cantons are only making a little noise to frighten us into raising the blockade; so true is it, that *quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*.

The troops, as it proved, were actually on their way to Zurich, and repeated messengers at length so aroused the councillors, that they came together before dawn on the following day. Before they separated, it was announced that a detachment of the army had seized upon a town in the free territory, and the main body was concentrating at Baar, not far from Cappel, the first town in Zurich toward Zug. Now terror sat upon every face. The war had actually begun, and no preparation had been made on the part of Zurich. Six hundred men with six guns were dispatched to Cappel, under Galdéc, whose brother was in the camp of the enemy, and who was commanded to act only on the defensive. Still irresolution kept possession of the council, and the utmost exertions of Zuingli and others, could not prevail upon them to have the tocsin sounded to call the citizens to arms, until seven in the evening. The terrors of the following night, dark, stormy, with an earthquake at nine o'clock, which violently shook the city, the clashing of armor, the ringing of alarm-bells, the clang of the war-trumpet, the cries of women and children, with stratagems, treasons, and discontented murmurings, were heart-sickening, and foreboded the terrible calamity of the following day. At ten o'clock on the following morning, only seven hundred men were under arms; and when subsequent delay ensued, two hundred of these sallied forth in confusion, and the remainder were ready to march about eleven, A. M. Zuingli receives orders to accompany this cavalcade. He does not hesitate, although assured that he is going to his grave. His impatient horse stood champing the bit and pawing the ground at his door, while the last affectionate farewell was said to his wife, children and friends. He is soon in the saddle, and loving eyes follow his retreating steps for the last time. They had not been a long time on the march, before the sound of the cannon indicated that the battle had already begun, and Zuingli impatient to bring succor to those who must now be in such imminent peril, proposed to the officers to increase the speed of their horses. "Let us," he said, "hasten our march, or we shall perhaps

arrive too late. As for me, I will go and join my brethren. I will assist in saving them, or we will die together."¹ All were encouraged by this exhortation to press on, and they arrived at the battleground, three leagues from Zurich, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

It appeared that the Catholics, not knowing the numbers of their enemy, had not hazarded a general battle, but when they had sufficiently reconnoitred to learn the small number with whom they had to contend, put their whole force, 8000, in motion against the little handful of Zurichers, scarcely 1500 in number. I have not the heart to follow step by step the progress of this battle. At first, animated by the exhortations of Zuingli, the troops of Zurich gained some advantage, but it was momentary. Their front ranks were soon mown down, and the rout became general. Zuingli was at his post in the thickest of the conflict, with his helmet on his head, and his sword by his side, as was customary with the chaplain of the Swiss troops. He did not, however, make use of his arms. Soon after the battle commenced, while he was stooping to console a dying soldier, a stone hurled by a vigorous arm struck him upon the head and closed his lips, though not in death. He again rallied his sinking energies and devoted himself anew to his work. Again and again was he struck down, but the spirit strong within him would not yield. The fourth stroke from a lance under his chin soon proved fatal. Darkness was fast creeping over his eyes. But one more effort brought him upon his knees. He felt and dimly saw his life-blood pouring from his wounds, but strong in faith he turned his now nearly sightless eyeballs to heaven, and exclaimed in confident trust: "Is this any evil? They can indeed kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." He had scarcely uttered these his last words when he fell backward. It was in this condition, under a tree in a meadow, with his eyes upturned to heaven and hands clasped, that the spoilers from the army of the Five cantons found him, yet struggling between life and death. They did not at first recognize him in the midst of so many of the dead and dying, but soon perceiving a body in which life was not extinct, they asked if he desired a priest to confess himself before he died. Unable to speak, he signified by motions that he did not. Then, they said, at least think in thy heart on the mother of God and call upon the saints. But when he again shook his head, with his eyes still raised to heaven, they, angry, began to curse him, and said: "No doubt he is one of the heretics from the city." When they had turned his face toward a fire, and discovered

¹ Hess, p. 319.

that it was Zuingli, a mercenary soldier from Unterwalden struck him upon his throat, exclaiming violently: "Die, obstinate heretic." Thus perished the great and the good man, in the vigor of manhood, when he was not yet quite forty-eight years old, slain by a hand that was unworthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes.

Several things are to be taken into account in passing judgment upon the part that Zuingli took in the tragic scenes that preceded his death. In the first place, it should not be forgotten, that he lived in the sixteenth century, when the principles of toleration were little known, and not in the nineteenth. And then, it is plain that it was no personal quarrel in which Zuingli suffered himself to be engaged. No one can doubt, that he as really felt that his country and his God demanded the sacrifice that they were making (for he felt it to be nothing else than a sacrifice), as he felt any conviction of duty during his whole life. David imprecates curses upon his own enemies, feeling that they were rebels against One whose is the earth and the fulness thereof. With equal sincerity, Zuingli took the place which the laws of his country assigned him, and felt that in so doing he did God service. Could we have had much confidence in the sincerity of his life, if he had been willing without a manful struggle to yield up the conquests that he had gained over error, ignorance and superstition? Censure the *measures* that he pursued as you will, lift up your voice without hesitation or doubting against the propagation of the truth by forcible means, but beware of calumniating one who, although not free from the errors which attach to humanity, yet must be acknowledged to have been in many respects far in advance of the spirit of his age.

The loss of so valiant a champion of the truth, at such a time, and when his armor yet graced his stalwart frame, according to human calculation, was much to be deplored. The Providence which thus removes the pillars of a most favored cause, always excites wonder, but yet ever remains inscrutable. We are not, however, to suppose that those on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were sinners above all men. He who seeth the end from the beginning, frequently so disposes of events that the good die first. From the ashes of the dismembered body of Zuingli, which his enemies scattered to the four winds of heaven, God was able to cause to spring up those who should ere long take vengeance upon the evil doer.

The first report of the disaster at Cappel, reached Zurich in the evening, and passed with electrical speed through the city. "Then," says Bullinger, "there arose a loud and horrible cry of lamentation

and tears, bewailing and groaning." Confident in their cause, the people had felt sure of victory. They were, accordingly, at first astounded by the result, and suspected treachery in their civil rulers and in their Christian teachers. The council-chamber scarcely escaped the stain of blood, and Leo Jude, just then recovering from sickness, evaded the infuriated mob by the aid of a few friends who concealed him from them. But as the definite information of the death of one and another reached the ears of their friends, the flaming torches in their hands and the rage in their hearts go out in darkness and despair. Moaning and wailing succeed to clamor and rage. Darkness, thick darkness, brooded over the city except where little companies were watching over the mutilated bodies of friends, or waiting in suspense for more definite information with regard to the fate of those dearer than life. When, on the following day, information was brought in regard to the treatment of Zuingli's body, the anger of many of the Zurichers was again aroused, but not against their teacher and guide. With tears streaming from their eyes his friends exclaimed: "His body they may fall upon, and kindle the funeral pile, and dishonor his ashes—but he lives—this invisible hero lives in eternity, and leaves behind him an immortal monument of glory that no flames can destroy." "Thus," says D'Aubigne, "Zurich consecrated to Zuingli a funeral oration of tears and sighs, of gratitude and cries of anguish. Never was there a funeral speech more eloquent."¹

The news of the death of Zuingli fell upon one heart with still keener anguish. His wife, Anna Zuingli, had heard from time to time the reports of the disasters to the troops of Zurich, with apprehensions which can be better imagined than described. Her only resource in the hours of suspense was in communion with the God in whom she trusted. At length the cry was raised in the streets: "Zuingli has fallen," "Zuingli is dead." In the anguish of the first emotions of a widow's heart, she fell upon her knees and directed her thoughts as well as she was able, to the widow's God. She had scarcely arisen from her suppliant posture, when it was again announced that her son, Gerold Knonan, was also numbered with the dead. In quick succession the fate of her brother, brother-in-law and indeed all her near friends was communicated to her. She was alone with her young children, who beholding her tears, fell into her arms and mingled theirs with them.

Many thoughts and feelings press upon us and struggle for utter-

¹ Page 841.

ance, as we witness the close of such a life as that of Zuingli by such a death. It would be pleasant to compare more particularly the lives and the influence of the three great Reformers, and especially their influence in and after death. We could, too, linger long around that battle-field, and express our burning indignation at the treatment of the lifeless tabernacle of as brave a heart and as noble a soul as has often strayed away to this degenerate earth of ours. We might, also, point to some, yea to many acts of this same soul, and say in the light of the history of intervening centuries, they are wrong, they will assuredly lead to bad results; and we could just as confidently, if not bereft of the little stock of humility that is ordinarily given to men, affirm, that like or even far greater errors would have been ours in like circumstances. But we only add, as in spirit standing by the grave of him whose life we have imperfectly sketched: *κοῦρά σοι χθὼν ἐπάρωθε πίσσι.*

ARTICLE IV.

CLASSICAL STUDIES.

By Calvin Pease, M. A., Professor in the University of Vermont.

It is proposed, in the following Article, to treat of CLASSICAL STUDIES *as a means of general culture*, under the three following heads:

1. Of the nature of literature generally as a source of culture;
2. Of the essential likeness and the incidental differences between the *best*, i. e. the *classical* literatures of different periods and countries; and
3. Of the bearing of classical studies upon the social and civil relations.

1. *Of the nature of literature generally as a source of culture.*

It is somewhere remarked by the late John Foster, that in respect to the generality of readers, no effect at all is produced, by the noblest works of genius, on their habits of thought, sentiments and taste; that their moral tone becomes no deeper, no mellow. It is

undoubtedly true that good books are much more praised than read, and much more read than appreciated. But to say, in respect to any class of readers, that such works exert on them absolutely *no* cultivating influence, is stating the matter too strongly; and is rather the impatient protest of a finely sensitive mind, awake to all that is beautiful and profound in the great productions of genius, than the deliberate judgment of an accurate observer. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise than that a mind of this highly sensitive cast, even in spite of the moderating effect of a deep and liberal culture, should notice, with indignant astonishment, the apathy with which common minds peruse passages by which it has itself been deeply moved. But the influence of literature cannot be estimated by its immediate effect upon any class of readers. The striking passages, which seem to challenge the admiration of mankind, and are treasured up in the memories and hearts of scholars, are not those which exert the most powerful influence on the world, or even on those who appreciate and admire them most. That far larger portion of a great work, which forms the basis of its sublime elevations and towering mountain summits, is not only that which determines and fixes its character, but is the source of its greatest power and most enduring influence. There can be no mountains where there are no plains to support them; no low grounds for them to tower above; and our sense of their sublimity is dependent on the measurements and comparisons to which we have become accustomed on the plain.

It is true that the more marked and striking portions of a great literary work, have the effect to induce a lofty mood; but this, from the very fact that it is a *mood*, must be temporary; and must, moreover, be superinduced upon the habitual *tone*, which is produced and fostered by the uniform and unmarked effect of the whole. In literature, as in nature and life, the most powerful and permanent influences are those which act upon us unconsciously. The prevailing tone of a great poem, as, for instance, the *Iliad*, is like the atmosphere, embracing us so perfectly and totally, that its very universality makes it unfelt and unnoticed. It so meets and fills the wants of the mind, that a kind of equilibrium and repose is produced, such as, to continue the comparison, the steady and equal pressure of the atmosphere effects among the internal fluids of the body, increasing their elasticity and tone, by the very force that quiets and confines them. Yet, in the atmosphere of such a poem, as in that of nature, scarcely ever will there be a moment, so perfectly still, that we may not perceive a breezy motion in the foliage of the trees that variegate the

landscape, and feel about our temples and along the blood, the grateful stir and coolness of its tremulous undulations; but it is only now and then, that its slumbering might arouses itself, and we behold with awe and even terror, the darkness beginning to gather around us, and the heavens frowning over us, while at intervals of dreadful silence, the lightning leaps from the black cloud, the sudden thunder crashes, and the fury of the tempest sweeps on and desolates the fields. The storm, indeed, is destructive and awful, and the mingling of earth and sky "in thunder, lightning and in rain," is sublime; but, after all, how feeble, even for the moment, is their desolating power, compared with the familiar and unmarked influence of mild and gentle airs, and distilling showers, by whose gentle ministry a whole hemisphere is carpeted with verdure, and furnished with food for man and beast.

The old classical writers that have come down to us, are nearly all, though in different degrees, of this stamp; and it is because they are of this stamp that they have come down to us. When they are at rest, their repose is that of self-possession, greatness and power; and when they are aroused, it is under the impulse of vehement and lofty passions, and of great and energetic thoughts. Hence it is that they have continued to stand as the most finished models of correct and tasteful execution, in every learned age and among every cultivated people. And as a source of fine and pure culture in reference to literary *art*, in the best sense of the term, their influence and importance can scarcely be over-estimated. With good reason, therefore, have they always occupied a prominent place in every settled system of liberal education, especially as their influence is exerted on the mind in that crude and forming period, when artificial and meretricious ornaments, prompted by mere literary vanity, possess a charm and attractiveness for it, by reason of their very extravagance and absurdity. A classical writer never betrays a conscious effort to produce a brilliant sentence or a striking passage. When they occur, they rise up from a broad ground of good sense, like towering mountains, or surprise us like the sudden roar of a cataract, as we float quietly down the current of a mighty river. There is all the time exhibited the presence of vast power; but it is only now and then, as worthy occasions arise, that it is exerted in such a way as to challenge any especial notice, and never in mere ostentation. But the ambitious aspirant after literary honors is often rather like a foaming brooklet, making cascades and rainbows at every rod of its progress, and never daring to be quiet for fear of contempt. In the

words of the Roman satirist, *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*; but a *Choerilus*, or the hero of a Dunciad, would make every sentence a clap-trap. It is remarkable, and yet not surprising, that so very few writers of the latter class — for their name is legion, and they are to be found in every age — have descended to us from the ancients, and these few seldom or never read, except perhaps by very youthful writers during the season of their partiality for “‘Ercles’ vein.”

The cultivating and refining influence of *classical literature* is not confined to those who come in most immediate contact with it. It pervades the whole mass of society, not merely in that general sense in which every influence affecting an individual man, works through him indirectly upon the community in the midst of which he moves; but by virtue of its *peculiar* relation to the human mind. It is the highest *product* of the human mind; and *more* than that, it *is* the human intellect itself, objectively and bodily presented to us under a beauty of form the most perfect which the imagination can create, animated by all the life and all the energy ever developed in the human race. The man who becomes imbued with its spirit, is not affected by it as by some outward and heterogeneous agency, but as by an inward and connatural power, impulsive and intelligent; the idealized repetition and duplicate of his own being. Its presence and power in him, therefore, will be manifested not merely as a graceful robe to be worn for ornament and cast aside at pleasure, but in every motion and gesture; it will speak in the tones of his voice, and be seen in the expression of his features. The influence, therefore, of such a man on society, is more than the mere reflex influence of literary culture; it is in an important sense the direct influence of literature itself. And in this form as well as in its influence through books, what is there that can be compared with it in power, and in facility of use and application in the work of general culture?

If there is in the human character a depth which this cannot reach, it is a depth which can be reached by nothing but the Spirit of God. Literature has no regenerating power; but there is no degree of power short of this to which it does not attain. I speak of literature in its widest sense, as that choice and selected product and record of human thought and sentiment at any one time operative in the world, which is usually designated as *classical*; whether it be that which has come down to us from earlier ages, or that which kindred genius meditates in our own;

“From Homer the great Thunderer, from the voice
That roars along the bed of Jewish song,

To that more varied and elaborate
Those trumpet tones of harmony that shake
The shores in England ———."

This influence, too, as we have seen, is one whose foundations are sure; for they are rooted in the heart of man, and grow up into and occupy his intellect, and mould it into the image of the beautiful and free.

Strictly speaking, the influences that can act upon the human mind will be found to be but *two*: that which proceeds directly from God and that which flows from his *works*. And of all that God has made, what is there to us so great and wonderful as the mind of man? And it is in literature that we gain the fullest and freest access to the mind of man. It is at once the product and embodiment of the mind; the vital organism in which it makes itself known, and acquires a permanent objective existence. On this ground we are fully authorized to assert, that literature is the *form* in which the human mind becomes the object of outward contemplation. It can be found nowhere else complete; but here it appears in its highest possible perfection and entireness, and in its befitting form; a spiritual edifice, in whose erection no sound of saw or hammer was heard, and no servile or perishable implements employed. It is a *living temple*, formed by vital agencies only; springing up, and enlarging and becoming more and still more beautiful and grand, while other things are crumbling one by one, and passing away beneath its shadow; in which there are no posts and beams connected by mortice and tenon, and no lifeless stones compacted by outward cements, but with each part growing out of, and involved in every other, all bound up and subsisting in the mutual dependency of vital organs, and permeated throughout with one inspiring breath from its solid and dark foundations, and along its stately pillars, to its golden architrave; while from "cornice and frieze with bossy sculpture graven," and echoing from the golden roof or lingering among the arched recesses, as from unseen instruments and voices sweet exhales the immortal music to whose magic harmony the wondrous structure arose. Literature, therefore, is more than a *monument* of the intellectual activity of the race. It is no mere remembrancer of the *dead*, itself cold, lifeless and perishable as they; but the "precious life-blood of the master spirits" of the race circulates through it with the fresh vigor of an endless life.

But it is not the literature of any one period alone that is to be regarded as such a full and living image of the human mind. To

secure for it this title we must contemplate it in view of its whole development from the earliest ages of the world. The same great principles are indeed at work, as the fundamental and productive agencies, in the literature of every age; but there belongs besides to each age, and to every separate department of literature its own peculiar bias, giving color and direction to it; and, when looked at without reference to similar products of other times, it is by far the most noticeable and prominent quality which it possesses. The opinions which happen to be prevalent in society, or which may characterize the particular writer, form the mould in which his whole production is cast, and to a superficial observer seem to be the vital germ out of which it sprung. These are, indeed, the *occasion* of literary efforts; but of that which goes to form any organic part of the great temple of the human soul, which is erected for us in universal literature, no part is grounded in these, as its productive cause and vital spring. These deeper productive agencies are the same in all genuine literature; they are universal, belonging not to the time, but to the race. They are not grounded in the *opinions* of men, so different in different ages and societies, and so fluctuating even in the individual; but in the common reason and heart of mankind. Of course, each and every man has at the same time, these special individual biases and notions, and this common reason; so that whether he be inspired poet or rapt listener, impassioned orator or sedate judge, both this accidental mould of outward circumstances and this inward organizing life are necessary, on the one hand to secure a ready access to the mind, and on the other, to touch and move those deeper springs which lie at the source of all permanent human emotion. The writer can derive the profounder kind of feeling from no other fountain than that which is common to mankind in every age, however he may make the temporary relations of life the channels through which they are to flow.

The excitements, which have no deeper origin than the interests of the passing day, and the biases of the individual mind, are nothing more than mere irritations playing on the surface and fretting the nerves, and whose effect continues only until soft airs equally superficial soothe the stinging and heat of the skin. These shallow currents glitter brightly in the sun, and make a kind of music to beguile a vacant hour; but they become in a moment, as if they had never been, as soon as the mind is strung up again to the broader and deeper things which belong to action and duty. They belong to the things which "perish with the using," and of course can never become *classical*.

The literary production which is destined to become *classical*, must contain elements of perpetuity; it must so address the minds and hearts of men as to secure for itself a perennial freshness of interest, and a point of contact with the human mind. Works of this kind are always marked by the peculiarity, that they preserve unbroken an exact correspondence between words and things. The phrase is identical with the thought. The word always makes directly for the thing, like a flash of lightning towards a conductor, or sits gracefully upon it like a mantle, serving not so much to cover and conceal, as to display the form in more graceful proportions. This characteristic pertains to the great names in our own literature. It belongs in a high degree to nearly all that have come down to us from antiquity; and hence the Greek and Roman authors, which still survive, are by way of especial preëminence called *the classics*.

2. *Of the essential likeness and the incidental differences between the best, i. e. the CLASSICAL literatures of different periods and countries.*

The difference between the *spirit* of the ancient literature and that of the modern world, is not so great as it seems. Indeed, the great works in both are almost identical in spirit. The most important difference is in *form*. It may be conceded that the scope of the moderns is wider, and their matter more varied; but the essential qualities in both are the same. The diversity, also, in regard to the ultimate object in view in either case, is mostly imaginary, and even the proximate means employed, if closely scanned, will be found to be not dissimilar. What I would say is, that any difference in these respects which may be found to exist, is not a difference of ancient and modern, old and new, but an unlikeness which is found as much among individuals of the same age as in those of the remotest ages; it is a difference of *nature* in the writers, having no connection with the periods of time in which they happened to live. The spirit of Shakspeare is much more akin to that of Homer than to that of Milton. And Aeschylus has more that is common with Milton, than with his contemporary Sophocles; or than Milton had with any poet of his own time.

The question of *time*, therefore, interesting as it certainly is in some of its bearings, has far less interest and importance than that of *spirit* and *tendency*; it has, indeed, almost nothing to do in the determination of the essential character and the permanent influence of literature, and consequently affects little, either way, its real value. It may be modern and not be the worse; and it may be ancient and

not be the better; although certainly the presumption is in favor of the more ancient; and we do not resort to its hoary pages without a spontaneous anticipation of finding there that oracular wisdom which has justified its transmission from one generation to another unharmed by the touch of time; while every new book must win its way into our confidence by overcoming, with the force of its own merit, a reasonable distrust of its claims, and strong suspicions of its value.

The books which the "world will not willingly let die," are not one in a million of those which are written; and it therefore argues more good nature than judgment to receive a new book into our confidence before its merits have been subjected to the severest and most deliberate tests. But no test is so severe and sure as that of time. Any product, and especially any book, that can stand that test, has in it a principle of vitality not derivable from the fashions and conventional arrangements of the time in which it first appears. The elements of its strength are derived from that which, though developed and manifested in time, and taking its mould from the opinions and institutions of the age which produced it, is yet itself independent of time in its origin, and is required to make no sacrifices to its dread divinity to avert the edge of its destroying scythe. It was only his own offspring that the *Kρόνος* of the Grecian mythology was said to devour. Whatever escapes his ravenous jaws, does so either by virtue of a vital energy from a higher source, or by the fostering care and protection of a principle coeval with time.

There is no theme so trite as *the ravages of time*; and no feeling more common than that a corrupting venom has penetrated to the vitals of whatsoever bears the mark of its tooth. And yet there is nothing which we approach with such a religious awe, as the relics of long past ages, and the memorials of the earlier tribes of the race. This is not wholly nor principally, because of a superstitious veneration for that which seems to bear about it the consciousness of what took place thousands of years ago; but we cannot resist the impression that these relics and memorials are endued with elements of permanency which give them a value above that of all which has passed away in the period of their duration; a worth commensurate with all the art, with all the beauty and all the power, which have arisen and again disappeared along the whole unbroken line of their existence.

A book is often the favorite and delight of its time, because it derives its inspiration from its time alone. It adapts itself to present opinions and modes, and becomes obsolete when these have changed.

This is the case with the great mass of literature in every age; and therefore as time passes on, only here and there one, and that too, perhaps, such as made no marked impression on its own generation, survives; only here and there one is found to embody enough of what is of permanent and independent interest to the human mind, to make it like the great work of Thucydides: *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ*: a treasure for all time.

These, though few, are the works which have come down to us from the past. When the charms they may have possessed for the time in which they were produced, have one by one ceased to be attractive; when the opinions which may have given them an accidental currency have become obsolete; there still remain a body and a spirit, which, having sprung up out of the unchanging reason and universal heart of human kind, as they concentrate themselves in the living convictions of a serene and lofty spirit, continue to speak in clearer and still clearer voices to the ears of men; and as time passes away, they rise up in more majestic proportions, and shine in clearer beauty, from the very circumstance, that no narrow preconception, or accidental ornament diverts the mind from the contemplation of their essential and distinguishing excellence.

It is often the case, that works of this elevated character are treated with neglect or with coldness on their first appearance. That this should be so, is very natural in itself, and should lead, in our minds, to no disparagement of the times, in which the works were produced. It is not easy to divest ourselves so entirely of the notions and opinions and biases of our own generation as to enter at once into a full appreciation of that which claims our regard, more from its independence of these circumstances, than from its observance of them; whose merits are equally prominent and equally absolute, in every nation and in every age. There are a few great productions, which in addition to this absolute and unconditional excellence, so seized upon and expressed the peculiar spirit of their times, as to spring at once into an almost universal popularity, and to be regarded with some right appreciation. But this is the rare result of that union of the most fortunate *nature*, and the most perfect *art*, which is afforded only in instances of the very highest genius. Something of the kind is exhibited in the productions of the ancient Grecian mind. It has a partial illustration in the Plays of Shakspeare. But it is well known that even here, the appreciation, although right so far as it went, was far, very far, from adequate; that even here, it was left for "other times and other nations," first to point out their peculiar

and transcendent title to the highest admiration and homage, and to the most profound and reverent study. It is time only, by the wider observation which it affords, and the varied and multiplied points of view in which it presents them, with the transmitted and confirmed reflections of many minds, under all diversities of circumstances and opinions, in their accumulated and concentrated power; it is time only, that can display these works in the whole compass of their perfections, and define and settle the limits and the extent of their claim to our reverence.

It is, therefore, no disparagement of a work to assert that it failed of immediate currency; while, on the contrary, its popularity, on its first appearance, although it is not proof positive, as the instances referred to above may show, is still proof presumptive, of no very high degree of merit. Neither is it proof of deficient or narrow culture, relatively regarded, that the almost universal reception of the greatest productions of literature, has been cold and often contemptuous. Deficient and narrow such culture doubtless is, in comparison with what it might be and would have been, if produced under the influence of a familiar communion with the greatest works of the human intellect, and the fairest productions of human genius which have been wrought out in the long sweep of ages. But no age and no nation comprehends within its own limited embrace, the elements of a culture sufficiently catholic and liberal to insure a better reception for that which is the most worthy of respect and admiration, and which, although it may fail of the good opinion of a particular generation or people, is sure of the cherishing regard and veneration of the race.

But it is a mistake to suppose that the failure of a great work to secure the admiration of its own times, arises from any contempt, on the part of its author, for the opinions of contemporary minds, or from a disregard of the institutions and usages which are, at the time, in vogue. No great writer ever neglects these. However sovereign and commanding his genius may be, his own age and the institutions of his own times must afford him the conditions of his activity and the moulds for his productions. He derives, indeed, his peculiar inspiration from higher and purer airs, than fan the temples of other men around him; but his familiar life and daily breathing is in the atmosphere which his contemporaries inhale; the same nature invites his acquaintance and his love; the same civil institutions have fostered and protected him; the same religion has called out and fostered his devout affections. He is, therefore, in effect, shut up to the things

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which lie around him. He is necessitated to use them or to remain inactive. It is through these that he must speak to other times as well as to his own.

Where then, it may be asked, is the essential difference, after all, between those productions which perish with the using, and those which, in the language of Milton, are the life-blood of master spirits, treasured up and embalmed on purpose unto a life beyond life? The difference lies, chiefly, in the end and purpose for which they write; and in the spirit which they breathe. Both alike employ the signs and symbols of their time; both alike use and are conditioned by the habits and institutions of their age; are under the influence of the peculiar subjects which agitate the minds of the men of their day, and adopt more or less of their opinions. But the one uses them with reference merely to the temporary modes and fashions of society, with his objects and aims limited to the present. The spirit with which he thinks and writes is the fruit of no higher and no more authoritative inspiration than the current opinions and usages which give shape and color to his thoughts, and which it is his highest purpose to reproduce. The other infuses into these moulds the spirit, not so much of his own generation, as that of all the generations which have gone before; therefore not the peculiar coloring of any one age, but the pure light which remains when these partial hues have been withdrawn; or rather, which results from the union of them all. He speaks to man, as such, in the language, and through the medium which the circumstances of his age and nation have given him. He is not the creature of these; but he employs them as his instruments. And because he employs these as his instruments and medium, he is always in a greater or less degree intelligible to his own generation. The men of his time at least *suppose* they understand him, and do not suspect that any deficiency of interest which they may experience, arises from the lack of a just appreciation.

It is true that such a writer, while in his main drift he has respect to other times and other nations, addresses also in the whole dress and form of his production, his own peculiar age and nation. This is always the first and most obvious feature; this is the ostensible object; and often, doubtless, the author himself is conscious of no other. Its applicability to other times than his own, its truth to the profoundest convictions and most vital wants of mankind under all circumstances, arises from the fact that his own personal convictions and reflections have a wider scope than the immediate relations on which he proposes to bear in the work he may have in hand. The

outward dress is special and peculiar, and bears the marks of the age and circumstances of its origin. But the inward and essential spirit is universal and unlimited ; and, therefore, is best felt, and most fully appreciated, when the interest in these specialities of form and costume have passed away.

However high and full, therefore, may be the appreciation of a really great work in a contemporary generation, its highest and fullest appreciation must of necessity be waited for, until its excellence can be contemplated in its absolute and essential character. Thus Homer was the delight of his generation ; but it was only after the lapse of ages, that he became the wonder and the model of the world. Shakespeare drew crowds to the theatre even in his own lifetime ; but generations passed away before even his countrymen knew, that in him, they were entitled to boast the most commanding and glorious intellect of the human race.

And yet our higher and juster estimate of the genius of Shakespeare, no more proves that we possess a sounder judgment or a better culture than belonged to his contemporaries, than their low estimate evinces a lack of merit in him. The same may be said of his great compeer, Milton. Time has afforded us the opportunity of correcting their errors of judgment, in regard to the novel developments of their own generation ; just as posterity will have to set us right, respecting appearances that are new to us. They coldly assented to what they ought to have profoundly revered ; they condemned what the suffrage of time has approved ; they warmly and enthusiastically praised that which only merited contempt, and yet all the while, not without a kind of anticipative and forestalling sense of what after ages have declared to be truly great. We doubtless are doing the same thing ; and our gratuitous self-exaltation at the expense of those who have gone before us, will be compensated by the equally gratuitous contempt of our posterity.

It is not within its own bosom, and from the productions of its own activity, that any generation of men is to find the elements and means of his highest and soundest culture. And the time will never come, when mankind will not be in a most real and profound sense, in a state of pupilage to the past. This does not concern the question, whether, on the whole, one age may or may not have afforded a greater display of ability and power than another. However that may be, the productions of each generation are not the source and means of its own proper culture ; they are only the fair and ripened fruits of the genial influences which descend upon it from the past,

and of the fostering care of the institutions which the past has established. These in their turn become germinant in succeeding generations and reproduce themselves under the forms which the circumstances of society predetermine. It is, therefore, the *form* and outer coloring of its culture which are determined by the present; its *spirit* and vitality come down from the past.

It ought not, however, to occasion surprise that the notion should be constantly springing up in the minds of many, that these time-honored views, in regard to the sources of a right education and a true culture, are radically wrong. Brisk, bustling minds, full of the "spirit of the age," too full to contain anything else, stimulated, if not intoxicated by the rush and din and glare which always accompany and indicate the merely external movements of society and life, most striking often, where least strong; credulous and conceited minds, flattered and imposed upon by a false notion of the magnitude of the interests with which they are concerned, by the bare circumstance of their nearness to them; narrow and illiberal minds, purblind by prejudice and jealous of the light, wanting the "wide discourse which looks before *and after*;" and again, weak but benevolent minds, who see nothing in the past but its hardships and its difficulties, and nothing in these but misfortune and misery; all these, amazed at the stir and tumult of their own generation, and listening with "greedy ear" to its gorgeous promises for the future, can discern nothing in the still and serene past, but the vestiges of destruction; and the great men of former ages, and the lofty productions of ancient genius which "shine aloft like stars" along the whole track of time, are regarded by them as the *τὰ πρὶν πελώρια*: the boastful but weak objects of an obsolete idolatry, which the modern Zeus they worship has long since overthrown.

To minds thus enslaved to the present, and swallowed up in the operations which are going on around them, there can be nothing more plausible than this specious error. Discerning nothing more in the productions of an earlier period than their outward form, they are able to find in them no adaptation to the present relations of life; and it seems to them an absurdity as blind as it is dangerous, to devote more than a passing glance, to these effete products of an earlier world. They assert, and very justly, that the instruments by which we are to perform the urgent and imperative duties of the present hour, and to work our way amid the circumstances and institutions of modern society, must be supplied by the present hour and the conditions which it affords. But they are ignorant of the impor-

tant truth, without which the other is of no avail, that the efficiency and power of these very instruments, for any but the most trivial and transient results, are proportioned to the degree in which the spirit and energy and prudence of the whole experience and practical reason of the race, have been infused into them.

These men appreciate, with sufficient readiness, the value and importance of the daily showers which moisten the surface of the fields and refresh the growing plants of the season; but are incredulous as to those deep springs to which the ancient forests send down their roots; and curl the lip with a contemptuous smile at any allusion to the vast oceans from whence the clouds, which they adore, derive their supplies. Their cisterns, doubtless, contain water enough for the culinary uses of the day; but would hardly float the argosies which convey to them the products of distant countries and of other climes. In like manner the peculiar spirit of the present generation, and the knowledge and prudence which are its exclusive product, may give a man an easy currency in society, and supply him with a ready tact in relation to the low and transient interests of life; but will hardly supply him with that profound wisdom, and awaken in him that lofty reason, which alone can qualify him for any achievement whose influence shall reach beyond the passing hour, in respect either to his own fame or the benefit of mankind. The man who expects any such result from these accidental and transitory causes, is looking for large fish in shallow waters; and finds his just parallel in the Hero of the Nursery-song:

“Simple Simon went a fishing
For to catch a whale;
All the water he had got
Was in his mother’s pail.”

On the other hand, there is such a thing as a *superstitious* veneration for the productions of the past. This error, at first sight, seems the opposite of that which we have been considering, but is, in reality identical with it. It fastens on the outward *form* of these productions, with no genial apprehension of their essential spirit; the *form*, which always becomes obsolete when regarded *per se*, as soon as the external moulds of society and its institutions have changed, except in so far as it is made, through an intimate historical knowledge of these moulds and institutions, the medium of conveying to us the imperishable life under whose organic impulse it was shaped. An old classic model, with its severe, statuesque beauty, instead of suggesting

and exemplifying to their minds that exact proportion between *form* and *substance*, which is the characteristic of ancient art, presents to them only the barrenness of a rock or a desert. Mistaking the absence of superfluity for the want of variety, they become devout worshippers of the jejune and bald. They are pedants instead of scholars; antiquarians instead of critics; imitators instead of artists.

This works out into a practical evil, very often to be met with. The imitator, as always happens in servile imitation, seizes upon the accidental rather than the essential, because that is the most outward and apparent; and thus, while attempting to reproduce his model, proceeds unawares, in a manner at the greatest possible variance with it. For example, the model embodies in a form perfectly familiar and suited to its time, an elevated and imperishable thought; addressing itself, therefore, naturally and easily to the minds and sympathies of men. The genial scholar, who has caught the spirit of his model, and who works freely in the light of it, with a master's hand, will also adapt his own best thoughts to the modes of thinking and the familiar circumstances of the period in which he labors; and thus seem, oftentimes, but to give utterance to the common thoughts of men, when bringing out, with the skill of an artist, conceptions which are to live after him and mark the period to which he belonged. But the pedant, not dreaming that the classicity of his model consists in anything else than the incidental form which it has assumed; and having no genial sympathy with the central thought it contains, strives to give importance and dignity to vulgar thoughts and crude conceptions, by dressing them up in the cast-off clothing of an earlier generation. As if we would undertake to show our respect for our fathers, and prove ourselves the worthy inheritors of their virtues, by assuming their peculiar costume, and making our appearance, especially on public occasions, in short-clothes, cocked hats and knee buckles.

Thus these two extremes meet in a common point of weakness and folly. The one fastens on the outward dress, and finding in it nothing which seems fitted for present use; despises the thing itself as obsolete. The other also fastens on the outward dress, and with a superstitious veneration for it, overlooks the important fact, that beneath it lies the abiding substance, and the essential spirit, which give it its value, and by which it has been preserved; and indulges in an absurd disdain towards whatever has cast off this ancient vesture, and appears arrayed in the clothing at present in vogue. The one reveres the old because it is old, the other admires the new

because it is new ; both alike being ignorant, that whatever real and permanent excellence belongs to either is the same, equally independent of time for its truth and validity, and equally dependent on the circumstances and conditions of time, for the form and direction which it takes in its outward manifestation.

3. *Of the bearing of classical studies upon the social and civil relations.*

The views which have been advanced under the last head, will be found to be especially true in those fields of human thought, whose scope reaches beyond the mere questions of ways and means in relation to the current business of the day. Thus, the great questions pertaining to Morals are not those whose importance ceased, long ago, in the early ages of the world ; nor are they such as first began to assume their due interest for the human mind yesterday.

Thus, too, the higher questions in relation to Politics and Government, are none of them of modern date. The nature and extent of the obligations of the citizen to the State, and of the right of the State to compel the obedience of the citizen, were as thoroughly understood, as ably discussed, and as clearly announced, thousands of years ago, as now. And the denial of this right, and the assertion of the supremacy of the individual reason, and the individual conscience, were as vehement and denunciatory then, as now. It is simply one of the errors of popular ignorance to suppose that the doctrines advanced on these subjects at the present day, are anything new, marking this peculiarly, as an age of advancement and superior light. The ancient literature is full of it, and handles the great subject with a breadth and a clearness and a depth, which are rivalled only in such writings of the modern world as Milton's Prose and the Reflections of Burke.

While, therefore, we may very properly concede that there is a greater variety in the economical cares of modern life, and a greater stir on the surface of modern society, it is nevertheless true, little as a flippant and bustling generation may think so, that the things which really, though unconsciously, move it most, and in which it is actually, although perhaps not theoretically, most interested, are the old ones, on which grave senators deliberated in the ancient republics, and by which the old tragedians aroused to high thoughts and high passions a susceptible and cultivated people.

It is only necessary, therefore, to suggest the inquiry, to be satisfied that the things which distinguish the present age and the present generation from those which have preceded, are nothing of *prime*

importance. And if we will think of it, we shall see that they are not really *treated* as of prime importance. When have we seen a nation aroused, and the deep fires of revolution kindling on questions pertaining to rail-roads or steam-ships? When have we seen society toss and heave as if ready for dissolution, in view of ingenious machines and telegraphs? And where is the individual even, whose slumbers are disturbed, either by anxiety or hope, in reference to any of these things, except as he may happen to have too much or too little of his capital invested? Surely these are not the things that do now, or did ever deeply move and interest men. They are entirely external, and their influence, even on those whom they affect most, is merely superficial. Still it is the *old* things which are deep; still it is the *old* things which leave the strong and abiding impressions on the mind, and which will continue to be the *great* things in human life and human experience, when these noisy and obtrusive "intermeddlers ever on the watch to drive one back and pound him like a stray within the pinfold of his own conceit," shall have hustled out their day, and inexorable oblivion shall have laid its silent hand upon their impertinence.

The student of History, and the classical scholar especially, well knows that the great dilemma, for example, which is now perplexing this nation, contains nothing new either in principle or application. He is, therefore, prepared for the apparent clashing of the claims of Religion with those of Law. That awful tragic element in human life, in which men are, at the same time, the *voluntary* and the *involuntary* agents of God, in carrying out the great designs of his Providence and Government; in which their crimes equally with their virtues, subserve his purposes and exalt his glory, was recognized and affirmed as an undisputed and unquestionable fact in the experience of men, by many of the old classical writers, with a clearness and breadth of view, with a depth of insight and solemnity of tone, which has found no parallel since their day. This lies at the foundation of the Crito of Plato. It is the theme, and makes the dramatic collision of the tragedies of Aeschylus. It comes over the soul like sad and solemn music in the dramas of Sophocles.

A thorough classical culture, therefore, is the best safeguard against the disorganizing and fanatical doctrines of which modern speculation is so prolific, in regard to Politics and Government; and of which, a prominent characteristic consists in a short-sighted confounding of the functions of Religion and Law. This wider survey of life, under its most varied phases and developments, gives the

scholar a calm and practical conviction, that there are, not contradictory, but opposite functions, whose whole legitimate activity is conditioned on their being kept asunder. He perceives, that as in the union of certain elements in *chemistry*, by combination they neutralize each other and produce a result which is neither religion nor law. For, by attempting an inquisition into the secret *motives* of men and setting up an outward tribunal over the conscience, Law, on the one hand, becomes a dismal tyranny, and Government degenerates into Despotism; and, on the other hand, Religion, by assuming the civil sword, abandons the free vitality of its spiritual activity; and by bringing its cognizance of "every idle word" and of the "thoughts and intents of the heart," under external statutory regulation, brings to pass the terrific prophecy of the Beast in the Revelation, full of names of blasphemy and drunk with the blood of the saints. And thus, clear daylight is thrown over that withering charm of the Papal throne, which held Christendom for centuries under the cloud of superstition and despotism, adding another illustration to the old lesson of history: "that," in the language of Coleridge, "the object of morality is not the outward act, but the internal maxim of our actions; while it is the main office of Government to regulate the outward actions of men according to their particular circumstances."

This is the doctrine of the ancients; this is what, in an especial manner, "the lofty grave tragedians taught in chorus or iambic;" this is the lesson of Thucydides and Tacitus, communicating to us, in the concrete, in the light of History, the same great truths which the poets taught through the wonderful creations of the imagination; this is the Platonic doctrine; the true *idea* of the State, involving those unchanging truths, which, while all else is shifting and passing away, remain firm as the pillars of the earth; steadfast and ever shining like the stars.

Indeed, the ancient mind seems to have been nowhere more *at home*; nowhere to work with a calmer, clearer power than in the sphere of Politics and Government. And its preëminence, in this department, is no less absolute than in those of Literature and Art. Hence it is, that to this day, no historian has been able to rival, or even approach, those of the ancient world. As in many other spheres, so also in this, we are constrained to admit, that the present is an age of criticism rather than of production; of diffusion, equalization and mediocrity, rather than of accumulation, intensity and power.

But whatever may be our conclusions on that point, we cannot fail to perceive, that the science of Government, as a Science, is far

from being, as it is often supposed, of modern date. And the differences which seem to exist between the ancient and the modern Republics, in the most important respects, are, so far as any *principle* is concerned, only apparent. If closely looked at, the principles applied in the two cases, in determining the qualifications for citizenship, for instance, will be found to be identical, and the apparent difference will be easily explained. Thus, the common opinion is, that the qualifications for citizenship in modern society, may be summed up in these two particulars: namely, that a man be born of free parentage, and pay something towards the maintenance of the Government. In ancient society, on the other hand, this privilege was determined by *race*. No man, in theory, could become a citizen who was himself an alien, or descended from an alien stock. This was grounded in religion. Different races worshipped different gods, with different and often contradictory attributes, involving, of course, an entire incompatibility of religious rites. The union of these races, therefore, could not take place without a complete confusion of moral distinctions. The ends of justice between man and man, where right and wrong had no uniform rule, would be utterly impracticable. Hence in cases of violent revolutions, or of conquests by some overshadowing power, where different races were forcibly combined, for a time, the institutions of *one* of the constituent elements of the new society was forcibly established, to the exclusion of the others.

The condition of citizenship, therefore, was moral affinity, that is, an affinity in what is essential and vital. It required, in short, in order to existence in civil communion, only that condition, without which, no such communion, in any true sense, is possible. It is precisely so in modern States. The great fundamental condition is one of moral affinity. The basis of this is Christianity. There is nothing in the catholic, fraternizing tendency of modern times, which can form and retain a civil society, where radically the notions of *right* and *wrong* are contradictory or fluctuating. Government is not more catholic and liberal in its spirit, now, than formerly; but it acts in connection with a Religion which knows no differences of race; in the light of which, there is no difference between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian.

This all-pervading, most broad and comprehensive condition lies at the basis of all modern citizenship in the civilized world, viz. that a man must acknowledge the Christian religion, and a moral code essentially in accordance with the Bible. Civilized government, therefore, cannot extend its privileges beyond the pale of Christianity.

It does not and cannot include Pagans under the same rule as Christians. The admission of a heathen to Christian citizenship is just as absurd as to admit the testimony of an atheist in a Christian court of justice. The relation of fellow-citizen, in such cases, cannot exist. It would be lord and vassal, master and slave, as much now as of old. The essential condition of citizenship, therefore, in human governments, has remained unaltered. The change is in religion. It is not government, nor political economists, nor statesmen, who have discovered the truth that mankind are brethren. It is Christianity that has done this. It belongs to the triumphs of religion, not to those of politics.

It is only by an intimate and thorough acquaintance with ancient history and ancient literature, derived from the original sources, that the full import of facts of this kind can be properly appreciated. It is only by such knowledge that the question of human improvement and progress, of which so much is said at the present day, can be considered in its true relations, and stripped of much that is affirmed, as well as of much that is denied, on no other grounds than the merest personal prejudices and individual wishes.

Thus, it is very common to assume it as a fact, that the general condition of mankind, especially throughout the Christian world, is beyond all comparison better than in the ancient world. It is assumed that a degree of intelligence and good order now prevail which distinguish the present from the past by as broad and manifest a mark as that furnished by the mechanic arts.

It does not suit with the purposes of the present Article to undertake to adduce any evidence as to the truth or falsity of these assumptions. I barely suggest the inquiry: On what basis do they rest? or are they really nothing but mere assumptions? A more thorough knowledge both of the *present* and the past would doubtless lead many a sanguine spirit, to suspect that, although these assumptions accord well with many of his theories and wishes, the assumed difference is, for the most part, imaginary. It would undoubtedly be difficult to exaggerate the degree of degradation, misery and suffering which existed in the ancient world; but there is no evidence, I had almost said, possibility, of its exceeding that which many a modern city affords. Again; the notion that general intelligence and civil order are the peculiar characteristics of the present century, would seem little better than a delusion, if looked at under the lights which an actual acquaintance with the past and the present would throw upon it. General intelligence! civil order! the philanthropist

longs for them ; the Christian expects them ; but have they ever appeared ?

The truth is, there are ignorance and degradation in the world at the present day, in the very heart of Christendom, which no loathsomeness or darkness of ancient heathenism ever did or ever could surpass. This remark is applicable to the masses. With reference to the higher classes, also, so judicious and moderate an authority as the late Dr. Arnold, declares it to be his deliberate conviction, that in whatever pertains to the pure science of Government, and in political wisdom and experience, the *statesmen* of the present day are scarcely on a level with those of the age of Alexander. Who can be named as the rival of Aristotle ? In truth, the lapse of time has, in this sphere, added nothing. Is the Asiatic wiser now than he was then ? Have the two thousand years, which have elapsed since the fall of Carthage, furnished the African with political or moral wisdom ? How mournfully evident it is, that so far from *adding* anything, time has but sunk them into absolute insignificance.

But look even at modern Europe. A few rays of light penetrated the darkness of the popular mind there, and aroused it to convulsive revolutionary struggles after the dimly discerned vision of civil and religious freedom. This certainly is no new thing. It is the constant *argument* of history. And, moreover, it is well known to those acquainted with the popular mind in Europe, that the idea of liberty, which universally prevails there among the lower classes, involves the abolishment of all existing possessions, and a redivision of property.

But even granting that, in the classes of society above the lowest, there do exist more adequate views of human rights and of the social organization than prevailed two thousand years ago, to what are we to attribute this ? To nothing of modern growth certainly. It cannot be the result of improvements in mechanics and natural philosophy. For these sciences themselves, with whatever else is included in the phrase "modern learning," are, as to their proximate cause, the offspring of that great movement which the human mind experienced at the time of the Reformation ; when the true idea of man and of his most vital and most sacred relations, after their long eclipse behind the clouds of prejudice and error, broke forth again like the sun upon the human mind. This idea involved the knowledge of his relative rights and duties, both to individual men and to the State. Life and all its relations, under the light of it, became the channels for the performance of duties ; the medium for the discharge of the

obligations of a rational being; the occasions through which he was to express his sense of accountableness to righteousness and law.

This, so far as concerns the relations of the citizen to the State, is simply the reaffirmation of the doctrines of Plato's Republic. In that old fountain, we may still find springing up, fresh as ever, the true principles of political foresight and statesman-like sagacity, affording us the only reliable knowledge of the present, while they "teach the science of the future" in its perpetual elements."

One characteristic, therefore, which cannot fail to impress us in reading the old authors on these subjects, is the *permanence* of the principles they unfold to us. They are the living ideas of the reason, and hence their validity and permanence are absolute. The *forms* of governments change with time and with the habits and circumstances of a people; but the life and the power, which actuated and legitimately controlled each of them, still retain their first vitality and freshness. And the very variety of forms, and the rapidity and entireness of changes, do but serve to make more broadly apparent the deep, pervading, changeless *life* which animated them all.

It should be added that, in recommending the *ancient* classical literature to the more thoughtful attention of scholars, we contemplate it chiefly as a field of study and meditation. And the objects which it presents to the thoughtful student are most certainly those of beauty, grandeur and power in themselves, at the same time that they are free from all those influences to warp and bias the mind and feelings, which flow off so freely and inevitably from all contemporary institutions, usages and opinions, and which become still more intense in contemporary literature. When we contemplate the *ancient*, we see it stripped of all that is merely incidental, and only that which is essential engages the mind. We study, indeed, ancient life, opinions, institutions, manners; but these come in to *explain*, not to distort; to prepare and enlighten, not to warp and bias the judgment.

The *conservative* tendency of such study is too obvious to require comment. We may add, also, that the mind, whose eye is on the past, is likely to be also a truly *hopeful* mind. The future, with its indefinite capabilities, and its visions of beauty and virtue, beckons it forward; while Faith, with its clear, calm eye, beholds in the "Great Beyond," the realization of the visions of a pure and modest hope; and sees embodied in abiding forms, the ideas of goodness, freedom and peace, which prompted the great deeds of the past, and afford, to the enterprise and toil of the present, rational grounds for stability and patience.

If, therefore, we would find a source of mental culture, at once stimulating and steadying; imparting both the inspiration and spring of original thought, and the just metes and bounds of its practical application, that source may be sought preëminently in the ancient classical literature; not only as it affords us the means of comparing the present with the past, thus enabling us to correct our estimates, formed under the biasing influences of the fashions and opinions of the moment; but also as containing more strictly defined, and more clearly and purely expressed, than can be found elsewhere, out of the holy Scriptures, the sound maxims of social and civil conduct; the just rules of a virtuous and noble life, and the true ends and methods in the profounder spheres of speculation and rational inquiry.

ARTICLE V.

THE CASTES OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

From the French of J. J. Ampère, by John W. May, Esq., Roxbury.¹

IF there is any opinion generally received, it is that the ancient Egyptian people was divided into castes devoted exclusively to special functions, which passed from parents to children in hereditary succession. On the one hand was the caste of priests; on the other, the military caste; while entirely distinct and separate, and below these two superior castes, were ranged the different professions; their functions being likewise subject to hereditary transmission, the children necessarily continuing in the condition of their fathers. Such is the idea of the ancient organization of Egyptian society.

From the earliest times this opinion has been at intervals reproduced. When Bossuet said: "The law assigned to each his office, which was perpetuated from father to son, and they could neither exercise two professions, nor change their profession," he only reproduced an assertion a thousand times repeated before, and which is still repeated. It is also emphatically so stated by Meiners, author of a special work

¹ Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for Sept. 15, 1848.

upon the castes of Egypt. "The two orders (that of the priest and the soldier), were so circumscribed," says the learned professor of Göttingen, "that the son almost always followed the steps of the father, and that he was accustomed or constrained to embrace the same kind of life with his ancestors." In the classical manual of archaeology of Otfried Müller, it is said that in Egypt, "to each function men were hereditarily devoted." I could cite a great number of similar passages. Rossellini alone, warned by the monuments, has ventured to raise a doubt; but the brief space which such a question could be allowed to occupy in his great work, and conclusions too vague, and founded, perhaps, upon insufficient data, did not permit him to give a prejudice, so ancient and so inveterate, a decisive blow. This, it is now my purpose to attempt.

I shall endeavor to show that the idea, which has so long obtained, that ancient Egyptian society was divided into castes, each one of which was set apart to a special, exclusive and hereditary occupation, is incorrect, and, of course, that the censure and the praise which that society has by turns received, on this account, were alike unfounded. I think I shall be able to establish with certainty:

1. That there were no castes at all in ancient Egypt, taking the word rigorously, in the sense, for example, in which it is applicable to India, although many of the learned, and, among others, Bohlen, have affirmed the contrary;

2. That many important professions, those of the priest, the soldier, the lawyer, and some others, were not always hereditary;

3. That there was only a marked distinction between the different portions of Egyptian society, a distinction which exists everywhere between those who follow the liberal professions, and those who follow the arts and trades.

Against assertions repeated from age to age, I shall invoke the evidence of but one class of witnesses; but this seems to me irrefutable. I mean the evidence of monuments and inscriptions.

To those who do not believe that the true key for the interpretation of the hieroglyphics has been found by Champollion, I have nothing to say. In their opinion, I am a dreamer; in mine, they shut their eyes to the light of day. Discussion between us is impossible.

Those who, without pronouncing upon the degree of perfection to which the power of deciphering hieroglyphic inscriptions has been carried, are agreed as to the principle of this process (and I believe I may safely say, they constitute the great majority of the savans who have examined the subject), will have the right to demand of me

a strict account of the manner in which I may have applied the method of Champollion, and I do not deny my obligation to satisfy them. In fact, the whole economy of my argument rests upon hieroglyphic texts interpreted according to the principles laid down in his *Egyptian Grammar*. I have an intimate and profound conviction of the truth of these principles, founded upon personal observation of the thousands of inscriptions to be found in the different museums of Europe, and of the monuments of Egypt and Nubia, among which I have spent many months; but I believe neither in the infallibility nor the universal science of Champollion. While I admit that his grammar may be sometimes corrected, and oftener, in some parts, completed, I think, nevertheless, that until some mistake which requires correction, or some part which requires completion, be pointed out, or some error demonstrated, we must provisionally admit the truth of the rules established by Champollion, and based upon such a multitude of examples. Such, in my opinion, is the course required by the existing state of the science of hieroglyphical interpretation. More than this would be but a blind confidence; and less than this, would, as it seems to me, be to despise a discovery susceptible of improvement, no doubt, but which, even now, may be advantageously applied to historical research. It is an application of this kind which I propose now to make.

It is proper that I define, at the outset, the limit within which the instrument of which I am about to make use, must be restrained, in order that the results therefrom may inspire a legitimate confidence. In the present state of the science, there is a portion of the hieroglyphic text which cannot be translated with any certainty; and this portion is by far the most considerable. Not that the method of Champollion is here in default; but because the syntax, which shows the connection between phrases, is not sufficiently well known to enable us always to perceive their connection, and especially because our vocabulary is not yet sufficiently rich to permit us to interpret either the still unknown meaning of certain characters, or the value of certain words which we can read with certainty, but the signification of which is not found in that small portion of the Coptic language (derived, as we know, from the ancient Egyptian), which has been preserved to us through Christian legends, and some fragmentary translations from the sacred books; the authors of these fragments having neither the means nor the intention of transmitting to us all the words of the Egyptian language, and more especially those which related to forgotten usages and an abrogated worship.

Nevertheless, if candor compels us to admit that the reading of a considerable portion of the Egyptian texts is still impossible, it may be affirmed, on the other hand, with confidence, that there is another portion which can be read with certainty. To this comparatively limited portion, and to this alone, do I now address myself. I shall leave aside all that would be susceptible of a doubtful interpretation; and rest entirely for my support upon translations of very frequent expressions, of short and simple phrases about the meaning of which there can be no doubt among those who recognize the authority of Champollion's principles. With these preliminaries I come to the question of the existence of castes in Ancient Egypt.

Let us begin by determining, with precision, the meaning of the word *caste*. It comes from the Portuguese *casta*, meaning *family*, *stock*, or *lineage*. But *caste* is not the only word, descriptive of the peculiarities of Oriental society, which we derive from the Portuguese. *Mandarin* and *bayadere* mean, in that language, the one a magistrate, and the other a *danseuse*. Those who think to give to their discourse a local coloring, by the use of these expressions, must renounce the satisfaction of availing themselves, in French, of a Chinese or an Indian word. All that they can hope thereby is to show that if they are ignorant of the Oriental languages, they are not less ignorant of those of Europe.

It is with reference to India that, at this day, the word *caste* is especially employed. In that country the four orders of ancient Hindû society, such as the institutions of Manû and the great national epopees, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahâbhârata* present them, are each designated as a caste. These four orders are the *Brâhmins*, or the order of priests and legislators, the *Kshatriyas*, or soldiers, the *Vâisyas*, or merchants, and the *Sûdras*, or servants.

The word *caste* is also applied to an innumerable multitude of subdivisions of the principal castes. Each of these subdivisions is there devoted to some particular trade or profession. Each individual member of any of these castes must hold himself aloof from all alliance, often from all contact with individuals, and is interdicted from all callings, foreign to his caste. If he fail in either of these obligations, *he loses caste*.

Thus three conditions seem to me essential to the existence of a caste: to abstain from certain professions which are foreign and interdicted, to avoid all alliance with those not members of the same caste, and to continue in the profession which has been handed down from father to son. Although these conditions have not always been

rigorously fulfilled in the East, and almost never in the West, the word *caste* has been applied, by a little mischievous exaggeration, to the aristocratic and sacerdotal classes of our modern societies. Caste, properly speaking, has never in reality existed in a Christian state; for it is a social fact incompatible with that equality among men proclaimed by Christianity. The nobility and the clergy have never constituted true castes in the absolute sense of the word, but the term has been applied to these orders because they were marked by some of the distinguishing characteristics of caste, that is to say, exclusive special professions; among the nobles, hereditary professions and also a more or less constant abstinence from connection with others out of the class to which an individual may belong.

In India, the distinction between the castes seems to arise from a diversity of race; the Sanskrit word *varna*, by which the four principal castes are designated, as is well known, means color. This would appear to indicate between the castes a difference of color, and hence a difference of origin. This explanation derives weight from the fact, that the population of the north of India, the evident point of departure of the superior races, show, in the configuration of the countenance, traits which clearly distinguish them from the races of the south, which seem to have furnished the elements of the inferior castes.

But is anything like this to be found in ancient Egypt? I can discover no trace of it. On the walls of the temples and tombs, kings, subjects, priests, soldiers, offer the same physical type. The color of the skin is the same, and no difference of physiognomy indicates a variety of race. If one had existed, Egyptian art, which speaks so clearly in the captives of the African and Asiatic type, would not have failed to reproduce it here.

Whatever may be the supposed origin of castes, let us see if, in fact, they ever existed at all in ancient Egypt. In the examination of this question, I shall address myself to the monuments alone, and especially to that most numerous class of Egyptian monuments, the monuments to the dead. It is to hieroglyphic inscriptions traced upon the walls of the tombs, upon the sides of the sarcophagi, and principally upon the *stelae* or grave-stones, that I shall look for a solution to the questions upon which I am engaged.

And these monuments must furnish a peremptory response. In fact, they always indicate the name of the departed and of his relatives, with their degree of relationship, oftentimes the profession which each followed, and sometimes even the name and the profession of the relations of the wife of the deceased. By the aid of these we

can construct a genealogical tree of an Egyptian family, often very numerous, ascertain the professions of its various members, and follow their alliances through many generations. I have myself constructed a large number of them, some of them running through seven generations; I can cite one which mentions a hundred relatives. Let us see, then, if these texts, upon a close examination, will not furnish us the answers we are seeking.

I can safely say that, among the learned, all, or nearly all, are agreed upon the meaning of those hieroglyphic signs which stand for *father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister*, etc., which designate the principal conditions, the principal titles, sacerdotal, civil, military, and so forth. This very limited vocabulary, which I purposely restrict within narrow bounds to render it more certain, this inconsiderable number of expressions, the sense of which has in general been determined by the grammar of Champollion, or which I have had the opportunity to verify by hundreds of examples, will enable us to arrive, with the fewest possible chances of error, at results which will present, as it seems to me, something of historical interest and a certain novelty.

In the first place, were there in Egypt a sacerdotal and a military caste? The monuments prove: 1. That the sacerdotal and military functions were not exclusive of each other, but, on the contrary, associated together, and each of them also with civil functions, the same individual having a sacerdotal, a civil and a military title;

2. That a person of the military order might intermarry with the daughter of one of the priests;

3. That members of the same family, the father and the son, or sons of a common father, might fill promiscuously the offices of the three different orders. When I shall have proved that the same individuals, or members of the same family, did actually follow the professions attributed to the different castes, and that these professions did not, of necessity, pass from father to son, what will then be left of the Egyptian castes, and of the universally hereditary transmission of professions?

Now, in studying the monuments, and particularly the funereal *stelae*, which so abound in the museums, and so many of which have been published, it is not a rare thing to find sacerdotal and military titles united upon one and the same *stela*. I will cite, among others, the sarcophagus, preserved in the British Museum, of a priest of the goddess Athor, who was a commander of infantry.

If the office of the priest did not exclude that of the soldier, it was still more consistent with that of the civilian. An association of this

Kind is found in one of those curious hypogea of *El-Tell*, the sides of which are covered with such strange figures; where we find kings with the breasts of females adoring an image of the sun whose rays are terminated by hands. This dates no further back than B. C. 1800, only a moderate antiquity in Egyptian matters; but I found the same association between the religious and administrative functions, in one of the tombs contemporaneous with the pyramids, and, of course, already very old at the period I have just mentioned.

These facts bear witness against the supposition of the existence of special functions attributed to a class of men under the domination of castes.

And what is a sacerdotal caste, the members of which, while they are priests, are at the same time generals, governors, judges, or architects?

Will it be said, as it has been, that civil duties united with those of the priesthood, were the monopoly of the priests? But often, very often, the name of him who exercises these civil functions is accompanied by no sacerdotal designation. Thus the Egyptian priests were invested with different judicial offices, but these offices were not their exclusive appanage. The laity were invested with them as well. The right of administering justice was not, then, the special attribute of the priesthood; but a man could be judge whether he was a priest or not. What more contrary to the exclusive spirit of castes? We ourselves have not gone to that extent of liberality. We are even more exclusive than were the Egyptians; for, with us, a priest is disqualified for a judge. But if the priest and the soldier were united in the same person, so also were the priest and the civilian; the same man was chief of archers, and intendant of southern Egypt, superintendant of public works, and commander of foreign soldiers.

If there were, as Bossuet and Meiners maintain, if there were exclusive professions to which children were set apart from their birth, without the power or possibility of change, they are not mentioned in the monumental inscriptions, for all these may be associated with others. Two or more offices united in the same person was a fact of frequent occurrence in ancient Egypt. Instead of this line of demarkation which has been so generally supposed to exist between the different classes, confusion was carried so far that we find persons charged with military, civil and sacerdotal functions at once. These are often found together in the celebrated tombs of Beni-Hassan.

This is the first breach made in the opinion which I am combating. I shall now open a second by showing that the different classes intermarried. Upon examination of the inscriptions, it appears that

an officer of the army espoused the daughter of a priest, and reciprocally. I shall soon have occasion to cite a remarkable instance of this kind of alliance. Meanwhile, let it be observed, that, after what has been said, it could not be expected otherwise. The repugnance of castes against alliances with individuals born out of their own order, rests upon the separation of the respective professions. Priests will not mingle their blood with that of the soldier — the sacred with the profane — nor will the soldier mingle his with that of the family which he despises, because it is devoted to the arts of peace. But when priests are soldiers, and *vice versa*, as was the case in Egypt, and when both exercise civil professions, as was also the case there, there is no place for that mutual contempt and antipathy, which are the real obstacle in the way of union. The isolation of classes has no longer any motive when the occupations of the classes are no longer separate; so that a nobleman, who has made commerce his business, feels no hesitation in bestowing his daughter upon a merchant.

I come now to the demonstration of the non-hereditary quality of the professions, as my last argument against the commonly received opinion.

No doubt there existed, as the monuments prove, certain families, many members of which were specially set apart and religiously consecrated to such or such a divinity. Here the paternal religion and, oftentimes, the paternal priesthood were hereditary, and there was, among brothers, a community of the same. It is, however, not to be denied, that examples can be cited of the hereditary transmission of the civil and military functions. A very remarkable instance of this I will not be so disingenuous as to conceal. In one of the tombs which surround the pyramids, I found a superintendant of the royal public works, under Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid, who was a son of the man previously holding the same office under the same Pharaoh. But facts of this kind do not prove that offices were always hereditary; for similar facts present themselves in the history of every society, however remote from the institution of castes. There is in all societies a natural and oftentimes unjust tendency to keep certain offices within the family, and, if the right line fails, to secure them to the collateral relations. This abuse exists in our days, under the name of nepotism, a practice which the indiscretion of the hieroglyphs has shown us to date from the time of king Cheops and to be as ancient as the pyramids.

That the child sometimes inherited the office of the father, and perhaps without being worthy of it, is not, therefore, a fact peculiar

to Egyptian society; it is a fact common to all times, from which no conclusion can be drawn, while from that other fact, which it remains for me to establish, that oftentimes offices were not hereditary, it follows necessarily that that society was not subject to the privileges of castes, the very spirit and essence of which is to be absolute and isolated, and can have no existence when the hereditary transmission of the professions is not the constant and invariable usage.

Now, if we may believe the monuments, the hereditary transmission of the professions was neither a universal custom nor a rigorous law, as is contended by Meiners. Civil, religious and military functions are not necessarily hereditary. The son of a soldier may be a priest, and the son of a priest may be a soldier. It is not rare to find a civil functionary who has sons in both the other professions. Finally, to complete the ruin of the hypothesis of exclusive professions to which particular families were devoted, and, by consequence, the hypothesis of caste, we find, that in the same family, sons of the same parents are found in all the different conditions. On this point I could cite a great number of examples, amounting almost to demonstration by the unanimity of their testimony; but they would be fatiguing from their very uniformity. I prefer, in concluding, to concentrate the attention of the reader upon a monument contained in the museum at Naples, which, alone, would suffice to sustain the thesis which it has been the purpose of these pages to establish.

This monument is of granite, in the form of a truncated *biseau*, or bevelled quadrangular shaft. On its anterior face are nine figures in basso-relievo, each bearing a hieroglyphic inscription. These nine figures, as the inscriptions indicate, represent, one of them, the deceased in honor of whom the monument was erected, and the others, the different members of his family, whose professions are stated. The deceased occupies the fourth place from the right of the spectator, and beyond, to the left, are the figures of his father, his three brothers, and a paternal uncle. On the right are the father and two brothers of his wife. On the posterior face, are six figures representing relatives of the deceased, among which are his mother, wife, wife's mother, and maternal aunts. On each of the two lateral faces are three relations, making in all a family of twenty-one.

The person in honor of whom the stone was erected, was a general of infantry, and, if I do not mistake the character which follows this title, he was an officer of foreign infantry. Besides his military title he has also a civil one. He is called "superintendent of the constructions of ———," the character for which the blank is substituted

not being quite clear to me. His elder brother has the title of superintendant of constructions, and also that of priest of the god of Empha. The latter was therefore at once priest and architect, perhaps sacred, while his brother may have been a civil architect. His second brother, like the elder, has a sacerdotal title; the third has the singular title of royal son, and seems to have been a provincial governor. Here, then, are two brothers of a military man (who probably also held a civil appointment), whose functions are purely sacerdotal. The third has an administrative function and a princely title. The father is priest of Ammon. As to the family of the wife of the deceased it is entirely sacerdotal. She and her mother are devoted to Ammon; her father, brother and two maternal uncles, are priests of different gods. Nevertheless, this sacerdotal family is found to be connected by marriage with a general of infantry.

It appears, therefore, that members of the same family belonged, some to what has been termed the military caste, others, to what has been termed the religious caste; so that, if these castes did really exist, two brothers belonged to two different castes; a fact which, with our notions of caste, it is difficult to comprehend. We have seen also that the same individual, engaged in both sacerdotal and military duties, might have belonged at the same time to two distinct castes; a fact just as incomprehensible as the other.

There were, therefore, no castes in Egypt. That there were, is a common error, which it is time to renounce. Those who regret it, may find consolation in the fact that enough others remain.

Instead of this division of Egyptian society, I find another. I observe that the professions which figure upon the monuments are always the same: priests, soldiers, judges, superintendants of construction, governors of a district or a province; these are, save some few which seem to be purely honorary, the only titles which appear upon the monuments to the dead. The other professions or callings, such as that of laborer, agriculturist, artisan, physician even — what is very surprising after all that has been said upon the subject of Egyptian medicine — have not hitherto been found at all. That kind of honor which consists in representing the deceased receiving the homage of his family, and honoring the gods with prayers for their protection in the world whither he has gone, is never accorded to any other professions than those first enumerated.

This circumstance seems to me to establish a fundamental distinction between the classes — I do not say castes — between the professions regarded as eminent and which had a right to be mentioned and

represented on sepulchral monuments, and the professions which were not deemed worthy of that honor.

It remains for me to show what were the grounds of the prejudice I have been combating; an error is not completely refuted until it is explained.

Abuse has been made, it seems to me, of divers passages of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus and Plato, in order to construct the phantom of Egyptian castes. These passages contain assertions, not false perhaps, but greatly exaggerated, and, as often happens, this exaggeration has lost nothing by reproduction. Thus Herodotus asserts, too absolutely, that military functions were hereditary; Diodorus Siculus says the same of the sacerdotal functions, and Plato affirms the distinction of classes. But these assertions, founded, it must be agreed, upon certain real facts, but marked with a certain air of exaggeration and a want of precision, have been less the cause than the occasion of error. The authors themselves went a little too far, and their followers have gone still further, gradually withdrawing from the reality and approaching a system. This is the history of the rise of error generally. An observation is taken more generally and absolutely than intended to be taken by the author; the spirit of system stretches, distorts and exaggerates an assertion which, though generally true, is not so precisely and literally, and continues to push it until what was limitedly true, becomes positively false, and then time supervenes to consecrate the falsehood which it has made. Such is the history of the establishment of numberless historical errors, errors too, which cannot always be laid bare to posterity by the light of hieroglyphics.

The light of hieroglyphics! Yes, the inspired hand of Champollion has kindled a light, the ever-increasing brightness of which will pierce the darkness of that night from which it was drawn. The glory of Champollion is already among the brightest in the annals of French erudition; and the efforts consequent upon his discovery will shed new lustre upon his genius. His method has already won the approbation of the learned world, in England, in Italy, in Germany and in America. And shall not France honor it? And is not the highest honor which can be offered, to continue it? Shall France be led, by an unworthy and ungrateful misunderstanding, to renounce one of the highest claims to honor which she has received from the present century? It must not be so. And if the unaccountable aberrations of some would send us back in the path of science, again to look for what has already been found, and to seek in the land of

dreams, what genius has already brought within the sphere of reality, I oppose to this blindness the voice of learned Europe, the authority of the Academy of Inscriptions, and the labors of many of its members. It is in the steps of these my illustrious colleagues that I have, in this paper, endeavored to tread; and encouraged by their voice and their example I have essayed this first application of the method of Champollion to the elucidation of an important fact in the history of the civilization, still imperfectly known, of ancient Egypt.

ARTICLE VI.

THE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY.

By Rev. Charles White, D. D., President of Wabash College, Ia.

CHRISTIANITY¹ has been represented as the most efficient agency existing in our world, as able to arouse and revolutionize all that ought to be excited and changed. Possessing such a wakeful, enterprising, renovating spirit, it becomes important to inquire, whether it holds along with it any sufficient, guiding, moderating principle, to prevent extravagances and violence.

Such a principle and power it contains preëminently within itself. It has a balancing, controlling provision, capable of keeping right, steady, straight onward, every human movement for the reform and elevation of man and society. Christianity is no less remarkable as a cautious guide, an efficient conservator, than as an aggressor and transformer.

Before entering upon a discussion of the conservatism of Christianity, it may be proper, as there exists a deep and extensive prejudice against everything which bears this name, to offer a preliminary observation, on the true meaning and use of the term. This word expresses no disrelish, distrust or resistance of actual melioration and advancement. Conservatism is no enemy to human progress. It is no lazy alarmist, uttering forebodings over what is to come; no

¹ By this term is meant everywhere in this discussion a pure, protestant Christianity.

croaker over the effacing of old landmarks and old customs ; no retrospective seer that can discover nothing good except in the past ; no prognosticator of evils inevitable on all the daring projections of enterprise. True conservatism would preserve enterprise from impracticable and fatal modes of action. It would save progress from losing a valuable portion of its force and accomplishment, by saving it from improvident expenditures of energy, by checking wasting experiments, by discouraging draining off-shoots of exertion, by teaching the avoidance of delaying obstructions. It operates to preserve all that has been gained, as well as to guard against all deductions and deteriorations upon existing and future gains. It is, in a word, an enemy to all bad moral investments ; to all deeply hazardous and questionable moral enterprises ; to undoing what is fairly and nobly done ; to neutralizing what is already working out blessed consequences.

In treating, therefore, of the conservative element in Christianity, we set out with the important allegation, that there is contained in that element no discouragement to any excellence, any valuable progress, but only a happy influence against the whole modern doctrine, that inquires little and cares little concerning the means, provided the end be worthy ; against rushes and plunges, that do evil along with endeavors at doing good ; against intemperate haste and reckless excess. We set out, moreover, with the allegation, that there is contained in that conservative element a careful, watchful assiduity to do good, only good continually, in the great work of establishing in the world happiness and social order, arts and learning, wealth and power, laws and religion.

I. It is proposed now, in the first place, to refer to those attributes wherein lies this conservative power which we have ascribed to Christianity.

The Christian religion is conservative by means of its peaceful modes of influence. These modes are remarkably quiet and undisturbing, even when concerned with the inflammable passions, violent appetites, determined perversions of our fallen nature. To remove these bad affections, Christianity does not confine itself to direct attacks. This would awake resistance and excitement, perhaps augment the evil intended to be abated, at the most, be but partially successful. It places its great reliance on a process more philosophical. It silently sets down by the side of every corrupt passion in the heart of man an opposite pure and good one. Antagonist graces and tempers being planted, are carefully and assiduously nourished,

so that they expand, become strong and permanent. Depraved propensities by this operation are overtopped, overshadowed, exhausted of productive stimulants, inevitably enfeebled, withered, wasted. The tares are so choked that the wheat springs up and ripens nobly. The good affections, left alone, grow up unembarrassed and strong out of a cleansed spirit. The nutrition of such a spirit, being unabsorbed by a noxious growth, is plentifully furnished for their life and enlargement. In this method, without any rupture or convulsion, without any excitement of malignant passion or angry opposition, there is effected an important and radical reformation. In secret silence the mind is eviscerated of the foul and the destructive, and replenished with the pure. This sure production of moral beauty out of moral deformity; this holy change of man apostate into man angelic; this effacing Satan's dark form and sculpturing deep God's pure image all interiorly, without belligerent effort, is a fine illustration of the conservative action of Christianity in achieving its reformations.

It has the same kind of action, also, from the affectionate gentleness of its spirit and the blandness of its address. Man is singularly adapted to be a subject of pure persuasion. Threats and overbearing dictation are deeply offensive and revolting to him. There is scarcely one proverbial fact respecting human nature more apparent, oftener reiterated, more true, than this, that man may be led, but never can be driven. If we wish him to capitulate, we must wheel off our artillery, reverse our fire-arms, take the olive branch, make a gentlemanly address to his conscience, appeal to the nobler feelings of his nature, throw ourselves all bland, forgiving, confiding, sympathizing, upon his generosity, his fellow feeling, his self-respect. In this method, almost with certainty will his understanding become docile to our reasonings, his conscience sensitive and responsive to our appeals, his heart warm and open to our inculcations, his whole being a captive to our power. Altogether after this manner does Christianity come to mankind. It is far more richly charged and characterized by friendliness, frankness and love than any human communication. The Gospel is, indeed, one blessed embodiment of balmy gentleness, angelic mercy, overflowing charity and benignity. Nothing can be conceived more conservative than this spirit. Very rarely will bitterness and violence rise up to meet such a mild heavenly philanthropy. Who will resist words of love? Who will vilify evident intentions of kindness? Who will angrily shut his ears to glad tidings of good? The thundering legion, everything but conservative, prostrates, desolates, *forces* its passage over dead men and consumed

villages. Christianity makes its way, as a munificent prince journeys to his remote provinces, pouring abroad a profusion of royal benefactions to all whom he meets. Bearing, as the Gospel does, a tide of blessings to all the needy and the wretched, it can scarcely fail, whithersoever it goes, to receive acclamations of welcome. Even when in their highest faithfulness the teachings of the New Testament approach the vices of men without any compromise or allowance, it is with a winning expostulation, and with a hearty, fervent good will, which it is rarely in human depravity violently to resist. While they do not shrink from announcements of woe, dreadful and eternal, as due to impenitent transgression, these very announcements carry with them such a deep compassion and sympathy as to disarm opposition and at the same time augment their overwhelming power. Pearls of thunder they are, but they come from clouds which have an orb of mild effulgence, not all concealed, shining behind them. It is also true, that submission to the Gospel, being a submission not chiefly to menace and power, but to proffered pity and grace and goodness, is on that account all the more hearty and whole, and therefore all the more peaceful. The powers of darkness, it is true, will always rise and meet the approaches of religion with more or less of struggle and resistance; but those approaches, although they will not crush, yet will to a great extent melt away the very hostility they themselves had before aroused, just as the nearing sun melts away the clouds which his own beams, when more distant, had created.

Christianity is conservative by means of its action on the original sources of evil things.

All along underneath our vegetation there is a circulation of rich juices which convey all the life and nutrition, and determine all the character of the immense growth and exuberant production on the surface. Could we gain access to this extended vascular system of all nutritive soils and find out the secret chemistry working there, we could effect any changes we pleased upon our luxuriant scenery. We could sow the interior currents with salt, and spread around general desolation, or we could introduce needed ingredients, enriching combinations, and thereby develop new forms of life as well as greatly augment the general beauty and munificence. The great wonder-working agencies in this case are all below; above instead of cutting, engrafting and nurturing, we have little to do but witness marvellous creations. This is a fair representation of the interior agencies and energies underlying all human character, all human

conduct, all social conditions. And we are well acquainted with the elemental vitality to be set in action widely under the surface of every community in order to all great and desirable exterior transformations. Christianity carries in its bosom the whole moral chemistry, and its favorite object and special mission is to descend with its efficient powers to work first and chiefly in the heart among the springs and seeds of all outward things. This is a field, where by operating elementally, it can operate on a grand scale, where acts are generic and recreative, where in striking one blow it strikes a thousand, where in waking a great and good thought or a great and good feeling, it opens up into the sphere of human influence and human affairs, a mighty element of change, melioration, progress. We are justified in this representation of Christianity as a hidden, energetic worker in the spirit of man, by many lessons left by our Saviour. He taught emphatically that purity and guilt exist in the heart before they appear in the act; that mischief purposed and good designed have all the turpitude and excellence of mischief perpetrated and good accomplished. Christian ethics recognize no reformation as true, trustworthy, sound, which has not its roots and its life in the internal spirit, nor any dereliction of duty decisive of depravity, that flows not out of the evil treasure of the heart. But the essential suggestion is, that it is in the recesses of the soul that all evil things have their beginnings, so that Christianity, working there, can easily mitigate and extinguish them. First sins are never great ones. So also the incipient impulses thereto are never great. It is according to a fixed law of all God's arrangements, that everything in nature, morals and mind, has its infancy and its feebleness and its littleness. The giant oak was once all involved in a tiny shell; the whole vitality of the cedar of Lebanon in a delicate germ. The conflagration that involves a city grew out of a single spark. These are illustrations of what occurs in human conduct and character. But Christianity is awake and present and ready with all its efficiency, at the first awakings and pulsations of evil. It furnishes its best influence to these seeds, germs, elements, earliest vitalities, incipient sparks. It plants itself down in the heart of society by the side of the first conception and stirring of mischief, of disorganization, of crime, and then attempts extinction and eradication, or at least abatement and control, before sufficient progress is made for the upheaving and disruption of the community. The restless, inflammable passions it approaches at the critical moment, when they are just kindling, and labors to cool and repress and confine them, before they

have time to put the population in a blaze. When it is recollected that the great storms of commotion on the surface of society, as also the most extensive, permanent and important reformations, have originated in some stirring of thought or of passion, first awaked feebly and silently in the unseen bosom of a people, Christianity that has its favorite and most perfect work upon these elements of agitation and of change, at their earliest throbbing and breathing, cannot fail to be appreciated and acknowledged as emphatically a great and effective conservative power. In a world where deep and desperate corruptions, urgent and stormy passions are in such full contradiction to the inculcations of religion, that slight causes will produce exasperation, resistance, often explosion, it is an invaluable attribute of Christianity, that it is fitted and accustomed to enter the interior spirit of communities, where gently, quietly, yet all powerfully, it can neutralize and regenerate. Living in a scene where so much is imperfect and calls for change, where the best things need to be better, teachers to be taught, improvements to be improved, meliorations to be meliorated, preachers of righteousness to be sanctified, prophesiers upon the slain to experience themselves moral resurrection; living in a scene where so many, so important transformations and advancements are urgently demanded, we cannot afford at all to augment existing opposition, to create any new prejudices, to waste any moral power in profitless collisions and fruitless projects. It is matter of profound and unfeigned gratitude, therefore, that Christianity supplies an instrumentality that works its largest and most essential ameliorating changes underneath, where it can do it most conservatively, without strife or turbulence or useless moral expenditure.

Christianity is conservative by means of the clear fullness of its ethical instructions. Some metaphysical minds, it is true, dissatisfied with a straight, beaten, illumined road, and also gratified with the enlarged forms in which mist and cloud present themselves, seem desirous and adapted to walk in obscurity and doubt. But a great part of the world needs a way all opened, undeviating, undeceptive. The human mind, since the fall, shows itself clogged, obscured, diseased and enfeebled. Its liabilities and tendencies to perversion and misapprehension are great. Certainly under such disabilities men must have a very clear and satisfactory light to prevent them from driving into visionary excesses, into unnecessary and wasting schemes. Religion is a teacher preëminently luminous and intelligible. Science has no lessons of such crystal transparency; literature has no such visible, tangible, speaking sentiments, descrip-

tions or images ; human ethics, no such perspicuous lessons of wisdom. It is not that Christianity has no high themes, no lofty tracts, no depths and wonders. It has objects, which by their vastness and grandeur stretch out and away altogether beyond the mind's power to follow. It is, that so far as these mighty things of God are open at all, the view is unclouded and satisfactory. It is, that whatever pertains to human life and duty, is made most definite and intelligible. While religion, in giving lessons to man, indulges in no metaphysical theories, it lays open all that is valuable to practical life in all theories. While neither the doctrines of the nominalists, the realists, nor the conceptualists are discussed, nor even so much as alluded to ; while transcendentalism, materialism, spiritualism have no place in scriptural nomenclature, the Bible, by means of a perfect acquaintance with the spirit of man, presents all good and needed instruction in terms and illustrations singularly familiar, transparent and expressive. While it despises philosophy falsely so called, nor attempts to thread its way through a chaos of conflicting opinions, it pours a guiding and sufficient light along all the private and public ways of men.

The comprehensiveness of the teachings of Christianity is an addition to their value as the light of mankind. Had all human duty been the matter of special and particular legislation, so that the feeling and thought and action, proper for every exigency, relation and character, could be found prescribed and set down in great tables, in regular columns, in order to be turned to constantly by every human being ; had this been so, the whole would have constituted a cumbersome, voluminous code which few could possess, which few would sufficiently read. It would, indeed, be a vast labor to learn from the immense mass what duties were presented, without performing any of them. The instructions of religion are to a great extent generic. Its precepts and principles, each of them by its inculcation of one thing, is an inculcation of a thousand. Its forbidding of one vice lays an injunction on a clustered family of sins. Its very few cardinal lessons have an accurate application to a large part of the conduct of life. Instances of such are the first commandment, on which hang all the law and the prophets ; and the second which is like unto it ; the golden rule which, so far as acted on, reproduces heaven on earth. Furnished with such clear, appropriable, comprehensive teachings, should some still go astray in their efforts for reform and advancement ; should some of the guides of society still need guidance, and some of its reformers reformation ; should some improvers and re-

generators be still swayed by impulse, be set on fire by passion, be driven to dashes, onsets, explosions, without opening their eyes on the consequences, then the ethical teaching of the Scriptures approaches with another influence. It acts to quicken men's vision, as well as to pour light on their pathway, to create a deep, responsive sense of personal obligation, as well as intelligibly to unfold human duty, to prepare the soil, in addition to providing the seed. The twofold power here referred to, Christianity possesses eminently. Besides affording its comprehensive and luminous lessons, it opens the human mind, wherever it comes, to receive, to appreciate, to adopt, to love and obey. Just as the sun, at the same time that he comes forth with his light, wakes up the world to walk in it. We are not now to discuss the mode and philosophy of this additional effect of evangelical instructions, to make appreciative, susceptible, conscientious, those to whom they are addressed. The fact itself is an important one. Christianity as first proffering the most perspicuous wisdom, then as preparing clear perceptions to understand them, and a good heart to give them root and growth and fruit, must be acknowledged an ethical teacher truly illustrious. It is a heavenly light which this sacred guide pours along every man's pathway. We think of religion as making that path open and all distinct, as if marked on both sides by walls of darkness. We think of religion as a clear voice always in the ear, saying with solemn, decided emphasis, this is the way, walk ye in it. When moral vision is disordered, so that matters of conscience and duty appear doubled, hazy, confused and doubtful, religion separates these, making all clear and intelligible. Imagine a populous city in utter darkness; all are groping, inquiring, receding, advancing, falling, rising; suddenly a glorious luminary comes out in the heavens; perfectly, delightfully now do all see their way; all hesitation, collision and obstruction have ceased. Christianity is that luminary. So does it dissipate darkness and beam down its light on all our moral way. Men may pursue their course of duty in perfect, open day, much as the heavenly inhabitants walk the streets of the New Jerusalem under the splendors of the eternal throne. In this character of an all-illuminating, steady, undeceptive light, in all human exigences and duties, Christianity appears a great and indispensable conservative power. With such a grand, clear, moral illumination around him, the reformer who scatters arrows, firebrands and death, can never, except through much settled blindness and depravity, cover and hide himself from the indignation of the wise and good, never hush the honest convictions and reprobation of his own heart,

They that do most to turn the world upside down in their attempts to reform it, are generally persons who shut themselves from religious influences, either by a dead insensibility to Christianity, or by a disbelief of its reality. A revealing light out of the Bible, wisdom from above, let in full and steady upon their motives and their acts, has a power to make men first pause, ponder and reconsider, then abandon their reckless mischiefs.

Christianity is conservative by means of the immutability of its moral distinctions.

The human mind readily perceives that a clear difference exists between right and wrong, justice and injustice, duty and delinquency. The human conscience, in all cases whatsoever, when these opposites are discerned clearly, gives the former its decided voice; the latter its entire reprobation. But there has always been prevalent in the world much confounding of moral distinctions. The indubitable line of demarcation, between that which is to be approved and that which is to be condemned, between that which is to be felt and done, and that which is not to be felt and done; this boundary ignorance and wickedness do not always easily settle, nor always settle right, however easily it might be done. Pressing exigences, new and unexpected relations, prospects of selfish advantage, impending disasters, have been allowed to introduce into the moralities and honesties of human conduct many monstrous perversions. Dishonesty and rectitude, injury and mercy, disobedience and duty, depravity and purity, at the mere dictation of selfishness and passion, are made to change places with the most unblushing assurance. Who, that has been either an actor or an observer in the world, has not very frequently marked how men, who had before exhibited great energy in the performance of allotted services, immediately on discovering that, their exertions are no longer necessary to the furtherance of private designs, will suffer a wonderful paralysis and lassitude and entire neglect to show themselves over the whole theatre of their previous assiduity and fidelity? Who has not marked a great deal occurring more positive and destructive than this, under the power of passion? Falsehood, avarice, ambition and sensuality, reckless of all right, charity and purity, often are seen to create oppression and disorganization and ruin to a melancholy extent over wide communities. This prostration of barriers between vice and virtue and consequent obliteration of moral distinctions, leaves the pathway all smooth and open for the rage and rush of every wild enthusiasm and every self-confident extravagance. Now if there were a great rule of right and jus-

tice and duty, unaffected by time, unmitigated by exigences, unaltered by opinions, undepreciated by prejudice, irrepealable by passion ; if there were a comprehensive, high code of righteousness and equity, perfectly immutable in all latitudes and longitudes, in all families and nations, in all wealth and poverty, in all servitude and authority, it would certainly act most conservatively to prevent disastrous schemes, desolating movements, destructive changes. This code we have in absolute perfection. Just such an unchangeable prescription of all that is right and pure, does Christianity present to human society in its simple, definite, uncompromising laws. These bend to no selfishness, bow to no power, yield to no pressures, intermit injunctions for no cause. The immutability of the moral distinctions of Christianity rests, in the first place, upon the fact that they are eternal. From before the foundation of the world have they remained unchangeably the same. It rests, in the second place, upon the fact that these distinctions are founded on the relations of existence, of being to being. These relations are in their own nature definite and unalterable. So soon as God created a moral agent, the relation to its Creator of that created agent, gave rise to obligations, fulfilment of which was right, neglect of which was wrong unchangeably. So soon as God created another intelligence, the mutual relation of the two to each other, as offspring of a common parent, imposes mutual duties. To perform them is right ; to contravene them is wrong ; and nothing can abolish or change the character of these acts. The data given, existences and their relations, the rest is inevitable ; consequent practical obligation nothing can prevent or remit or commute. There may be a thousand contingencies, and ten thousand adventitious circumstances ; this alters not relations, this alters not obligation or responsibility. The immutability of moral distinctions, in the third place, rests on God's own nature. In respect to this nature there is no shadow of turning forever and ever. The universe may cease to be, everything material may change ; God never. Can the perfect be improved ? Can infinity receive accretions ? Can omniscience become wiser ? Can supreme rectitude be made more righteous ? God's own moral nature, perfect, infinite, is embodied and expressed in the moral distinctions of Christianity. Therein is recorded in letters of light his own sense and sanction of all righteousness, his own sense and condemnation of all unrighteousness ; both unchangeable as the pillars of heaven. Its sacred rules of life, thus unaltered and unalterable, religion sets up in full sight of all men, as a grand barrier, as a stern, solemn admonition against all resistance to law, against all social excesses.

Unceasingly does the Christian code thunder on the conscience of the world, promulgating its righteous precepts, which are incapable of any mitigation, or any remission forever. Kingly power cannot escape responsibility to Divine unchangeable equity; wealth and power cannot; discontent, insubordinations, insurrections, mobs, treasons cannot. An uninterrupted announcement by Christianity of what is right and what is wrong, what is duty and what is sin, to every member of a community, and that in terms definite and irrevocable, must act in the highest degree conservatively. It is as a recognized voice of the Almighty uttering invariable denunciation against evil; as a known light out of heaven making one and unalterable the way of righteousness.

These attributes — a bland, conciliating kindness and love; a renovating action on the sources of all conduct and character; clear and full ethical instructions; immutable moral distinctions — these attributes of Christianity render it powerfully conservative in all its movements, aggressions and transformations among men.

II. The happy influence in society of a conservative Christianity may here properly claim some consideration.

It acts as a quiet and gentle remedy of political evils. Among these are the wrongs and quarrels which arise between nations. Contiguous states are natural enemies. No two distinct sovereignties ever yet dwelt side by side on the earth, without differences, mutual oppressions, bloody conflicts. Wars, as the result of national animosities, have gorged in as much property as is now upon the earth; have slain their thousand millions of men. There are serious political evils living within the bosom of individual nations. In every civil community, there appears in some form, the patrician feeling warring, often bitterly, with the plebeian. The mildest result of this antagonism, is the oppression of power and the alienation of dependence, the haughtiness of wealth and the jealousy of poverty, the hard-heartedness of employers and the deep discontent of operatives. Large states have many local interests which give rise to sectional animosity and sectional legislation. North, south, east, west are thrown into hostile attitudes. The manufacturing interest is in collision with the planting interest, the mercantile with the agricultural. All civil order is at last endangered; the government totters; insubordination, anarchy, internal war are seen on the eve of bursting in a storm on the land.

All these feuds and conflicts within single states, and between nations, have in the conservatism of Christianity a counteracting influ-

ence which is entirely peaceful, at the same time it is eminently efficient. It does not present itself amid these dissatisfactions and quarrels, as did Cromwell amid the British Parliament, with a drawn sword and three hundred armed men, thundering out: "Instantly to your homes." This is not its mode. It is not a whit less resolute and fearless than the Protector. It does not, however, enter national cabinets, State legislatures, partisan organizations, contending ranks of society, to tear off the mask from hypocrisy by violence, to execute by authority a summary punishment for political rottenness, selfish machinations, scandalous practices. This would break up the foundations of existing order, and place both governments and communities further beyond regeneration. This would add stimulants to excitements already dangerous, virulence and food to resentments already unmanageable. The Christian religion, fitted precisely by its conservative qualities to such exigences, communicates a silent, tranquil power into the interior among all the disturbing elements. It distils this influence, as the dew falls, without the least ostentation or commotion. It insinuates its own gentleness of spirit all through society, as leaven leaveneth the whole lump. Fraternization is the happy result; every person reached, governor and governed, is wrought into a fraternal sensibility. Man is to man, a brother united in warm alliance. This sentiment of human brotherhood, from its nature knowing no boundary but humanity, is in the first place emphatically national. It cherishes all that is valuable included under the name of father-land. Every home possession, honor, interest, it garners up to love and sustain. It is shocked at anything so narrow as a partisan or sectional interest. It revolts at the mean, contracted policy of stopping to bestow an exclusive blessing upon a faction, a monopoly, a geographical district, where all the interests, all the population of the entire domain are to be equally loved and provided for. This fraternal feeling, in the second place, is with equal emphasis international. Instead of resting at the lines, which circumscribe a single country, it takes all nations into its sympathies, prompts toward every one of them kindness and love, encourages the most amicable and advantageous mutual relations. The true, fraternal spirit of Christianity, kept pure and burning among men, however peremptorily it denounce and abolish political wrongs, may always be expected, through the fulness of its kindness, to leave the most delightful amenities over the whole field of its action.

In political communities, permeated by the conservative principles of religion, there exist also, in full activity, a vivid sense and recog-

nition of justice and honor, which are of no less happy and pacific tendency. The divine code of morals, stern, uncompromising, inflexible, lays as imperative an injunction to observe strict amity and integrity upon governments as upon subjects, bodies politic as bodies individual; it utters as unhesitating and fearful a condemnation of perfidy and oppression, when occurring between masses of men, as when recurring between neighbor and neighbor. These lessons, which, without exceptions or modifications, are solemnly commended to the judgment and conscience of man, possess a great and noiseless efficiency against international disputes, treacheries and aggressions; against sectional jealousies, party dominations and civil abuses. Remedies of physical maladies frequently effect their object by producing a new disorder. Christianity, by her thorough working principles, clears off all noxious political growths, and drops no bad seeds to spring up after her labors. The great unchangeable commandments of religion, proclaimed as the only laws of an individual nation and of different governments, bear to civilized men a dignity, an authority, a Divine excellence, which will rarely fail to arrest and arraign all political outrages without awaking active hostility, without inducing the mustering of a soldier, the unsheathing of a sword, the ravaging of a harvest, the disquieting of a family. Not more peacefully and signally did the application of natural laws, at the creation, reduce the universal chaos all to perfect arrangement and beauty, than will great moral principles, introduced into the midst of political jargon and confusion, transform the whole to a calm scene of order and harmony.

The conservative action of Christianity is favorably presented in its peaceable removal of ecclesiastical evils.

The delightful influence and aspect of religion, while conducting the reform of great church abuses, will be more apparent by a brief reference to the nature of these abuses themselves. Ecclesiastical evils are, an inculcation of gross religious errors; a prostration of the rights of conscience; a demanded servility to priestly assumptions; an adoption of form and fanaticism in the place of obedience and piety. These spiritual abominations are introduced and sustained chiefly through love of power, pleasure in enthusiastic fervors, passion for pompous rituals, blind veneration of ostensible sanctity, desired indulgence of the sensual appetites. Under the prominent systems of ecclesiastical corruption, the Pagan, Papal and Mohammedan, the depraved propensities of men are largely gratified. Conscience is quieted and religious hope encouraged, while the wide

theatre of worldly enjoyments is thrown freely open. The whole is an attempted accommodation of religion to man and not man to religion.

Church abuses, it is melancholy to know, are not confined to the three great perversions just now referred to. The present religious organizations unhappily are not free from ecclesiastical evils of the same nature, and of great magnitude. There are in the best communities, large church establishments instinct with love of power, penetrated with self-exaltation, exclusiveness, intolerance. We are obliged to witness within the boundary of religious establishments, much speculation, theory and mystery, instead of hard work and crucifying of the flesh; much blind reverence of a long existing church polity and of cold, imposing forms, in place of interior purity and an overcoming faith; much sectarian zeal and railing, instead of sincere contrition and deep humility; much blustering profession, instead of close communion with God. The firmness, with which modern church tyrannies, church infallibilities, church formalities, church fanaticisms are held, is probably not a whit feebler than that by which the Hindû or Moslem adheres to his peculiar delusions. There is no so difficult, so hazardous, so hopeless a labor as that of attempting to effect an abandonment of religious errors and absurdities, whether pertaining to faith or practice. It is entering into a great battle with the most strenuous propensities and sympathies of our nature. And the contest is the more protracted and determined, because these claim to be religious, to be all enlisted and disciplined in the pure service of God. Not an inch of ground will be yielded, not a concession be made, except in the last extremity. The resistance to all effort at reform comes from two quarters. First from the holders of ecclesiastical place and power. They fix an iron grasp on their system in order to retain and augment their dominion, their distinction, their lucre, their luxury. Secondly, from the common people. They dearly love their irresponsibility under the care of priests and saints, their easy escape from their sins at the confessional, their stereotyped reverences, their imposing ritualism, their self-flattering external sanctifications. In consequence of the tenacity of these attachments, all forcible means to carry reforms into corrupt religions, generally removes them still further from any favorable change. Even violent dissuasion, used on ecclesiastics, makes them lay hands more strongly upon prerogative and authority. External uncompromising urgency, by way of inducing the laity to abjure spiritual domination and cold

formalism, will be met with a more determined adhesion, and a more bitter resistance.

Undoubted and painful as these facts are, let it not be concluded that a peaceful reformation is hopeless. Christianity has a spirit, mode and efficiency, which remove all ecclesiastical evils without either a war of passions or an external struggle. Its favorite approach to man is in the character, most unwarlike, of a fountain of light. It so shines in upon the duped, darkened and bound, that they can actually see and know the ignominious chains wound around their souls, the murky fogs which involve their religious opinions, the despotism which treads its iron heels into their moral life, the icy forms which bind and freeze to death their pious fervors. How willingly, joyously, will they escape from these crushing, palsyng, suffocating spiritual disabilities !

The happy effect of the conservatism of Christianity, in respect to its peaceful action against ecclesiastical abuses, may be seen in its emphatic lessons on human rights. It recognizes nowhere, and in no manner, the right of any man to lord it over any other man whatever. According to the spirit of its teaching, every individual, so far as his fellows are concerned, is the sole owner of himself, and has in himself a rich cluster of personal immunities, which no created intelligence may at all interfere with. Among the possessions and privileges, which each man may retain and enjoy, and which no being, but the Almighty, may take from him either with or without his consent, are, a right to read, think, and judge, without the smallest restraint, and also to worship God in the mode chosen by the worshipper under the guidance of the Bible, independent of councils, synods, conventions, presbyteries, catechisms. How will a man thus instructed by Christianity, thus taught to walk abroad in perfect intellectual, moral freedom, wheresoever his spirit may take him, amenable only to heaven ; how will he break loose spontaneously from all the dictated ceremonials, humiliating servilities, imposed sanctities of false religions ? There is no commotion or struggle, because the abandonment is so willing, the proffered freedom so deeply cherished in the spirit of man. Not more decided and welcome is the emancipation of the aeronaut, when he clears from fastenings, buildings, trees, all things earthly, and mounts away a denizen of the serene heavens, as free as the element that sweeps him up.

The same happy result from the conservative element of the Christian religion, appears in the undisturbing influence against religious formalities and corruptions, by its earnest requirement of spirituality.

Its constant and great lesson is, that men be pure in heart. Its constant and great influence is, to breathe into the spirit a Divine life. It values and commends only such outward services, as are fair and natural expressions of interior godly affections. It represents God as regarding everything, where the heart is not found, as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal; as bending with approval and love to every pulsation of pure feeling in the whole wide heart of humanity; as affording the warm paternity and patronage of his whole gracious being, to every sincere and spiritual worshipper, who bows before him. Such a presentation by Christianity must put to shame priestly artifices and dogmatic prescriptions, must administer a weighty and impressive rebuke to all reliance on mere outward observances and professions. Such a presentation must supersede all use of force in removing these ecclesiastical evils. Self-convinced and self-solicitous, great numbers, voluntarily, will burst off religious bondage, push out from religious darkness, and abandon mere forms.

By these conservative modes of action, the system of the New Testament maintains an immense efficiency against religious perversions. Did it carry the sword into the absurdities and corruptions of paganism, papacy and Mohammedanism, into the formalities and assumptions of corrupted Protestantism — did it enter any of these boundaries with a spirit to extirpate by force, the result would be, almost inevitably, in addition to the awakening of serious strife, a large augmentation and wider diffusion of the existing evils. When, therefore, it is remembered, that false forms of religion have inflicted on the world some of its greatest injuries, that under them most of the crimes of mankind are either sanctioned or winked at, that extensive moral desolations still exist through the influence or under cover of religious delusions, who can sufficiently admire and value the conservatism of Christianity, which redeems from all religious debasements and conquers a religious peace, without raising a weapon or at all disturbing the quiet of society; which, in gathering up the tares, roots up none of the wheat along with them, and, in casting out devils, leaves the subjects of evil possessions in their right mind, at the feet of the Prince of Peace.

The conservatism of Christianity is favorably exhibited in the removal of social evils. There are crimes which, in some communities, are so interwoven with established habits, so boldly countenanced by influential citizens, that all legal processes against them are a mere feint, a mere mock appeal to justice. While, however, the law rests quietly in the statute book, the sins themselves are scattering fire-

brands, arrows and death. There is another class of sins belonging to society, which in case law and force be attempted against them, will awaken resistance, bitterness, violence, confusion. We have an illustration of what will often result from the employment of compulsory measures, in the state of things produced a few years ago, by the conscientious and worthy efforts which were made to induce the Government to cease from its desecration of the Sabbath. Had the petitioners, who were the most respectable citizens of the United States, much further urged their object, there would have succeeded a general and violent excitement; a fierce array of Sabbath and anti-Sabbath feeling and action. An immense injury to that sacred institution and to all religion would, to human view, have been the consequence. There is a whole class of social vices like this of Sabbath desecration, licentiousness, intemperance, profaneness, duelling, and others, which, if attacked in the modes of worldly wisdom and worldly force, are rarely given up without a determined and formidable resistance, attended with angry discussion, virulent anathemas, heart-burning alienations. It is not intimated that the brandishing of carnal weapons by the abettors of these social disorders, can be wholly avoided, even under the action of the peaceful Gospel of Jesus. It is not intimated that the friends of their total abolition from human society ought, in consequence of such unrighteous opposition, wholly to distrust the strong arm of power, or refuse to seek the aid of the ballot-box and of legislation. It is suggested that Christianity has a more excellent way, a way more gentle and pacific, and yet not at all less powerful and effective. Under the action of its uncompromising principles and its regenerating power deep in the moral life of the community, these mischiefs of society will generally be removed with almost no ostensible resistance and warfare. Herein is a happy illustration of the benign influence of the conservatism of the New Testament.

This conservatism appears nowhere perhaps with more decided advantage, than in the great work appropriate to religion of extinguishing domestic slavery. This is the great social evil of our country. It has more human passions and depravities pleading in its behalf, than any other sin belonging to civilized society. What power is competent to remove this wickedness without acrimony and violence! When we ask men to give up their slaves, we ask them, in the first place, to give up their property; they are wealthy this morning; our proposition is that by a single dash of the pen they write themselves poor. We ask them to give up their only means

of living, for, long dependant on slave-labor, they are incapable, at first, of all efficient, self-supporting efforts. We ask them to yield up their dignity and importance in the community, as independent gentlemen. We ask them to give up caste, and descend to what they deem the class of menials, or at least, to the condition of a laboring peasantry. We ask them to give up their ease, leisure, literary and refined gratifications. When was society ever kept quiet, while the interests and prejudices of men were thus sacrificed, and the deepest affections of their nature were torn out by the roots? There will be a revolt, deliberate and most stubborn, against such a great change of social condition. The institution of slavery will be adhered to with a tenacity like the grasp of death. In many cases life will sooner be yielded, than the advantages and distinctions supposed to be conferred by the system of domestic servitude. In touching this institution, it is to be recollected therefore, that we touch a sensitiveness to rank, honor, character, wealth, enjoyments, which has often drenched the earth with blood. Besides the difficulty of peacefully breaking up this institution, arising from the fact that every fibre of fallen human nature is to be broken in the effort, the spirit of man naturally revolts against force, against any direct legislation designed to thwart him, against even indirect movements, which, by a violent action on public opinion, shall become virtually compulsory. Man loves to do things of his own freewill, of his own independent impulses, especially great and noble things like this of slave emancipation. He is filled with indignation, if ostentatiously informed what is just and commendable in the premises, as if his own spirit did not prompt him to all that is right, praiseworthy and magnanimous. All approaches to dictation will ever be in danger of arousing slaveholding communities to terrible indignation, and a determined beligerent attitude. Here let us mark the happy manner in which Christian conservatism acts on this great evil, upgrown and vitalized, though it be, out of the very soul of society. That manner is dispassionate and accompanied with no disturbing influences. Christianity has been represented in this discussion as carrying into the inner man of the heart an influence radical, powerful and transforming. The effect is, among other things, to give fresh vitality and life to the conscience; to set up this righteous, inflexible judge at the very springs, where passion and depravity begin their work, and secure their future victory. This stern assertor of right, thus going back to pronounce condemnation on every original propensity that prompts to any wrong against a fellow-man, gives scarcely an opportunity for the awakening

of animosity or turbulence. Artillery is not planted outside of the walls, but a power is set up within the fortress, which has reduced it to terms. There is no adjustment at the point of the bayonet, because of a previous adjustment at the higher tribunal of the heart. Suppose, then, the question of slavery brought to the bar of a clear, sensitive, honest conscience planted by Christianity in the spirit of an intelligent slave-owner. Suppose a slave to appear there and to set forth all his crushing wrongs and put in all his claims for just redress. Or, if he has not skill and confidence enough for such a presentation personally, let this very ignorance and inability plead for him against the servitude that so blights and depresses his understanding. Let his very contentment with his drudging condition of servility, plead for him against the same servitude which so extinguishes the sensibilities of the soul. Let the lashes of the task-master, pushing him to his sweltering toils, let his coarsely clad frame, his naked children, his violated family — let all these plead for him. There is no public assembly; no audible speech or rejoinder; no abolition lecture to stir angry blood, no anti-abolition assertion and denunciation to outrage all human sympathy and justice. All silently and unobserved, in the secret chamber of the master's own spirit, the whole matter is settled. Present, *Court*: Chief Justice Conscience, unbribed, illuminated, quickened, fearless; *Plaintiff*: the downtrodden African with his clanking chains, his idiot intellect, his scars, his blunted sensibility, his heaving sighs for freedom; *Defendant*: the master in his aristocratic ease, luxury, independence; *Counsel for the plaintiff*: the Golden Rule and the immunities of humanity; *for the defendant*: paternal usage and the rights of property. Does any one doubt what will be the judgment of the court? There is no room for doubt. The poor, unpitied, enslaved being will be declared unlawfully detained. He will be set free! He will go forth with the high consciousness, so far as now capable of such a feeling, with the high consciousness that he is a man! that he is God's freeman! God's nobleman, with all the rights and dignities appertaining! In this action of Christianity by means of conscience, there is no dissatisfaction and contention, because the party resisting and belligerent has voluntarily stayed proceedings, abandoned the defence, receded cordially and quietly from the whole controversy. After the same conservative manner is the Christian religion, if but allowed to exert its legitimate power, fully able and adapted to break all the chains of the oppressed, to root entirely out of the community the extended, tenacious, cherished "domestic institution" without essentially ruffling the spirits of men or disturbing the public peace.

This bland action of the conservatism of Christianity is not confined to the evils which have been now referred to. In a method equally benignant and tranquillizing does it proceed in the restraint and eradication of all the sins which appear in human society. Even where, through the depth and violence of depravity and passion, there is left in its wake, a quaking and rumbling underneath the surface of society, it will be found generally to have effected, to such an extent, a neutralization of troubled and antagonistic forces, as to prevent all serious upheavings and outbreaks.

The allaying and exorcising of social evils, without stirring up rancor, rupturing bands of brotherhood, creating violence, preventing communities from pursuing calmly all their great purposes, is a truly noble service. There is an incidental result attendant upon this achievement, which renders it specially valuable and permanent. In the process of cleansing society of crimes, by drying up the bad passions which feed them, Christianity plants in men pure and ennobling affections. In removing pride, it substitutes humility, in extinguishing avarice, it kindles philanthropy, in eradicating envy, it gives birth to brotherly kindness, in destroying passion for worldly fame, devotion to sensual pleasures, feelings of revenge, it creates the desire of God's approbation, wide beneficence, the spirit of forgiveness. Besides Christianity, there is not another power in our troubled, stormy world, competent to a permanent extinction of social offences without a strife and shock of the social elements. As a threatening cloud uttering thunder, by means of numerous electric points shooting up into its bosom, has its angry fluid conveyed gently into the earth, and its quick and dreaded discharges all hushed, so a community overcharged with crimes may, by the presence and action of Christianity, be dispossessed in perfect quietness of its vicious ingredients, and be left to enjoy the happy and undisturbed influence of a pure religion.

These observations, in respect to the valuable influences of the conservative element in Christianity, can by no means lay claim to the fullness and dignity of an adequate discussion. They may serve as partial illustrations. They may serve to attract attention to the peaceful spirit and manner with which the Gospel enters upon all its earthly labors and accomplishes all its results. It has been the object to show that in every agitated and threatening moral convulsion, awakened by attempted purifications of human society, Christianity will be heard, uttering the sublime rebuke of Jesus to the storm: 'Peace, be still!' words of omnipotence, able to bring down a great calm upon a troubled community. Inasmuch as, through the

violent and wilful tenacity of depraved passion, all efforts to effect radical reformatations will ever tend to create an immense excitement, and a hostile rally and rush to resistance and conflict, a bland, conservative Christianity will be always and altogether indispensable. We turn to it with pleasure and confidence, as the sufficient and only peaceful reformer of the world. For six thousand years have threats and force been used upon man with but slight advantage. Let the world turn with hope to the more peaceful and powerful Christian principles, conscience and love.

If the view, which has here been taken of Christianity as a great conservative influence, be just, then must it be regarded a grand and fatal mistake to commit desirable reformatations to irreligion and infidelity. The infidel and irreligious may possess commendable good works, and may show an ostensible zeal beyond those whose hearts glow with the benevolence of the Gospel. But quickly, oftentimes, their fervor is seen to turn belligerent, to grow into intolerance and unforgiving abuse. By this means, the good cause is left to care for itself and to sink, while a war is carried on, in another quarter, against sinners personally, and not against their sins. There is no hope of reforms such as need not themselves reformation, except they are penetrated and conducted by the peaceful religion of Christ. To this agency alone has heaven committed them. Nearly the same reasoning dissuades from entrusting the improvements of society to outward organizations which are not also richly pervaded with the same mild spirit of Christianity. It is freely admitted that voluntary association is a very important principle in all social amelioration and advancement. But the danger is, that combination in and of itself, shall come to be entirely trusted, while the conservative vitalities of the Christian Religion are undervalued and dispensed with. The result eventually will be, the growth and exhibition of somewhat that is compulsory, overbearing and dictatorial. And associations not bearing themselves so meekly as they should, resistance may be offered, and resistance may be resisted, and hereby not only all efforts at improving society be totally paralyzed, but great disturbances be introduced. In societies, which do not assist the Gospel of Christ to announce a single claim of heaven, or to enforce a single religious obligation; in societies, whose members present if any, but the faintest exemplification of the graces of the Gospel, and but a very doubtful obedience to its precepts; in these, true reformers should place very little reliance for any thorough, quiet cleansing and transformation of human society. They will be likely to make more show than ad-

vancement, more contentions than conquests. Vice is not a thing so gentle, so yielding, so loosely settled upon the heart of communities, as to shrink unresistingly before constitutions and presidents and treasurers and meetings and platform-discussions. Let the true friends of reform march right out into the open field of the world, with the deep-working spirit of an omnipotent Christianity. The irruptions and progress of wickedness, it may be hoped, will in this way be effectively stayed, and the community be settled into tranquillity, at the same time that it is established in righteousness.

Equally unfortunate would it be, that reforms should be committed to political parties. Legislative prohibitions have in this discussion been admitted to be important. These, doubtless, at the right place, just in the rear of full and voluntary decisions of public sentiment, and as expressions of that sentiment, are of great value and power. But the eradication of an existing evil, left for accomplishment to the corruption and intrigue and crooked policy of partisan politicians and place-hunters, will be likely to be made the cause or pretext of a great and bitter political scramble. In the commotion which is raised, the crying sin, instead of being removed, will probably, like the oak in the winds, only shoot deeper its roots into the heart of society. The moment that reform undertakes to employ the sword of political power, the sword of God's Spirit, infinitely more efficient, falls from its hand. Christianity considers the appliances of diplomatic policy and influence, when made an ulterior confidence in the business of reformation, as a decided libel on her character. Are not her treasured heavenly truth and heavenly power capable of working irresistible regenerations gently in the wide heart of the people! Are not these enough without submitting important reforms to a combat of wily, mercenary politicians! The Gospel, in its unostentatious simplicity and divinity, in its pacific spirituality and omnipotence, should be our great reliable agency against all our evils, political, ecclesiastical and social. Some imagine that reform-movements, though rash and violent and at first view highly imprudent, may eventually work out good, and much advance consummations devoutly to be wished. God in his own pleasure may produce hurricanes and earthquakes and pestilences, as the means of valuable final results. But *men* have no authority to do such things. They must take the Gospel of peace, and, all instinct themselves with the spirit of peace, proceed to the needed transformations of human society. In its character as a pacific agency, Christianity by the wiser portion of mankind will be ever greatly valued and revered. Some minds might

prefer the more imposing and stirring things, involved in the preparations, tactics, struggles and shock of a great mental and moral war ! But the quiet changes, wrought by religion down in the deep soul of society, which produce a fair, blessed reformation and righteousness all over the surface of society, are far more desirable and God-like. We may well glory in a Christianity which, as a union of peace and power, of charity and omnipotence effects conquests without campaigns, subjugations without battles, alliances without compulsions. Such an instrumentality is the most important known under the government of God. Let Christians, with admiration and gratitude, mark how it enters into human communities — not violently to cauterise and amputate, but soothingly to remove external disease by healing the whole vital circulation — not to work in moral convulsions, while attempting to work out moral ailments, but, with far more efficiency than this implies, to recover all that is lost, renovate all that is destroyed, resuscitate all that is dead, without at all dispensing mischief or awakening violence. On the fore-front of our grand enterprise, human redemption, we are permitted to write: "Peace on earth, good will to men!" So far as we give Christianity its perfect work, we shall have the pleasure to witness, with but few exceptions, the evils among men, complicated and numerous though they are, yielding without commotion to its conservative power. Bright to us, therefore, is the vision of the promised day of a thousand years. Then a grand junction shall be effected, peaceably, of the kingdoms of this world with the eternal kingdom above; then to the shout from heaven, "Peace on earth, good will to men," shall go answering back from island and continent, from tribe and empire, from land and sea: "The wolf doth dwell with the lamb, the leopard doth lie down with the kid, the lion doth eat straw like the ox, the little child doth lead them. There is nothing to hurt or destroy; swords are beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks!"

ARTICLE VII.

THE SYSTEM OF THE JEWISH CABBALAH, AS DEVELOPED
IN THE ZOHAR.

By Dr. Theoph. Rubinsohn.

Introduction.

It is an undeniable fact that, at the time of the compilation of the Mishnah, a certain Mystic doctrine was known by the name of "construction of the chariot," *בנין עֲרֶכְבָּה*. But it is not at all demonstrated, whether the modern Cabbalah is in such a close connection with that doctrine, as the modern Cabbalists would make us believe. We, however, cannot pronounce an apodictic judgment, either in their behalf, or to the contrary, because the evidence is in neither case sufficiently strong.

Another question concerns the time at which the Zohar, the code of the Cabbalah, was written. In what age was it produced? Who was its author? These are the questions which the student naturally asks. The answer to them has engaged many pens, and much has been said on the subject. But most of the writers have copied each other, and have merely clothed old ideas in new words.

Another work of high reputation among the Cabbalists is the "Sepher Yetsirah," *סֵפֶר יִצְיָרָה*, i. e. book of the creation. To this book, most of the historians ascribe a high age. This is not the case with the Zohar, to which some ascribe a very recent one.

Concerning the age and writer of the "book of the creation," two opinions are worthy of our notice. The one, that its origin may be traced to the times of the Mishnical doctors, and that Rabbi Akiba was the author. There is, indeed, every probability that it was so. Another opinion is, that it was originated in the times of the Geonim, from 600 to 1000 after the birth of Christ, but this has no foundation whatever.

Those who are in favor of the last opinion, endeavor to sustain it by quoting from it words and phrases which, they say, are of a more recent date than that at which Rabbi Akiba lived.

A still greater uncertainty prevails about the age of the Zohar. Some believe, and this is the current opinion, that it was written in Palestine at the time of Rabbi Simeon Ben Yohai; but others, again,

believe that it was written by Rabbi Moses de Leon, a Spanish Jew, in the thirteenth century.

A third opinion is, that there are fragments in the Zohar of Rabbi Simeon's own doctrine, but that there have been also notes added to them by his disciples, and that it was completed, in the shape in which we have it, about the seventh century. The country of the entire book is Palestine. Rabbi Simeon, it is said, delivered, in the first century of our era, his doctrines with the elements of the Cabbalah to his disciples and friends in occasional chapters; which were handed down orally. These were, of course, enlarged with new comments, and in this shape the work came to Europe in the thirteenth century. It was kept a long time in secret, on account of its numerous attacks upon Asiatic religions.

Neither of these three opinions has much direct support. We can give no positive decision, which of them most deserves our confidence; but for the purpose of a purely scientific investigation of the system itself, the question is of no great importance. Yet two results are actually reliable. The one, that the Zohar cannot be Rabbi Simeon's production in the entire form in which we now have it; and the second, that if the author of the Zohar lived in the thirteenth century, the chief principles of the system are, however, not his own, but of high antiquity; and as to the sources from which he has taken them, it is indifferent whether they were Christian or Jewish, written or traditional.

The System of the Jewish Cabbalah, קַבָּלָה.

The attributes which the Scriptures ascribe to the Creator of the world are: (1) unity (Ex. 20: 3. Deut. 4: 35, 39. 6: 4); (2) immateriality (Ex. 20: 4. Deut. 4: 15); (3) eternity (Ex. 3: 14. Deut. 32: 40. Is. 41: 4); (4) immutability (Mal. 3: 6); (5) perfection (Deut. 32: 4. Job 37: 16. Ps. 18: 31); (6) goodness (Ex. 34: 6. Ps. 25: 10. 100: 5. 145: 9); (7) freewill (Gen. 1: 1. Ps. 104: 2, 3 ff.); (8) retribution for good and evil (almost on every page of the biblical history); (9) similitude with man (Gen. 1: 27).

These attributes caused the thinking and meditating Israelites to ask the following questions: How can infinite be reconciled with finite? How could matter have been produced from the absolute unembodied mind, and how multiplicity from unity? How is matter influenced by its author? What relation does the Creator bear to his creation, that we might justly infer his providence and government? What name is appropriate to point out a purely spiritual

being, or what may we suppose to be his form? How is man's similitude with God conceivable? How is imperfection and evil reconcilable with God's perfection and goodness? and lastly, To what purpose has God created the world?

The learned have generally endeavored to solve these problems by two methods, opposed to each other. Some recklessly trusting to the power of human study and research, rejecting positive faith, have attempted to reconcile contradictions by their reasonings and artificial arguments, and have produced the most absurd hypotheses to prepare the way for reconciling the problems, whose solution they have imposed upon themselves. They preferred to invent strange and unmeaning answers, rather than to confess their incapability of solving them, or to concede that man is not able to define God's nature and connection with the world exactly.

Others, again, have rejected reasoning on the subject altogether, saying: as creation is an evident fact, although an inconceivable one, they must, therefore, merely trust the Scriptures, by means of which they are enabled to raise themselves above the common human understanding, that is usually inclined to doubt any fact.

The object of the Cabbalah is to mediate between these two extremes. It teaches, on the one hand, that the creation cannot indeed be conceived of, by the limited human understanding; but, on the other hand, that there exists within man a certain consciousness of things, which the devout mind perceives to be true. The mind, thus constituted, can undertake the solution of the most difficult problems. The Cabbalah does not ask: how this or that was possible? but how it was produced? or, what means have been employed to produce it? what should be the result of our research in reference to the creation of matter, imperfection, evil, and so on?

After these general remarks, we proceed to show what the system of the Cabbalah is, and for the sake of obtaining a better view of its individual parts as well as of the whole system, we propose to exhibit it in distinct paragraphs, and afterwards to give a short summary.

§ 1. "If you wish to know the invisible things, you should endeavor first to have a clear understanding of those that are visible." This is thought to be the motto of the Cabbalah, whose system is chiefly based on analogy.

If we, say the Cabbalists, consider the visible things in this world and the universe as a whole, comparing them with the idea we have of their Maker's perfection, we must necessarily come to the conclusion, that other worlds also exist of a more perfect nature, than that

one in which we live. The degree of perfection of this our world leads us to infer the still greater perfection of its author.

But if we are, on the one hand, fully convinced of the Creator's perfection, when we cast only a single glance upon the universe, and see the constant revolutions of the solar system, the established laws of nature and the marvellous harmony that exists between the individual parts and the entire universe; we must, on the other hand, admit, that in our life in this world, there is change, inconstancy and infirmity. Yet, as an imperfect creation could not have been produced by a God, who is the source only of perfection, our world, consequently, occupies only an inferior degree of perfection among the other ranks of creation. In this world of ours, too, the goodness of God prevails, as it does also in the lowest of his creatures; but another world also exists, that is more perfect.

Between the higher region and that one in which we live, other worlds have their existence, which by their inferior degree of perfection are more similar to ours. All these worlds are closely connected together. There is nothing isolated, not even in the visible world. The difference between the highest region and the lowest one, may be as great as possible; they must, however, have the same form, because they are only links of one chain. To have, therefore, a proper idea of the life in the highest region, we must attentively observe the forms and the laws of the inferior, which forms and laws are also there, only in greater and superior perfection.

§ 2. A greater obstacle presented itself to the Cabbalists in attempting to solve the question about God's government of the universe. It seems, on the one hand, that God is too much above his creation, that he should have special care of individuals, and that it is not possible that the pure God should be so closely connected with impure matter; but, on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that throughout the universe, marvellous order and regularity prevail, which cannot but be ascribed to a premeditated plan and thoughtful design, which the creator has formed for the well-being of his creatures.

The question would still remain unsolved, if the attempt should be made to answer it, by assuming that God, as the first cause of all things, and according to established laws, influences some very high power, by which all other powers are influenced and set in motion and activity, and to which alone we should ascribe the immediate influence. For we might justly consider each specific act to be from God, on account of its being the effect of his general efficiency; since, as we reckon things after the order of their causes and

consequences, we shall always find it necessary to return to the first cause of all things, which is God. For if we should even grant that it is so, the individual powers of nature might not act in accordance with the direct will of God, and so the special providence of God towards individuals would still remain unsolved. We, also, could not assume an immediate, supernatural action of God, without his influence upon intermediate ranks, as the method of God's government of the world; because this might be said to be the mode of his dealings only in unusual, extraordinary events, that is, in such cases where their cause and end are generally known, and every one is conscious of them; but in the common course of nature, our understanding leads us to the conclusion, that his actions are regulated by established laws, and the Scriptures seem to be in favor of it.

We must, therefore, assume, that God has laws established for the course of nature, and that the immediate causes act after these laws, but that their actions are continually dependent upon the Divine will, so that God's coöperation is found even in the smallest changes which take place in the kingdom of nature, and that these happen with his intention and omnipotence. The term which the Cabbalah makes use of, to express this doctrine, is "meeting of God with the spiritual elements of the world," ריחוקי הדין לזמן, or "Sephiroth," סְפִירוֹת,¹ which run through all ranks of the universe, by which God is operating upon it, sending his will through these channels of nature's powers, and this will is his marvellous, regular government of the whole world.

A miracle, i. e. a change of this regular established government in nature, takes place only when God makes alterations in these higher organs, either by lessening their number, weakening their power, or effecting the contrary. This Divine coöperation does not contradict man's freewill, because it being merely a regulation of nature, it becomes then nature's law.

The Cabbalah, consequently, teaches that nature can never act without the will of God and his coöperation, by means of the Sephiroth. In accordance with this opinion, the Sephiroth are totally different from God himself, and this is especially taught by the cele-

¹ The Cabbalists are not decided concerning the derivation of the word "Sephiroth." Some derive it from סָפַר "to count;" because, they say, as the numbers from one to ten contain the elements of all numbers which are produced by their combination, so the ten Sephiroth contain all the channels of the intermediate worlds that connect our world with God. Others derive it from the Greek σφαῖρα, a ball or globe.

brated Cabbalist, Rabbi Raccanadi. But the opinion of Rabbi Isaac Luria and Rabbi Moses Corduero, that God is present in the Sephiroth, can also be reconciled with that of the Zohar, where it is taught, that God makes use of the Sephiroth as of channels, to manifest his will in nature.

We might, accordingly, assume, that God's connection with the world is *immanent*, but in fact we must think it to be *transcendent*. These seemingly contradictory ideas are occasioned by a passage in the Zohar, which, on account of its abstruseness, impedes the clear understanding. It runs thus: God is separated from the world entirely, and yet he is not separated; he has a form, and yet he has no form; he has a form, through which he preserves the world, and he has no form, because of his not being *inherent* in the world. פֶּרִישׁ וְאִתְפָּשֵׁת בְּיָדֵי מַבְלָא וְלֹא אִתְפָּשֵׁת אִתְפָּשֵׁת וְלֹא אִתְפָּשֵׁת אִתְפָּשֵׁת. בְּיָדֵי לְקִיּוּמָא עֲלָמָא וְלֹא אִתְפָּשֵׁת דְּגִין דְּלֹא תִּכְרִיז. Zohar 288. This doctrine, the Zohar considers to be of so great importance, that we are told, that it was communicated to the writer by the prophet Elijah.

"There is no doubt," says another writer of high authority among the Cabbalists, "that the world would not exist a single moment without God's assistance. We might compare the dependency of the world upon God, with that of light upon the sun. We may, therefore, say, that God is constantly creating, because the same will by which the world was called into existence, is still the sole cause of its being preserved. God is also capable (although he seldom exercises this power) of altering the course of nature; at least, it would not be a greater wonder, than the creation of the world from nothing." After several discussions on some scriptural passages, he continues to say: "I myself maintain, that whoever teaches that there are natural powers acting without the Divine coöperation, spreads false opinions among the people. Certain it is, that the manner in which God is connected with these powers is inconceivable; but it is not the less certain, that the freewill of man is not annihilated by it. Just so little do we know how man's freewill is reconcilable with God's prescience. Yet our confession of our ignorance of things which are out of the province of human knowledge, cannot be ascribed to man's depravity.

Maimonides, though a very different writer from our Cabbalist, was also engaged in the task of solving the same difficult problem. "Know," he writes in his book "Guide of the Perplexed," I. 72, "Know, that the whole of the universe, must be considered as one

individual thing. God must be thought of as the soul of the universe, because his connection with the world is as that of perception to the entire man. There is, however, the following difference. The power of perception is a capacity *inherent* in man, but God is not *inherent* in the body of the universe. He is separated from all its parts, although he is connected with it, in a manner inconceivable, through his government and providence. For it is strikingly demonstrated, that God is separated from the world, and that his government and providence may be known from the fact, that the most minute parts of the world are preserved." The idea of the learned Maimonides is, that God's relation to the world is as that of a cause to its effect; but the idea of the Cabbalist is, that God is the cause of the world, and coöperates with it by means of the Sephiroth. The doctrine of the Sephiroth is not contradictory to the common Jewish theory concerning the creation of the world. We may deduce even from the passages quoted, that also the more recent Cabbalists have attempted to advance proofs to identify the opinion of the Cabbalists concerning the Sephiroth with the common opinion of the Jewish divines about the government and preservation of the universe. This doctrine took its rise chiefly, to remove and to give a feasible answer to the perplexing questions about God's governing the world.

§ 3. From what we have already advanced, we perceive that the Sephiroth are not identical with God, and we might have passed it over, without treating the subject more fully, had not the Cabbalists been deeply engaged in the question: whether the Sephiroth are "identical with God or are only instruments?" *הַסְפִּירוֹת הֵם אֲדָמָה אוֹ כְּלִים*. The Cabbalist Rabbi Moses Corduero makes mention of two parties; the one headed by Reccanadi, who describes the Sephiroth as mere instruments of God's power, totally different from the eternal God; and the other headed by Rabbi David Abbi Simra, the author of *Migdal David*, who identifies the Sephiroth with the "En Soph," *אֵין סוֹף*. He advances a third opinion, which is his own, namely, that God is present in the Sephiroth, but not *inherent*; they can be considered neither as creatures and entirely distinct from God, nor as perfectly identical with God. His argument against his opponents runs thus: "If we," he says, "identify God entirely with the Sephiroth, we are at war with the scriptural dogma of God's immutability, that admits neither of multiplicity in God, nor of his being influenced by anything external; and if we assume an entire distinction of the Sephiroth from God, but concede to them something like divinity, we deify creatures, which is diametrically opposed to the doctrine of

one God." But it seems to us, that Rabbi Moses Corduero himself admits, by believing that God is present in the Sephiroth, a kind of divisibility in God, which is also in contradiction with the Mosaic view of God's nature. He is at all events correct in saying, that those who consider the Sephiroth to be creatures and Divine instruments "deify the creatures," *הַמְכִּירָה הַיְבִרָה לְבִרְיָא*, because they actually ascribe to them Divine power as possessing it of themselves; but he is incorrect with respect to the other party, which, agreeably to our view, teaches that the Sephiroth are not at all identical with God, and that their connection with God has its ground in the mediation they form between man's intellect and God.

§ 4. We have now arrived at a doctrine, which the modern Cabbalah considers to be one of the keystones on which it rests; but if it should be taken literally, it would by no means harmonize with the views we have advanced. It is the Cabbalistic doctrine of God's "concentration," *כִּדּוּד הַצִּמְצוּמִים*. "As God," the Cabbalists say, "is infinite, space, or the place of the world, must have been produced through an absolute concentration of God's own substance. This space, primitive air, was the beginning and the cause of everything created. This primitive air was not really empty space, but a certain creation, yet inferior to that of light." This doctrine has its origin in that of emanation, and is its inevitable consequence. The Cabbalists have this idea in common with other theosophists, who teach the dogma of emanation. Some modern Christian scholars hold, that the Cabbalists thought, by the doctrine of God's concentration, to be able to remove the notion of God's limited powers and his imperfection. (See Buhle, *Lehrbuch der Philosophie*, IV. p. 170 seq.) We are not investigating, whether the Cabbalists succeeded in their praiseworthy undertaking; but it may suffice here to state, that this doctrine is an hypothesis of the modern Cabbalah; the ancient Cabbalists knew nothing of *concentration* and *emanation*. Some of the modern Cabbalists, however, will have it understood in a figurative sense, that is, that by concentration is understood God's *condescension* to have care for the world's well-being, and his providence for every individual; in other words, they understand by it "God's meeting with the Sephiroth or with the elements of the spiritual world."

§ 5. The ten Sephiroth which are styled in the Zohar "the world of the Sephiroth," or "the heavenly man," *אָדָם עִילָאָה*, the modern Cabbalists call "the world of emanation," *עוֹלָם הַתְּאֵאִלּוּת*. We, of course, do not agree with this doctrine. If we examine the word *תְּאֵלּוּת* etymologically, we find that its meaning is uncertain. The

Cabbalist Irira proposes to translate it by "construere de non esse in esse," to make from a nonexistence an existence.¹ In the more ancient Cabbalistic writings, the word was never used to convey the idea of emanation. We read, e. g. in the Zohar (I. 22, a): "Everything was done in the way of creation, אֶצְלָהּ. He said "let there be light," and light became immediately a creation, אֶצְלָהּ. The verb אֶצַּל means "to produce," never "to emanate," which can, however, be expressed by the Niphal form אֶצַּל. (Comp. Gen. 27: 36. Num. 11: 17, 25. Koheleth 20: 10.) The noun אֶצְלָהּ has no definite meaning.

It seems that the term was adopted by the ancient Cabbalists, to signify neither more nor less than merely the absolute *act* of creation. In the biblical narrative of creation, three distinct terms are employed to signify the act of producing things, namely: Beriah, בְּרִיאָה, Asiah, אֶשְׂרָה and Yetsirah, יְצִירָה. The word בְּרִיאָה expresses the act of primitive creation, and also the giving shape and form to existing things; יְצִיר is used only to give the idea of producing forms; אֶשְׂרָה conveys also the idea of completion or adornment. Neither of these terms gives the *exclusive* idea of creating from nothing, since even the word בְּרִיאָה sometimes signifies the giving form to things already created. The Cabbalah, therefore, has chosen the word אֶצְלָהּ to convey the idea of a creation from nothing; hence the Cabbalah styles the first step of creation "Olam Haatsiloth;" the second one, "Olam Habberiah;" the third, "Olam Hayetsirah;" and the fourth, "Olam Haasiah." From what we have advanced, it may be seen, that we make use of the term "Atsiloth" to express the absolute creation from nothing, and not "Emanation." Some of the Cabbalists make use of the term, to express the idea of the most excellent world. (Comp. Ex. 24: 11. Is. 41: 9.)

§ 6. The inconceivableness of God's substance is a doctrine which is taught in the Jewish theology in common with the Cabbalah. There cannot be presented to us any intelligible view of the relation of God's essence to our mind, unless we observe the undoubted wisdom, regularity and order in nature, which lead us to the conclusion that there must exist a wise author, upon whose guidance and coöperation it is dependent, and in whose omnipotence it is grounded; in other words, we could know nothing of God's absolute substance, if he had not met the Sephiroth. By this act of God's meeting with the Sephiroth, God, "the unknown of all unknown," assumed a form by which he made himself known unto us. The Cabbalah, therefore,

¹ Maimonides' term for it is יְשׁוּעָה, existence from nothing.

styles the world of the Sephiroth, *the form of God*. But this form also would have remained unknown to us on account of its brightness and lustre, had not God clothed himself with a *vestment*, namely, the other worlds. The universe, viz. the visible world, is styled the vestment. Moses only was favored with a view of God's form, but all other men see God's vestment only. So we read in the Zohar (I. fol. 2, a): "When the hidden one was about to manifest himself, he created first a point (the first Sephirah), then formed it into a sacred shape, which he covered with a bright vestment; this is the world." It is necessary to bear in mind, that all that we have said, must be understood in its widest sense. The whole world of the Sephiroth forms the vestment of God. In a more restricted sense, the Zohar styles even the first of the Sephiroth a holy form; the other nine of the Sephiroth form, in their totality, a bright vestment, which is surrounded by other garments of inferior splendor.

§ 7. We have seen that the Cabbalah assumes that the relation of the lower worlds to the higher is as that of a copy to its original. It ascribes the forms of the visible world also to those which are invisible. Keeping this principle in view, the mystic appearance will dissolve, and instead of it there remains either a philosophical or a very plain sense. In the visible world, we perceive contrast everywhere, which is reconciled by a certain medium. This is especially perceptible in the distinction of sexes, and the instinct which reconciles them, to which we must ascribe reproduction, development, and preservation, both in the vegetable and animal kingdom. This perception that we obtain by the slightest observation of the laws of nature, the Cabbalists say, may analogically be traced to the highest and ideal worlds. They speak of a masculine or active, and of a feminine or passive principle in the highest worlds. This threefold principle they express by the name of "balance," because the two scales of a balance are two extremes, and the equality of the weight is exhibited by its tongue. They have chosen the balance as a symbol of the development of the Sephiroth, and of the life of the world.

§ 8. The masculine attributes, which are styled "the principle of mercy," חסד, are also called "the right side," סֵטְרָא דְּיָמִינָא; the feminine attributes, "the principle of justice or severity," דִּין, are called "the left side," סֵטְרָא דְּשְׂמָאלָא, and the medium, "the principle of beauty," תְּקוּנָה, is styled "the interior pillar," עַמּוּדָא דְּאֶמְצִיטָּה. These three principles, according to the Cabbalistic method of clothing spiritual ideas in such forms as to be perceived with the senses, are also known under the name of colors. Mercy is called

white, the proper color of light; justice or severity, *red*, the burning color; mildness or beauty, *green*, *blue* or *yellow*, the middle colors of the rainbow.

§ 9. The Sephiroth, as representatives of the principles above mentioned, are divided into groups, each consisting of three. Each of the groups consists of one masculine, one feminine, and one mediating Sephirah, which form a division of itself. That the Cabbalah assumes just three of the triunions, is based on analogy in the visible world. The book Yetsirah teaches thus: the centre of the universe is the heavenly dragon; the revolutions of the zodiac are the basis of time; the heart of man is his centre. The first is like a king upon the throne; the second like a king in the midst of his subjects; the third like a king in the battle-field.

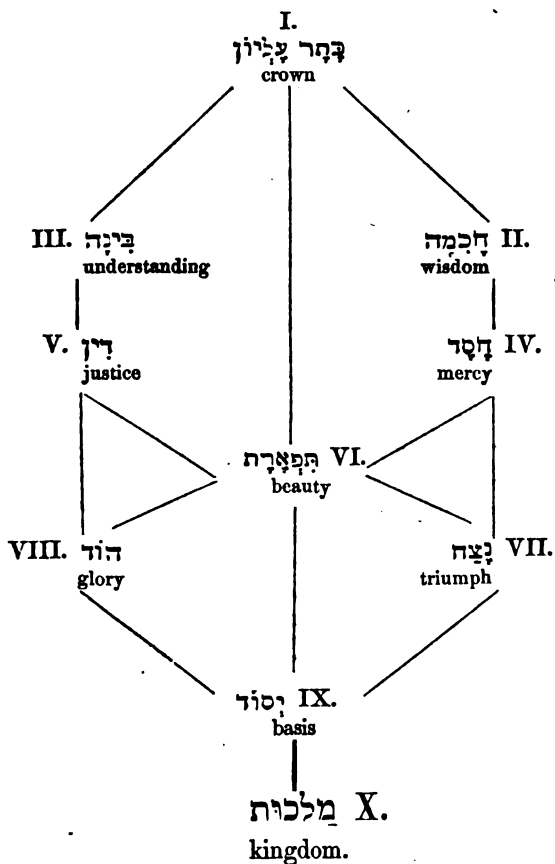
As the world of the Sephiroth is a prototype of all other worlds, it unites in itself also three parts. These divisions are still more connected with man, who being a small world in himself, bears also in him these three divisions. The spirit, *רוח*, will, *רצון*, and animal principle, *שקץ*, seem to correspond to the three divisions of the ideal world. For that reason, the Sephiroth are represented by the figure of a man, called the heavenly man. Sometimes they are represented by the figure of a tree, the Cabbalistic tree, because its root, trunk, and top, answer to their three divisions.

§ 10. The Zohar advances various views of the Sephiroth, but the most comprehensive is, that they must be regarded as one connected organization without taking special notice of the individual Sephiroth which are of secondary importance. United they are called, the heavenly man, or the highest region, or the figure of God. Another view is, that the Sephiroth are divided into two parts, the one containing the crown, the other, the remaining nine Sephiroth. The crown represents the first act of God's creation, and, bearing in it the germ of the other Sephiroth, is styled "the long countenance," *אריזת אצילות*; the other Sephiroth, "the small countenance," *אצילות אצילות*. The first of the Sephiroth forms a holy figure, which is covered by the other Sephiroth as if with a bright vestment. Its name is "crown," *קדושה*, on account of its high position. A third view is, that the Sephiroth are divided into three parts. We find it explained thus:

An architect is going to build a palace; first he designs his *plan* in his mind; afterwards he thinks of the *manner* in which the workmen should build it; and finally he thinks of the *means* to carry out his design. The first, the plan, is represented by the first division,

consisting in the united Sephiroth of crown, wisdom and understanding; the second, the manner, by the second three, consisting of mercy, justice, and mildness or beauty; the third, the means, by the third division, consisting of power, glory, united in the basis. These, united, make God's government, and have the name of "kingdom." All these views have only a secondary value, and that of the Zohar is the best.

CABBALISTIC TREE.



§ 11. The ten Sephiroth, the Cabbalists say, correspond with the ten names of God which occur in the Scriptures. It must, however, be observed, that these Divine names are also denominations of the

Sephiroth; but that both the Sephiroth and the Divine names are epithets of the "Infinite One," אֵין סוֹף, which epithets answer to the Divine works. The Divine names, as well as the Sephiroth, express nothing more than what men deduce from nature, and regard as God's qualities, only in the highest degree of perfection. The Scriptural names of God do not signify God's real essence, but only his relation to men and to the world at large; which is quite satisfactory, because the Bible speaks to men as to created beings; but the Cabbalah speaks of God as existing before the creation of the world, and of his absolute existence without connection with matter, and therefore invented for that purpose a new name, to denote this abstract idea. This name is "En Soph," אֵין סוֹף.

Neither the Divine names, nor the Sephiroth, convey the same idea of God in every place, in which they occur, but their signification is everywhere such, as the narrative concerning God's manifestations require.

If we desire to express the first action of God at the beginning of the creation, and also God's relation to the world, the Cabbalah presents to us the name of "crown" כֶּתֶר. This idea, however, is so darkly expressed, that the Cabbalists found it necessary to invent a new name, and this they did by styling it "En Soph." When we speak of the first created substance, the first Sephirah, which carries in it the germ of the development of the world, and wish to signify it by some word, we employ, or rather God taught us to employ, the name of Ehyeh, אֶהְיֶה, i. e. "I am," or "I shall be;" the capability of development in this substance the Scriptures denote by the name of "Asher Ehyeh," אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, "who shall be;" the same substance in the actual commencement of development, Scripture styles "Jehovah," יְהוָה, "being, creating, preserving." The connection of God with the world, Scripture styles "Elohim," אֱלֹהִים, and, therefore, in the Scriptural narrative of creation, the term "Elohim" is used. This connection lasts eternally, which is the cause of the world's preservation. After the first account of the final act of creation, the Scriptures join to "Elohim" also "Jehovah;" the second chapter of Genesis speaks of "Jehovah Elohim" who made the earth and the heavens. Jehovah is also Elohim. These names are inseparable. Men generally are ignorant of it, and err in the true faith hence arises gross and refined idolatry. There are many who ascribe everything to nature, accident and fortune; these are their gods; but God's providence is quite out of the range of their thoughts. This is nothing else than a kind of polytheism. But the prophets,

says the Zohar, predicted, that all idolatry shall cease, the gross as well as the refined. The world shall increase in the knowledge of God, and shall know that God, though high above all comprehension, and justly called "En Soph," is however connected with the world. In that day Jehovah and his name shall be one (Zohar, XIV. 9), i. e. the name "Mi," מי, or who, in "Elohim," אֱלֹהִים, shall not be any more separated from Jehovah.¹ We find in the Zohar various portions treating on the names of God, which appear quite mysterious; but they are clear and intelligible, if explained in accordance with our method. Another seeming difficulty we find in the following passage: "Come and see; wisdom, חֵכְמָה (thought) is the beginning of development; yet this beginning is concealed and mysterious; but by further development, it reaches the point where the spirit rests, and there it is called 'understanding,' בִּינָה, which is here less mysterious than before. This spirit, viz. understanding, develops itself still further, and produces a voice, which is the amalgamation of matter and power. The voice becomes 'word,' that is, the true expression of the spirit, and intelligible speech becomes audible. But if thou consider all these degrees, thou wilt find, that 'thought,' חֵכְמָה, understanding, בִּינָה, voice, קוֹל, and speech, דְּבַר, are all one." The same tie binds them together, wisdom being the commencement of all development, and this again is connected with 'En' אֵין, from which it is inseparable." (Zohar, I. 246, b.) The Zohar endeavors to convey the following idea: Creation is an organization of which the primitive substance is "the point," נִקְוָה; the Sephiroth are the powers of development; visible nature is the most abundant display of creation, and the principle of existence, the preserving and enlivening power of God, through whose uninterrupted coöperation, the whole development of the world is made possible.

§ 12. We reiterate that the chief method of the Cabbalah is, to ascribe analogically the same qualities and forms to the invisible, spiritual things, which we find among things of the visible world. Keeping this fact in our view, we shall understand the following. In the visible world we observe a certain dependency of the inferior beings upon the superior; the same is also in the vegetable kingdom. Planets receive their light from the sun; the earth receives rain from the clouds; no plant can grow and develop itself without light and heat; we also observe that the impulse comes from below; vapor

¹ Elohim consists of two syllables. The one "Mi," who; the other "Elch," these. Before the creation, God's name was "Mi," who; but after he created "Elch," these things, his name became "Elohim."

risks from the earth and changes in the air into rain; the embryo is produced, before it receives a life and soul from a higher power; this is also, the Cabbalah teaches, the case in the higher and the highest regions. If all the worlds are linked together, as links of a chain, they must be in mutual reciprocity. In the same connection in which each division of the Sephiroth stand to each other, they stand also with the lower worlds. The impulse, however, must be given from below, i. e. from man; and when the higher powers receive it, blessings flow from above in abundance.

§ 13. Our world is of all worlds the most perfect one; its forms, the most proper and convenient; the whole creation, a perfect masterpiece. God created many worlds, he found them to be imperfect, he destroyed them, and created the present world, which is quite perfect. There are, according to the Zohar, four distinct principles of existing forms; first, the so-called "balance;" secondly, the same principles of existence as attributes of God, or the union of mercy with severity or justice; thirdly, "the connection of God with the world;" and fourthly, "humanity" or "the human form." This doctrine is in the Zohar mystically expressed. "Before the balance existed," says our writer, "they — the king and the queen — had not seen each other face to face, and the primitive kings — the old worlds — died for want of nutriment. The balance has no other support but from itself. What is not, what is, and shall be, all things, the balance bears and will bear." (Zohar, II. 176, b.) In another place we read thus: There have been several worlds, but the principle of mildness was not predominant; they could not be preserved, until heavenly Goodness condescended to mitigate severity, and the being of the world was made possible. (Zohar, III. 142, b.) Again we read: Before the Ancient one, the most hidden, prepared the royal figure, the crown of crowns, there was neither beginning, nor end; he spread, therefore, a garment before him, in which he designed the kings — the worlds — and their forms. But they were imperfect, and he destroyed them; until he himself condescended to the garment, and assumed a form. (Zohar, III. 128, a.) Finally, we read: the old worlds could not exist, because man was not created. The human form contains every other form, man being a small world in himself, *μικρόκοσμος*. These worlds had not the proper form, until man was created. (Zohar, III. 135, b.)

We shall now sum up the whole system under the following heads:

1. God's being is incomprehensible; we can neither describe it by a name, nor by attributes, much less can we have any idea of his form.

Yet the Cabbalah invented a name to denote this incomprehensibility, viz. the negative term "En Soph" or "En." 2. God, willing to manifest himself, to spread happiness and bliss, and to make known his greatness, glory and dominion, assumed a form for our sake, i. e. that we might know him. 3. This form is the world of the Sephiroth, or the first degree of creation, whose name is "the heavenly man." 4. All ideas, attributes, and expressions, which the prophets used, and which we have in the Scriptures, must be applied to God's form and vestment only, because his essence itself is inexplicable. They are, however, attributes of God exclusively. They are inferences which the prophets made from the works of the Creator. 6. As the essence of God is not known to man, the ideas which men have of him are different from each other. 7. The prophets even differ in their descriptions of God's being, and these are accommodated to the prophet's power of comprehension and constitution of mind. 8. This strikingly demonstrates, that men will never obtain perfect knowledge of God's essence; but this should not prevent them from endeavoring to obtain that knowledge of God, which they can acquire by the proper use of their faculties. 9. This, too, is quite sufficient to make man happy, *and even the highest spirits have only imperfect knowledge of God's essence.* (Zohar, II. 100, a.) If we do *everything* in our power to obtain the knowledge of God, it will contribute to our happiness, both here and hereafter. 10. God created first a purely spiritual substance which is "the primitive point," or the first Sephirah, or the crown. 11. God gave to this substance the greatest power of development to produce the other Sephiroth. The nine following Sephiroth are the development from the first Sephirah or "primitive point." 12. Their evolutions took place in the following manner: When the first substance developed itself, it produced two principles opposed to each other; the one masculine, active, giving; the other feminine, passive, receiving; they are called "father and mother," אבא וימא, or "wisdom and understanding." 13. These two opposing principles are reconciled by a medium, and become "inseparable friends." This reconciling principle, the son, as the Zohar styles it, is like the father and the mother, and his name is "knowledge," דעת; but this is not a special Sephirah. The union of these opposing principles is in the crown. 14. The first division of the Sephiroth is called "the intelligible world," עולם המדע. 15. The second of the Sephiroth consists also of two opposing principles and a mediating one. The masculine, "mercy;" the feminine, "justice;" the mediating, "beauty." This is called

"the material world," עולם המדבור. 16. The third division consists of a masculine, "power;" feminine, "brightness;" and the mediating "basis." This is "the natural world," עולם הטבע. The last two divisions have also the name, "Sephiroth of the construction," ספירות הבנין. 17. The harmony of the Sephiroth, and their united influence upon the lower worlds, has the name of "kingdom," מלכות. 18. All the Sephiroth, united, form "the world," עולם. The world of the Sephiroth is the highest world, which the modern Cabbalists call "Olam Haatsiloth." 19. By a gradual development, first appeared "the world of pure spirits," called "the throne," כתר, or "Olam Habberiah;" then followed "the world of angels," or "Olam Hayetsirah;" finally, "the world of action," containing the evil spirits, קליפות, the spheres, גלגלים, and matter at large, and styled "Olam Haasiah." 20. Each of these worlds has also its Sephiroth, similar to those of the highest world; they are together in the closest union. 21. There are four worlds, and as many decades of Sephiroth. The world of Atsiloth, the next to God, contains the ten Sephiroth in the highest perfection; they are a perfect manifestation of God; they remain unchanged. The world of Beriah is the next to the Atsiloth world; the substances in it, are still of a spiritual nature, unmixed with matter. The world of Yetsirah is the third. The substances there are not of matter; they can, however, be divided. It is the world of angels, which contains beings endowed with intellect and having no bodies, but covered with a garment of light; when they appear to men, they assume a human form; finally follows the world of Asiah; it consists of all the heavy matter, limited by space, and perceived by the senses. It is constantly changing; appears and disappears. The Cabbalists style it, "the world of show and falsehood." 22. The lower worlds are copies from the worlds above, but are in mutual reciprocity. 23. God gave to the first point, i. e., the first created substance, the power of development; this should not be understood, as if God left the development under the guidance of any power in nature, which acts without his assistance; but the Cabbalah teaches, that nothing can be done without God's coöperation, i. e. God condescended to the Sephiroth, and is present in his creation. 24. God has not made use of the Sephiroth as instruments to finish the structure of the universe, but they are his channels, צנוריות, through which his creating powers are carried to the extreme ends of the world. All things rest upon God, who is, so to speak, still creating. He is operating through them upon the whole of the universe to give it the necessary forms,

and to have upon it his special providence. 25. Through the Sephiroth, man is able to have a knowledge of God, although only imperfectly. As man knows that all things bear the stamp of God, he need only observe closely the perfect forms in the universe, in order to infer the still greater perfection of its Creator. 26. The ideas we have of God's essence, which are conveyed to us by the Sephiroth, are by no means always the same. They differ according to the distinction of their position. The ideas we obtain through the first Sephirah are obscure and mysterious, and no man can penetrate them. 27. More comprehensive ideas we obtain by the means of the second division of the Sephiroth. It calls our attention to the principles on which God founded the world, namely, mercy, justice and beauty. 28. Clearer still is the view we obtain through the third division. The last of the Sephiroth denotes the harmony of all the Sephiroth, the Divine providence and government, the Shekinah, שְׁכִינָה. 29. The Sephiroth are the spiritual elements of nature, from which we know also the Divine attributes, not according to their reality, but according to our capability of understanding them. 30. The Sephiroth are also styled "the chariot," מְרִכְבָּה, i. e. the throne of the Deity. 31. The creation has not come forth from the hands of God as a perfect work, but as a primitive substance, which was left to perfect itself. But the more it extended and became enlarged, the more it lost of its intensity; the further it removed from its source, the more it became material and deteriorated; because the further nature is removed from its spiritual elements, it becomes imperfect, needy and destitute, so that a beneficial progress can only gain ground by a struggle with want and error. 32. With the appearance of evil, the order of God in nature might have been annihilated, if God had not descended to the lowest degrees of creation, and so preserved it; in other words, had not God's dominion prevailed even in inert matter, in order that his providence should not be impeded, despite of domineering evil. This comes to pass through man, who is conscious of the existence of evil and good. This consciousness is imperfect in the worldly man, and perfect in the heavenly man. It should be man's study to become like the heavenly man, which is obtained through the aid of God himself. (Zohar, III. 144, a.) Hereafter, the Cabbalah promises in common with the Scripture, that the good will become established, and the evil eradicated from the world. 33. As man unites in himself spirit and matter, he spiritualizes also matter, and by this means he effects unity among all worlds, and approaches God, the source of perfection.

34. With respect to this great task, which man has to accomplish, "similitude" with God is ascribed to him, and he makes himself worthy of being under the special providence of God, הַשְׁתַּנְהוּת פְּרָטִית. This important position which man occupies in creation, the Cabbalah styles "End of creation." Ezekiel saw a man sitting on a throne, and the three divisions of the Sephiroth, correspond to man's spiritual principles, Nephesh, Ruah, and Neshamah; נֶפֶשׁ, רוּחַ, נְשָׁמָה.

ARTICLE VIII.

PROLEGOMENA TO TISCHENDORF'S NEW EDITION OF THE SEPTUAGINT.¹

Translated from the Latin by Charles Short, M. A., Roxbury, Mass.

§ 1. AMONG the literary remains of sacred antiquity, the Septuagint Version, so called, of the books of the Old Testament, holds a distinguished place. The whole of it, or rather a part,² was believed to have originated in an extraordinary manner before the Christian era,³

¹ *Η ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ. Vetus Testamentum Græce juxta LXX. Interpretes. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos Novi Testamenti parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephraemi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subjunxit, commentationem isagogicam prætexuit Constantinus Tischendorf, Theol. et Phil. Doctor, Theol. Professor. Lipsiæ: F. A. Brockhaus. 1850. II. Tom. 8vo. pp. lx, 682, 588.*

For some account of the labors of Tischendorf, see the Critical Notices at the close of this Number.

² For the expressions *νόμος*, *νομοθεσία*, *τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντα*, used by Aristæas and Aristobulus, and nearly the same by Josephus and Philo, are of uncertain import. A few in modern times, as Valckenær, Haevernick and Oiconomos, explain them to mean the whole of the Old Testament. See next page, notes 2 and 3.

³ The most ancient authorities for this are: (I.) Aristæas, of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in a letter current under his name to Philocrates; and (II.) Aristobulus, of the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, in Clem. Alex. Strom. I, p. 410, ed. Potter, p. 341 seq. ed. Lutet. 1641, and in Eusebius, Præp. Evang. IX. 6; ed. Gaisf. II, p. 356; XIII, 12; ed. Gaisf. III, p. 310; Hist. Eccles. VII, 32; ed. Heinich II, p. 420.

which was the opinion of Josephus and Philo;¹ and being often adduced by the apostles with marked deliberation, even when it did not coincide with the Hebrew text, it thus acquired a new authority which was supported by the belief and the use both of very many of the most eminent of the Fathers² and of the Church itself. And though St. Jerome set aside,³ and with reason, the miracle recorded in the letter of Aristeas, and produced a new Latin version from the Hebrew sources, his influence was not sufficient to despoil the Greek text of its ancient rank,⁴ or to drive it from general use.

§ 2. At the earliest dawn of letters, therefore, after the long night of the Middle Ages, learned and pious men strenuously exerted themselves in preparing editions of the LXX, and even the Roman Pontiffs undertook this work for the benefit of the Christian world. In the year 1587 appeared the edition of Sixtus V, who before his as-

¹ Josephus, *Antiqq. Jud.* XII, 3. 2 seq. Philo de Mose, II, p. 139 seq. ed. Mangey. Moreover, Philo invariably and Josephus commonly quoted the Greek text, not the Hebrew, in their writings.

² Very many, as Justin, Irenaeus, Clemens Alex., Origen, Epiphanius, Hilary, Augustine and Rufinus, not only maintained that all the books of the Old Testament were rendered into Greek by the LXX, but even received the tradition of Aristeas concerning these translators. It is a matter of surprise that Justin and Irenaeus themselves, and also Epiphanius, should have made many additions to the old tradition, which were soon generally believed.

³ Jerome without hesitation rejected those things with which the superstitious zeal of Aristeas had set off history and also firmly held that the Pentateuch only was translated by the LXX. On *Ezech. V.* he has: *Although Aristeas, Josephus, and the whole Jewish sect, aver that only the Five Books of Moses were translated by the LXX.* And on *Ezech. XVI*: *Although the learned show that only the Five Books of Moses were translated by the LXX.* He makes similar statements elsewhere. In his *Apolog. adv. Rufin.* II, he says as follows: *I know not who first built of his own falsehoods the LXX. cells of Alexandria, to which, though separately assigned, they all wrote the same things; while Aristeas a ὑπερασπιστὴς of the same Ptolemy, and Josephus of a period long subsequent, relate no such thing, but merely state that the LXX. assembled in the cathedral and translated, not prophesied; it being one thing to be a prophet, another to be a translator; for, in the former case, the Spirit makes known the future, in the latter, learning and a command of language simply transfer ideas from one tongue to another.*

⁴ At length in later times both the inspiration of the version and nearly the whole account of the meeting of the Translators at Alexandria have been rejected by theologians very unanimously. Of the small number who take a different view, the most distinguished is, beyond question, Constant. Oiconomos, of Athens, who has recently published four volumes on this subject, full of learning and enthusiasm, under the title: *Περὶ τῶν ὁ, ἐμνηνευμένων τῆς παλαιᾶς θείας γραφῆς βιβλία δ'. Συνταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Οἰκονόμου τοῦ Οἰκουμένου Πατριαρχικοῦ Θρόνου, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐξ Οἰκονόμων.* αἰμιδ seq.

cension to the Apostolic See, had been the adviser and supporter of Gregory XIII. in attempting the same object.¹ This edition soon attained such a reputation, that it was everywhere preferred to the Venice and the Complutensian, which had preceded it by sixty years; nor was it afterward deprived of its preëminence by the Alexandrine codex, published under the supervision of Ernest Grabe. It is easy to state how it gained this distinction. It was from the circumstance that the Roman editors professed to have used, and almost in fact did use, as the basis of their edition, the very ancient Vatican MS., while each of the previous editions had been made to follow rather arbitrarily the authority of the later MSS.,² and Grabe too highly valued

¹ Pius V. had already directed his attention to this project, though no mention is made of this fact either in the Dedicatory Letter of Antonio Carafa to Sixtus V, in the Preface to the Reader, or in the Decree of the Pope. Jos. Silos, however, in the *Hist. clericor. regul.* P. I, B'k XIII, for the year 1575, bears testimony to it as follows: *The sacred Council of Trent carefully looked to this elegance of the Holy Scriptures, and in accordance with its decree Pope Pius V. undertook to revise them. Agellio being at that time in high repute at Rome for a critical acquaintance with the Sacred Books and with the literature upon them, and being especially skilled in languages, no discussion could be held concerning the minute points of this most weighty matter without consulting him with a few others, and employing him in the work. On this account, as he testifies himself in a letter to Latino Latini, this labor was intrusted to him in conjunction with the very learned Mariano Vittorio B'p of Rieti, to Paulinus, a Dominican, and to Father Emmanuel Sa of the Society of Jesus.*

The supposition that in the foregoing, the Latin Scriptures, to which evidently the decrees of the council of Trent refer, are meant, rather than the Greek Scriptures, is precluded by what follows, where the LXX. themselves are mentioned.

² The *Editio Complutensis* is found in the Complutensian Polyglott: *Biblia Hebr. Chald. Graec. et Lat. nunc primum impressa*, in Complutensi universitate de mandato et sumptibus Franc. Ximenez de Cisneros (Archbishop of Toledo) industria Arn. Gu. de Brocario 1514-17, 6 voll. It was not published till shortly after 1522. This edition after a long period is now commonly rejected because an aim to accommodate the Greek text to the Hebrew appears. For this reason Walton declared it to be inferior to every other edition and to be the farthest removed of all from the genuine work of the LXX, alleging that it was indeed a new version and made up partly of the LXX, partly of the additions of Origen from Theodotion, partly of those of Aquila, Symmachus, and of other translators; and that it was, moreover, stuffed with the words of the Greek commentators, that by this means it might more exactly correspond to the Hebrew text, column to column. From what MSS. it was derived, is uncertain. The MSS. at the same time the most ancient and the most correct, which the Editors praise as used by them, are certainly, in our judgment, not rightly so styled. The Complutensian text has several times been reprinted. See further concerning this edition and the Aldine, in Grabe, *Proll.* c. III.

The *Editio Veneta* or *Aldina*, in three volumes, which contain the whole Bible

the Alexandrine codex, and without sufficient reason was required to conform somewhat to the Hexapla of Origen.¹ Yet among those profoundly acquainted with the sacred text, it is fully agreed that these three editions have each its peculiar excellences, and especially the Alexandrine, but that even the Vatican is by no means perfect in all respects,

§ 3. Under these circumstances, what was to be done by an editor who now proposed to prepare a new edition? If we possessed a critical apparatus which embraced many and particularly the most ancient authorities and accurately gave all the various readings, the arduous task of revising the text ought to be undertaken, since in that case it might be. But we are so far from having such an apparatus, that should one wish to furnish it, he could not employ the famous work of Holmes even as a foundation for his own; and, indeed, it would have betokened no slight rashness to attempt a new revision of the LXX, and at the same time to know how imperfect are the means which could be commanded for a perfect recension. It was the more proper for me to abstain from revising the text, because the edition I had in contemplation was intended for common use, not for the learned curiosity of a few persons. I thought, however, it was my duty not to decline the labor, if by a new manual edition I could contribute anything for a cautious but real advancement of criticism. My purpose, therefore, is to exhibit anew the text best approved during the last three centuries nearly, adding all the different lections of three very ancient MSS., which, as being the edited MSS., were almost the only ones I could employ with confidence. I thought if this course should be pursued, what was less correct or what was wrong in the Vatican text, would not be set forth as certain or right, nor would anything be rashly changed, nor one doubtful thing be replaced by another.

I must state at greater length what principles I adopted in reprinting the Roman text, and in what manner I have used the MSS. in

in Greek appeared in 1518 from the office of Aldo and his father-in-law, Andrea d' Asola. Though this for some time was pronounced purer than the Complutensian and much closer to the Roman, it yet departed from the truth in various important particulars, as Usher has already stated in these words: *I have remarked that this edition sometimes follows not the LXX, but the readings of Aquila; and that a great number of glosses are found here which were first made on the margin of the MSS. and afterward received into the text, these being taken from the various editions and versions and also found in passages quoted by the Apostles with variations from the common Greek reading of the LXX.*

¹ On this see below.

my apparatus; but before proceeding to do this, I must give a somewhat extended account of the Vatican edition.

§ 4. This edition, styled *Editio Romana*, has the title: *η παλαια διαφραγή κατα τους εβδομηκοντα δι αυθεντίας ξυστον ε αυρον αρχιερεως εκδοθεισα. Vetus Testamentum juxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. P. M. editum.* The book is very large, and consists of 788 pages. The pages of the text are divided into two columns, containing each about fifty-five lines. The chapters are distinguished, but not the verses. In the text no larger character is used to denote proper names or any others, or to mark the beginning of sentences. At the end of the chapter, notes are commonly subjoined,¹ in which the readings of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, or of the Fathers, translators, or MSS. are given, and the more difficult places explained. Thus under Gen. i. we find:

“α. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. Aquila, κένωσις καὶ οὐδέν. Symmachus, ἀργὸν καὶ ἀδιάκτιστον. Theodotion, κενὸν καὶ οὐδέν. β. Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ. A. et S., συστήτω. γ. Σπείρον σπέρμα. A., σπερμάτιζον εἰς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν. δ. Εἰς φανῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.” L. V., εἰς φανῶν τῆς γῆς.”

And under Exod. xxxiii.:

“α. Καὶ εἰσάξω σε εἰς γῆν. AA. LL. εἰσάξει. quod probavit S. Augustinus in Quaest. β. Ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτὸν. AA. LL. δεῖξόν μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν. γ. Γνωστῶς ἵνα ἴδω σε. AA. LL. γνωστῶς ἴδω σε. δ. Τὸ ἔθνος τὸ μέγα τοῦτο. In aliis libris deest τὸ μέγα, nec legit S. August. in Quaest.”

Also under Ps. iii.:

“α. Ψαλμός. Scholion, ᾠδὴ, καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς βίβλου ὁμοίως. β. διάψαλμα. Sch. Θεοδοτίων καὶ Σύμμαχος, διάψαλμα. ἡ δὲ πέμπτη ἔκδοσις. διαπαντός. καὶ δι' ὅλης δὲ τῆς βίβλου ἐπὶ τοῦ διαψάλματος ὁμοίως ἐκδεδώκασι. De hoc autem disputatum est a S. Hieronymo in Epist. ad Marcellam. γ. ἐξ ὄρων ἁγίου αὐτοῦ. Aquila, ἡγιασμένου. Symmachus, ἁγίου ἱαντοῦ. δ. ἀντιλήψεται μου. Justinus

¹ Pierre Morin states that he made special contributions to the notes. In a letter to Silvio Antoniano he writes as follows: *The task of disentangling and reading through the commentaries on the Old Testament in the Vatican, which are called Catenae, was exclusively assigned to me, with a view to my extracting the various readings and explanations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, and also of the Editio Quinta and Sexta, and transferring them to the notes which I had undertaken to write. The immense labor of reading so much, I accomplished after some years, and emended very many passages by conjectures founded in the Hebrew.*

legit ἀντελάβετό μου. et ita est in paraphrasi Chaldaica, Psalterio Aethiopico, et Arabico. Item in translationibus Latinis, *suscipit me.*

To the text are prefixed the following :

1. *ταξις των της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλιων εν τηδε τη εκδοσει.*¹
2. Letter of Cardinal Antonio Carafa, Librarian of the Vatican, dedicating the work to Pope Sixtus V.
3. Preface to the Reader.²
4. Decree of Sixtus V. concerning the edition.

§ 5. The letter of Antonio Carafa to Sixtus V. is as follows :

“ It is now nearly eight years since your Holiness, being exceedingly desirous to promote the interests of sacred learning, advised Pope Gregory XIII, of blessed memory, to revise according to the authority of the most esteemed MSS., the sacred books of the LXX, which both the Greek and the Latin Church have used even from the days of the Apostles. When your Holiness, in your critical reading of the Sacred Scriptures, had remarked that passages almost without number were quoted from them by the early writers of the Church with variations from the text of the current copies of the Greek Bible, judging that these discrepancies proceeded solely from the variety and the confusion of the renderings of ancient translators, you decided with the greatest propriety, that an appeal should be made to the MSS. of the highest character, with a view to draw from them, as much as possible, the reading which constituted the true and uncorrupted version of the LXX. I therefore very greatly admire your piety and wisdom, seeing that many years afterward the same plan suggested itself to the mind of your Holiness in regard to a careful revision of the Greek Scriptures, which I learn from the unpublished Acts of the Council of Trent, that the holy Fathers there assembled once had in view, being induced to this by the authority of the genuine and pure Version of the LXX, and by their reverence for it. When the duty of performing this revision was devolved on me by Gregory XIII, whose projects had the special aim to extend the Christian Religion as widely as might be, I had the best MSS. sought out in the more famous libraries of Italy, and the various readings copied from them and sent to me. These readings being repeatedly examined by the diligence of the accomplished scholars I had selected for this purpose with the judicious aid of Cardinal Guglielmo Sireto, whom I had purposed to consult on the more difficult passages on

¹ The order of the books, as given in the Vatican edition, is precisely that which we have adopted.

² By Pierre Morin.

account of his eminent learning and his various acquaintance with languages, they were carefully compared with your MS. in the Library of the Vatican, over which your grace lately placed me. By this collation and by the agreement of the Vatican MS. with the early ecclesiastical writers, we inferred that this codex excelled the others in age and in purity; and above all, that it very nearly approached if not throughout, at least in the greater part, to the very work of the LXX. which we were striving to regain. This seeming evident to me from the title itself, *κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα*, as well as from much other testimony, in compliance with the judgment of the persons above alluded to, I was careful to have this book edited according to the Vatican MS., or rather because that MS. was highly approved to have it printed word for word, being previously revised with the necessary care and increased with notes.

"Now by a truly Divine providence it has come to pass, that the labor begun at your instance in the time of your Cardinalship, after several interruptions arising from different causes, has at length been completed at the very beginning almost of your Pontificate, doubtless that this noble work, being dedicated to your most sacred name, should be an enduring memorial to all good men both of your devotion to the Christian Commonwealth and of my regard for your Holiness."

§ 6. The Preface to the Reader stands thus :

"Those who have studied the Sacred Scriptures with special care admit universally that the Greek version by the LXX. is much superior to all others used by the Greeks, in antiquity and in value. It appears that those translators, being Jews by birth, but acquainted with Greek, upward of three hundred and one years before Christ, during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, translated the Sacred Books under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that this version from the earliest period of the church was both publicly set forth to be read in the churches, and privately received and explained by the ecclesiastical writers who lived previously to the time of St. Jerome, the author of the Latin Vulgate. Aquila of Sinope, was the next translator after the LXX. who rendered these books from the Hebrew into the Greek, flourishing a long time after them, under the Emperor Hadrian. The predictions in the Scriptures concerning Christ, he involved in obscurity in order to ingratiate himself with the Jews by making his version differ from that of the LXX, and on this ground, judicious persons have long disapproved of some parts of his work, though it was received into the Hexapla. Those who followed him

were Symmachus and Theodotion, the former a Samaritan of the time of L. Vero, the latter an Ephesian of the period of the Emperor Commodus. These translations were published in the Hexapla, but were both considered as wanting in fidelity; that of Symmachus, because, through his displeasure at the Samaritans, he corrupted several passages of the Sacred Scriptures by violating their meaning, in order to please the Jews; and that of Theodotion, because, being a follower of the heretic Marcio, he had in some places wrested rather than turned (*perverterit potius quam converterit*) the Sacred Books. Besides these, there were among the Greeks two other versions of uncertain authority, which were found in some wine-jars, one at Jericho, in the time of the Emperor Antonius Caracalla, the other at Nicopolis, in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus. These were designated *Quinta* and *Sexta*, from the fact that in the Octapla they had respectively the *fifth* and the *sixth* place, and this designation they have retained. In respect of their character, they also were regarded as somewhat unfaithfully done. There is still another translation, that of St. Lucian the Martyr, who lived under the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. Though this was highly valued, it was by no means to be compared with that of the LXX, according to the testimony of the Greek writers themselves, which is confirmed by these words of Nicetas in his commentary on the Psalms: ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἔκδοσιν σεβαζόμενοι, τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα προσκειμένα μάλιστα, ὅτι διηρημένως τὴν τῆς διαλέκτου μεταβολὴν ποιησάμενοι μίαν ἐν ἑκάστοις ἔννοιαν καὶ λέξιν ἀποδεδώκασι.

"The version of the LXX. was, therefore, in great and universal esteem, evidently because it appeared as a work of inspiration for the good of mankind. But it was at first arranged in the Hexapla by Origen with other versions set before the reader opposite to it for the convenience of comparison, and the various readings of these translations, and of these only, were added in notes to the LXX. under obelisks and asterisks; and these marks being effaced by time, this edition has reached us altered and corrupted to a great degree. The translations of others are everywhere introduced, and in some places a twofold and even a threefold rendering of the same passage; and being, moreover, misunderstood by the copyists, the version thus lost its splendor and its purity. We are in this way to account for the inconsistency of the various readings, and also for the discrepancies of the copies among themselves and when compared with the writings of the Fathers, a circumstance which for a long time greatly perplexed the most learned men. This evil was at first known only

to a few and afterward disregarded by others, but it continually increased so as to mar by no small blemishes a book of supreme importance, on which the whole law of God and the Christian ordinances depend.

"We are unable to express the obligation under which all good men are brought on this account to Pope Sixtus V. Having given nearly all his life to sacred literature, from which he derived his pious erudition, and having most carefully compared this book with the early writers, he was the first to see in what way the evil was to be remedied. By his influence he then induced the distinguished Pope Gregory XIII. to have the LXX. restored to its original splendor by an accurate revision. The performance of this task was intrusted by the Pope to Cardinal Antonio Carafa, a person of established piety, and devoted to all liberal studies. He immediately procured the services of eminent scholars, who were to meet at his house on certain days and there collate the MSS. which he had brought together from all quarters, and to select from them the readings most approved; these being afterward compared with the Vatican MS. several times and with great care, it was seen that this MS. was by far the best of all extant, and it was deemed advisable to prepare the new edition on its authority.

"The design of the revision being thus explained, we now state in what manner it has been executed, and first of all describe the Vatican codex on which this edition is based. So far as it can be determined by the form of the letters, which are uncial and rightly termed the ancient character, this MS. appears to have been written 1200 years ago, at a period not later than the days of St. Jerome.¹ Of all the MSS. this in a singular degree aided the projected recension, seeming to consist of the very work of the LXX, at least in the greater part. Next to this were two others which approach nearest

¹ Since this first appeared at Rome many scholars have largely discussed the question of the age of the Vatican MS. But in these matters no one can know unless he has personally examined a great number of MSS. of the highest antiquity scattered everywhere throughout the world, omitting nothing which contributes toward fixing the age of these remains. The proof of extreme antiquity drawn by the Roman editors from the letters of this MS. is not by itself decisive; but the many important circumstances which combine with this are sufficient to justify us in not disagreeing with them in their judgment, that it was written in the fourth century. Of this subject I have treated more fully in the *Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1847, I. p. 129 seq., and in the *Prolegomena* to my *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, 1846. In the main I agree with Hug in his essay *De Antiquitate Codicis Vaticani*, Freiburg, Breisgau, 1840. He had already corrected the important errors of Birch.

to its age, though separated from it by a long period, the Venice¹ from the library of Cardinal Bessario, which also is uncial; the other brought from Southern Italy and now in the possession of Cardinal Carafa,² and in all particulars so agreeing with the Vatican text that we may believe they were transcribed from the same original copy. In addition to this, the MSS. collected from the Medicean Library at Florence were of great use, corroborating or explaining the Vatican readings in numerous passages. But the excellence of the Vatican MS. appeared not so much from its wonderful agreement with these MSS., as from those passages which are quoted or interpreted by the Fathers, who in almost every instance produce and restore the readings of this codex, except where they bring forward a passage translated not by the LXX, but by other hands. When the LXX. was to be emended by a new revision, it was done with good reason on the authority of this MS. as being by far the most ancient and alone³ bearing the inscription, *According to the Seventy*, or rather with the best reason this MS. has been printed letter for letter, so far as the old mode of writing and the mistakes of the copyist allowed. The mode of writing in that period, being now obsolete, has not been imitated in some cases, though in all others, except the manifest errors of the transcriber, there has not been the slightest departure from the authority of this codex, not even in those passages, which, if they were not faulty, certainly did not seem free from the suspicion of 'being so. Some blemish must remain in a MS., however much it may have been corrected, and it was thought better that passages, even in some degree suspected, should be left as they stand in the

¹ By J. Morelli in the *Bibliotheca ms. Marciana Gr. et Lat.* (Bassano, 1802) it is given as *Codex I*, which he has described in Vol. I, pp. 3-6. It contains Job from c. 30, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, all the Prophets, Tobias, Judith, and three books of Maccabees. I examined it myself in 1843, and copied from it several things worthy of publication. Morelli, as well as others, thought it was written in the ninth century, but I am inclined to assign it to the eighth century. In their apparatus to the Oxford edition, Holmes and Parsons brought forward various readings drawn from this MS.; and as they found out too late that it was an uncial codex, they incorrectly numbered it the 23d.

² A Catalogue of the MSS. of Cardinal Carafa is preserved in the library of the Vatican. Compare Blume in his *Iter Italicum*, III. From this fact we infer that the MSS. themselves passed from the hands of Carafa to that library.

³ The subscription to the Proverbs of Solomon deserves special notice: *παροιμια σολωνωντος παρα εβδομηκοντα*; which I made out on the fragments of the *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus*, this MS. thus sharing that honor which the Roman editors accorded to the *Codex Vaticanus* alone.

original copy than that they should be corrected by the conjectures of any one, especially because many places in this MS., which at first seemed faulty or mutilated, were afterward found by a collation with other MSS. to be complete and entire. For the books of the Prophets, which, with the sole exception of Daniel, particularly savor in this MS. of the genuine work of the LXX, are strangely defective; yet, that what is wanting is with reason wanting and does not belong to the LXX, has been ascertained from the old Greek and Latin commentaries, and from MSS. in which the deficiencies are supplied and marked with asterisks.

"A similar course has been pursued also in the notes. Many things given here have been derived from the Greek commentaries, which are circulated in the MSS., partly mutilated, partly written with variations in some places. These have been printed as they are found in the original copies, that the reader might have an opportunity to restore them with the aid of the MSS. according to his own judgment. We must state, also, that we have not copied in the Notes everything which might have been introduced from the editions of others to confirm the readings of the Vatican text by references to profane writers, or to supply what is wanting in the LXX; because, being found in books in common use, they may easily be obtained from that source. But we have by no means omitted those things in the MSS. which served to indicate the diversity of the ancient readings and of the explanations there called *Scholia* as being of uncertain authority, and to corroborate the Vatican reading and to clear up its less intelligible passages.

"The order of the books in the Vatican codex is nearly the same as that which is common among the Greeks, but differs from the ordinary editions in giving the Twelve Prophets first and under a different arrangement, and then the remaining Four Prophets just as they have usually appeared. We infer that this is the right order from the circumstance that the early ecclesiastical writers recognize and approve it. Though there is no division into chapters throughout this codex (in the new edition the convenience of the reader being regarded in this matter), yet in the Four Prophets a rather obscure division appears, very similar to that described by Dorotheus the Martyr, who lived under Constantine the Great.

"The books of Maccabees are wanting in this MS., and nearly all the book of Genesis, this book being mutilated from the beginning to ch. xlvii, on account of the destruction of the parchment by great age. The book of Psalms, also, from Ps. cv. to cxxxviii. is imperfect from the same cause.

"If anything in the present edition shall seem, in the language of St. Jerome, mutilated or out of its order (*lacerata vel inversa*), because those things supplied by Origen and designated by obelisks and asterisks are not also distinguished here; or if any parts shall appear obscure and confused, because they disagree with the Latin Vulgate, and are clearer and plainer in some other editions, it will be necessary to remind the reader that the object of this elaborate revision was not that this edition should be composed of a medley of the translations of those mentioned above (like that which St. Jerome states is called by the Greeks *κομιξή* and by us *communis*), and correspond word for word with the Latin Vulgate, and thus with the Hebrew; but our purpose was that it should approach, as near as the ancient MSS. would permit, to what the LXX. produced under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This work made clearer by new emendations, and increased by the existing remains of the other translators, will contribute not a little toward the understanding of the Latin Vulgate, and this no one will doubt who compares the former with the latter.

"If these labors shall gain the approbation they deserve from pious and learned men, it will remain for them to make acknowledgment thereof to Pope Sixtus V, from whom this benefit proceeded; and publicly to beg from Almighty God that He would long preserve to us our excellent Prince, and grant him prosperity. And, whereas the Pontiff has given his every care and thought to the matter of the increase and the adornment of the dignity of the Church, and now through his influence the Christian Commonwealth being formed anew by the best laws and the most sacred institutions, religion and piety being invested with their own splendor by the reestablishment of the ancient rites; we ought not to doubt that he will also promote the public good in exercising his great benignity in purging these Sacred Books from the stains with which the carelessness or the wickedness of men had defaced them, and in sending them forth in the most perfect form possible."

§ 7. We subjoin lastly the Decree of Sixtus V.

"Be it remembered. Being desirous of providing in every way and by all means in our power for the welfare of the flock committed unto us, we think it especially pertains to our Pastoral care to see that the books of the Sacred Scriptures are freed from every blemish and spread abroad in their integrity and purity. Before our elevation we studiously and carefully labored for this end according to our ability, and from the period when we were stationed of God in this lofty watch-tower, we have not failed to keep our eye constantly fixed on the same object.

"Whereas, therefore, in former years our predecessor, Pope Gregory XIII, of pious memory, at our instance appointed the Old Testament in Greek according to the LXX, which the Apostles themselves sometimes used, to be revised on the authority of the most perfect MSS; and the charge of this matter was committed to our beloved son, Antonio Carafa, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, together with some other learned men chosen by him for that purpose; and such a revision being now accomplished by the careful collation and deliberate examination of a great number of MSS. from the different libraries of Italy, and particularly from our collection in the Vatican; it is our pleasure and decree, for the glory of God and the good of the Church, that the Old Testament in Greek according to the LXX, thus revised and emended, should be received and retained to be used chiefly for the understanding of the Latin Vulgate and of the Holy Fathers, and we forbid that any one should presume hereafter to change anything in this new edition of the Greek either by adding thereto or by taking therefrom.

"If any one transgresses our present ordinance, let him consider that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given in Rome at St. Mark's, under the signet of St. Peter, on the 8th day of October, A. D. MDLXXXVI, in the 2nd of our Pontificate.
(Tho. Thom. Gualterutius.)"

§ 8. On two pages at the end of the work are given *Addenda* to the Notes, *Animadvertenda*, and *Corrigenda* in the Notes on the Psalter and some other parts. The last mentioned relate as well to the notes as to the text, and seem not to be given in all the common editions, since they have been little heeded by most editors, as Reineccius, Leander van Ess, even by Holmes and Parsons, and by Breitinger. Thus in Dan. 8: 11 we are directed to read ἐράχθη for ἐταράχθη; ἐταράχθη, which is found in the Alexandrian codex, being given among the various readings. In Ps. 143: 12 ἰδομένα for ἰδουμένα, and in Ps. 118: 173, ἡρετισάμην for ἡρετισάμην, have been generally corrected already. But there are three corrections which we ourselves did not receive, except that they have been given among the various readings of the Alexandrine codex. We therefore should read in IV. Βασ. 4: 31, ἐπέθηκε for ἀπέθηκε; in Ps. 94: 8, πειρασμοῦ for πικρασμοῦ; and in Jer. 22: 19, ταφίσειται for ταφίσονται.

Other corrections are also found in all the copies, it seems, of the first edition, there being passages in the text itself which were altered

with a pen by the editors, but not carefully noticed by those who have superintended the printing of the Vatican text. Where anything had thus been changed with the pen by the Roman editors, we have generally indicated it in our critical apparatus, as in Vol. II. p. 60. Ps. 46: 5; p. 284. Mich. 7: 16; p. 241. Jon. 4: 8; p. 264. Mal. 2: 17. But of this more particularly hereafter.

§ 9. We now state in what respects we have departed from the Vatican edition in reprinting the Vatican text. In the first place, the punctuation demanded an improving hand throughout the book, it being of such a character as would be pronounced alike obsolete and inconvenient for the reader. This appears in that frequent use of the marks so unlike the most ancient Greek MSS., and in the fact that the period is very often employed where it little consists with our views. Any page will serve for an example. Thus Gen. 4: 1 seqq. in the Roman edition is as follows:

Ἀδάμ δὲ ἔγνω τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. καὶ συλλαβοῦσα, ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν. καὶ εἶπεν. ἐκτεχσάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ προσέθηκε τακεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄβελ. καὶ ἐγένετο ἄβελ ποιμὴν προβάτων. καὶν δὲ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκε καὶν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ ἄβελ ἤνεγκε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχε.

This in our edition stands thus:

Ἀδάμ δὲ ἔγνω Εὐάν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἐκτεσάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ προσέθηκε τακεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ. καὶ ἐγένετο Ἄβελ ποιμὴν προβάτων. Κάιν δὲ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκε Κάιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ Ἄβελ ἤνεγκε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ Κάιν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχε.

Also Gen. 28: 1 seqq. in that edition:

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ξωὴ σάρρα, ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτά. καὶ ἀπέθανε σάρρα ἡ ἐν πόλει ἁρβόκ, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κοιλωματι. αὕτη ἐστὶ χειρῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ χαναάν. ἦλθε δὲ ἁβραὰμ κόψασθαι σάρρα, καὶ πενήσσει. καὶ ἀΐσσει ἁβραὰμ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν ἁβραὰμ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ γέ, λέγων. πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος ἐγὼ εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν. δότε μοι οὖν κτήσιν τάφον μεθ' ὑμῶν, καὶ θάψω τὸν νεκρὸν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ γέτ πρὸς ἁβραὰμ, λέγοντες. μὴ κύριε. ἀκουσον δὲ ἡμῶν. βασιλεὺς παρὰ Θεοῦ οὐ εἰ ἐν ἡμῖν. ἐν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μνημείοις ἡμῶν θάψον τὸν νεκρὸν σου. οὐδεὶς γάρ, etc.

The above in our work is written thus :

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ζώη Σάρρας ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ. καὶ ἀπέθανε Σάρρα ἐν πόλει Ἀρβόκ, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κοιλωμάτι· αὕτη ἐστὶ Χεβρών ἐν τῇ γῇ Χαναάν. ἦλθε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ κόψασθαι Σάρραν καὶ πενθῆσαι. καὶ ἀνέστη Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ Χετ λέγων Ἀπάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος ἐγὼ εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν· δότε μοι οὖν κτήσιν τάφου μεθ' ὑμῶν, καὶ θάψω τὸν νεκρὸν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ Χετ πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ λέγοντες Μὴ, κύριε· ἄκουσον δὲ ἡμῶν. βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ σὺ εἶ ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μνημείοις ἡμῶν θάψον τὸν νεκρὸν σου· οὐδεὶς γάρ, etc.

There are, moreover, very many passages which seemed less correctly, others which seemed badly pointed in the Roman edition; the less important of these we have corrected without reminding the reader that the Roman edition differs; but in a great many instances, particularly in the last part of the work, we have given the Roman pointing in our notes. Thus in Ex. 19: 15, for γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί, τρεῖς ἡμέρας μὴ προσέλθῃτε γυναῖκί, we have written Γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μὴ προσέλθῃτε γυναῖκί. And in Ex. 22: 30, for οὕτω ποιήσεις. τὸν μόσχον σου καὶ τὸ πρόβατόν σου καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἔσται ὑπὸ τὴν μητέρα, etc., we have written οὕτω ποιήσεις τὸν μόσχον σου καὶ τὸ πρόβατόν σου καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου· ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἔσται ὁ. τ. μ. etc. Also in Ex. 30: 36, we have given ὅθεν γνωσθήσομαι σοὶ ἐκείθεν· ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἔσται ὑμῖν. ὁ θυμίαμα κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ταύτην οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς, etc., for ὅθεν γνωσθήσομαι σοὶ ἐκείθεν. ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἔσται ὑμῖν θυμίαμα. κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ταύτην οὐ π. ὁ. ἔ. etc. Cases in which the Roman punctuation has been exhibited in the notes are on Ezek. 25: 9, 10. 26: 2. 27: 25, 26.

In revising the punctuation, however, it has been our principle to make no alteration unless the change was very probable. For this reason we have left untouched, to give an instance, II. Βασ. 22: 12 κύκλω αὐτοῦ ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ σκότος ὑδάτων. ἐπάχυνεν ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρος; though it seemed better, after the Alexandrine MS., to join σκότος ὑδάτων with what follows it, the Hebrew text also favoring this arrangement. Nor have we made any alteration in those passages, as Ezek. 21: 12, where emendation was impossible without a change in the reading itself.

In the use of capitals as initial letters, especially in writing proper names, we have followed other editors. We have thought it well to mark by a capital also the beginning of a discourse, questions, answers, and the like, the capital thus serving as a sign of punctuation. This is not the usage of ancient MSS., but it is hoped that it will be approved by the discerning reader.

In dividing the text into verses, we have generally imitated the example of former editors, who were accustomed to point off the Greek text according to the Latin copies, from which this practice passed also to the Hebrew. The Greek, however, demands a method of its own, which we have sought to satisfy, where it seemed important, by giving in a twofold numbering both the Latin and the Greek order of the verses. We have adopted the same course where a difference of chapters was observed, and we particularly mention in this connection the second part of Jeremiah, which we have endeavored to enable the reader easily to compare with the Hebrew, in which the divisions have a very different order from the Latin.

§ 10. I proceed to the accentuation. Great pains have been bestowed on the correction of this. In the case of nouns, for example, we have written: ἄπισ for ἄπις, ἀνθρακιά for ἀνθρακία, ἀρνάσι for ἄρνασι, βορῶν uniformly for βορῶν, τὰς γὰς for τὰς γὰς, γαλῇ for γαλή, γούπα and γῦπα for γούπα and γύπα, γομόρ for γόμορ, both of which are found in the Roman edition, δυναστών for δυνάστων and σατραπῶν for σατράπων and the like, εὐθυναν for εὐθύναν, ἐνέδραν for ἐνεδραν, θερμάστρεϊς for θερμαστρεῖς, θῦμα for θύμα, κηλίδα for κηλίδα, κλίμαξ for κλίμαξ, κρηπίδος for κρηπίδος, κρίμα everywhere, the Roman edition fluctuating between κρίμα and κρίμα,¹ κύτος for κύτος, λαίλαψ for λαίλαψ, λάρων for λᾶρων, λεχώς for λεχώς, μεγιστάνας for μεγιστάνας, μῦτιαν for μῦτιαν, μύσος for μύσος, ὁσφύν, restored in the Roman edition with the pen, for ὁσφύν, πλήμμυρα for πλημύρα, ποία always, the Roman edition has both ποία and ποία, πούς invariably, the Roman edition has sometimes πούς, sometimes ποῦς, πρᾶσις for πράσις, πρεσβῦται for πρεσβύται, σκύλα in every instance, for it was now and then σκύλα, σκνίφες for σκνίφες, σμίλαξ for σμίλαξ, σμάραγδος for σμαράγδος, στῦλοι for στῦλοι, σῦς for σῦς, σφηκιάν for σφηκιάν, σφραγίδος for σφραγίδος, σφύραν for σφύραν, τεχνίται for τεχνίται, χῶρα for χῶρα, χρίσμα and χρίσις for χρίσμα and χρίσις, ψύχος for ψύχος, and other words.

In adjectives: βαρεῖα for βαρεῖα, ἐρυθράν for ἐρυθράν, which is often found in the Roman edition, λινᾶ and λινᾶς for λινά and λινάς, πλησίον for πλησίον, χαλκοί, -οῖς for χαλκοί, -οῖς, and so χρυσοί, -οῦς, ὠραία for ὠραία, and so on.

In verbs: ἐνείρας for ἐνείρας, ἐστάναι for ἐστάναι, ἐκφάνωσι for ἐκφάνωσι, εὐρέ, εἰπόν for εὐρε, εἶπον, λῦε for λῦε, πρᾶσσε for πρᾶσσε,

¹ It is certain that both modes are found in the ancient MSS., just as Aeschylus lengthened the *ισα*, and Nonnus shortened it. The former seems to have been used in the earlier Greek, the latter in the Alexandrine dialect.

περιέσχοι for *περίεσχοι*, *συνιῶν*, *συνιείς*, etc. (as elsewhere *συνιῶν*), and *ἀφιώσι* (as elsewhere *ἀφιοῦσι*), have been given in all cases,¹ *ώσας* for *ὄσας*. Also *ἱλαρῦναι*, *μεγαλύναι*, *πληθύναι*, *λεπτύνον* and *σῦρον* for *ἱλαρῖναι*, etc., *καμῦσαι*, *κηρῦξαι*, *ἰσχῦσαι*, *κατισχυῖσαι*, *ἐνσχῦσαι* for *καμῖναι*, etc., *ἐκκλῖναι*, *θλίψαι*, *συντρίψαι*, *ῥῖπον*, *χρῖσαι* for *ἐκκλῖναι*, etc. Also *κεραννύντες*, *ὀρνύντες*, *οβεννύντι* for *κεραννύντες* etc., *ἐκβιάσαι*, *ἐκσπάσαι*, *κρημάσαι* for *ἐκβιάσαι*, etc., *καθυβρίσαι*, for *-ῖσαι*, and many similar cases.²

In adverbs: *ἐπιμῖξ* for *ἐπίμῖξ*, etc.

Here belong also such cases as Ex. 11: 9, *ἵνα πληθύνω*, where the Roman edition has *ἵνα πληθύνῳ*; and Deut. 8: 8, 9, *ἀποστείλαι, ἀναστήσαι*, which the Roman edition wrongly writes *-εἶλαι, -ῆσαι*.

There were many things needing correction in the names of nations; as, *Σπαρτιάται* for *-άται*; *Μωαβίται*, *Ἀμμωνίτις*, *Γαλιλαδίτις*, *Σωματίτις*, which were everywhere given *-ίται, -ίτις*. So also *Λευίται*, which was commonly accented *Λευίται*.

Much effort was made that the proper names might be given uniformly with the same accents and breathings; as, *Ἀμράμ*;³ *Βαρνή*, *Γασίων* *Γαβιέρ*, *Διββώρα* *Ἐδραῖν*, *Ἐλισαλὴν*, *Ἐλιάβ*, *Ἐλισάφ*, *Ἐλισαφάν*, *Ἐλισούρ*, *Ἐσεβών*, *Ἡράμ*, *Ἡσαῦ*, *Ζακχού*, *Ἰεριχῶ*, *Ἰεμινί*, *Ἰησοῦς*, *Ἰού*, *Ἰωζάβδος*, *Ἰούαν*, *Ἰωάθαμ*, *Κῦρος*, *Μάγδωλον*, *Μαροῖν*, *Νονά*, *Ὀλδα*, *Ὀζιήλ*, *Σελμωνᾶ*, *Χάλεβ*; also that the same names might not appear sometimes with the diaeresis, and sometimes without it; as, *Ἀμμοσαδαί*, *Ἀρμαθαίμ*, *Ἐφραῖμ*,⁴ *Ἰεῖηλ*.

But in all these matters the want of uniformity, which exists in the Roman edition and in the others, is very great indeed; and this defect extends, as will be shown below, not only to the accents and the breathings, but to the letters themselves.⁵ Therefore, though we have corrected many things, we cannot hope that no traces of the inconsistency of the Roman work will yet be found.

¹ For it is better to employ these instead of the contract forms from the root *ΕΩ*, though *συνιόντος*, which I have used for *συνιόντος*, is not unknown to the LXX; compare II. Παρ. 2 6: 5.

² From *πειρώω* and *πειράω* we have received both *πειρώσαι* and *πειράσαι*, and likewise *ἀμαρτῶν*, as in II. Παρ. 6: 39 *ἀμαρτῶντι*, and *ἀμαρτῶν*.

³ In the Roman edition, Num. 26: 58 *ἄμραμ* and 59 *ἀμράμ*; but Ex. 6: 18, *Ἀμβράμ*.

⁴ The Roman edition gives *ἐφραῖμ* several times and then commonly *ἐφραῖμ*. We have uniformly written *Ἐφραῖμ*; in the Alex. MS. and in the Friderico-Augustan, also, it is generally *ἐφραῖμ*, though we have not noticed it everywhere.

⁵ Sometimes a difference of accent may seem advisable on account of a difference of form; as, *Κισσων*, *Κισσων*, *Κισσων*; *Φισων* and *Φισων*; *Γισων* and *Γισων*. We have, however, marked even these with the same accent.

It often happened, moreover, that the Roman editors and those who followed them, marked the genitive of proper names ending in *-ās*, with the accent *-ās*. We have, therefore, restored *Ἀδᾶς* in Gen. 36: 10 seq., just as *ζελφᾶς* in Gen. 46: 18 stands correct in the Roman edition. So *Βαλλᾶς*, Gen. 46: 15. *Μελχᾶς*, Gen. 24: 15, 24. *Μασεκκᾶς*, Gen. 36: 36. *Ὀλιβεμᾶς*, Gen. 36: 14, 18. *Σωφᾶς*, 1. Chron. 7: 36. Also *ἀπὸ Μαριοῦς*, which is elsewhere written *Μαρισά*, *Μαρησά*; and the like.

In the case of the enclitics, the use of which even in the ancient MSS. is by no means fixed, we have done, we think, what was most likely to be correct.¹

In the Roman edition *ἀναμέσον*, *διαπαντός*, *καίγε*, etc. are written. We preferred to write *ἀνὰ μέσον*, *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*,² *ἀφ' ὅτε*, *διὰ παντός*, *διὰ κενῆς*, *διὰ τί*, *εἰς αὔριον*, *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, *ἵνα τί*, *καί γε*, *πρὶν ἢ*, *τὸ δευτερον*, *τὸ δειλονόν*, *τὸ πρότερον*, *τὸ πρῶν*, *τὸ τάχος*, and other expressions of this class, though the limits of this rule are difficult to define. For in similar cases, as in *καθόλου*, *διόλου*, *οὐκέτι*, it certainly will not be proper always to write the component words separately.³

The diversity in the breathings, we have already touched upon in speaking of proper names. Passing by other cases, such as *ἐλικτά* which we have given for *ἐλικτά* in Lev. 6: 21, we specially mention here the use of the reflexive pronoun *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτῷ*, etc. Where one would expect this pronoun, according to the custom of most editors of the New Testament and of other Greek works, the Roman editors with perfect correctness usually employed the demonstrative pronoun *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτῷ*, etc.; it being highly probable that the reflexive power of the pronoun was more frequently overlooked than regarded, at least at those periods to which the Greek text of the Old Testament and the books of the New Testament belong.⁴ This opinion is supported both by the authority of the ancient MSS. written with breath-

¹ When *τις* is used instead of the relative pronoun, it seems now and then to have been confounded with the indefinite *τις*; as, Lev. 14: 35. 21: 17, in which passages we have edited *τίνος* (for *τινός*) *αὐτοῦ* and *τίνι* (for *τινὶ*) *ἐδν*. Equally intolerable was Num. 22: 38, *δυνατός εἶσομαι λαλῆσαι τί*; we have written *λαλήσαι τί*, which is favored by the Hebrew text itself.

² But in 1. Bas. 2: 29, we have retained *ἀπαρχῆς*, because it seemed necessary to refer it to *ἐπαρχή*. In the Wisdom of Solomon 14: 23, we have given *ἐξ ἅλων* (from *ἐξ ἁλλος*) instead of *ἐξ ἄλλων*.

³ Thus also for *μη δέ*, which is often found in the Roman edition, we have written *μηδέ*.

⁴ I apprehend that many have formed their judgment of the usage of the earlier Greeks, also, too much from editions wanting in accuracy and from MSS. of a later age.

ings and accents from about the eighth century onward, and particularly by the fact that in many places where it might be a question whether *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτοῦ* should be read, we find *ἀπ', ἀπ', ἐπ', κατ', μετ'* preceding, and not *ἀφ', ἐκ', ἐφ', καθ', μεθ'.* On this matter in the LXX, compare I. *Bas.* 9: 5 *μετ' αὐτοῦ*; 18: 13 *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*; II. *Bas.* 13: 19 *ἐπ' αὐτῆς*; IV. *Bas.* 3: 27 *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*; Judg. 3: 23 *κατ' αὐτοῦ*; I. *Παραλ.* 15: 15 *ἐπ' αὐτούς* (the Alex. MS. has *ἐφ' ἐαυτούς*¹); and of the same nature is II. *Παραλ.* 29: 9 *οὐκ* (Alex. MS. *οὐχ*) *αὐτῶν*. Of these examples the most important are those where one would look for the very reverse; as, IV. *Bas.* 3: 27. Judg. 3: 23.² There are also other cases where no preposition precedes; from these it clearly appears what was the principle of the Roman editors in this matter; as, Sirach 27: 25, *Ὁ βάλλων λίθον εἰς ὕψος ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ βάλλει*. For this reason those passages also in which they departed from their own usage, we have thought should be made to conform to it. Accordingly *αὐτοῦ* has been restored for *αὐτοῦ* in Gen. 41: 11. 46: 1. II. *Bas.* 1: 11. 15: 14; *αὐτῆς* for *αὐτῆς* II. *Bas.* 11: 4. 13: 19; *αὐτῶ* for *αὐτῶ* Deut. 12: 18. 17: 16, 18. 29: 13; *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτῶν* Deut. 25: 2. II. *Bas.* 13: 19; and the same in a few other passages with one exception and one only, if I mistake not, II. *Παραλ.* 8, 1, where the reflexive form has peculiar force.

There are other changes depending on the breathing, though not made in the breathing itself. In the Roman edition some places are found where *οὐκ* stands before aspirated syllables, and *οὐχ* before syllables not aspirated. This seems to have proceeded in very great measure from the Vatican MS., but that it was done against the judgment of the editors is seen from the circumstance that they have corrected it here and there with the pen; as, Ex. 12: 19, where before *ἐνρεθήσεται*, *οὐχ* has been restored for *οὐκ*. We have, therefore, had the other cases also changed. These are nearly as follows: Gen. 37: 7 *οὐκ οὕτως*; Deut. 21: 7 *οὐκ ἐωράκασιν*; III. *Bas.* 8: 46 *οὐκ ἁμαρτήσονται*; I. *Ἑσδρ.* 8: 66 *οὐχ ἐχώρισεν*; II. *Ἑσδρ.* 3: 13 *οὐχ ἦν*, and 9, 1 *οὐχ ἐχωρίσθη*; Nehem. 13: 26 *οὐχ ἦν*; Ps. 105: 11 *οὐκ ὑπελείφθη*; Prov. 29: 7 *οὐκ ὑπάρχει*; Sirach 44: 19 *οὐκ ἐνρέθη*, and 48: 13 *οὐκ ὑπέρησεν*. We add, as belonging to the same class, II. *Ἑσδρ.* 6: 11 *καθ' ἐμέ*, and III. *Macc.* 2: 22 *καθ' ἐδάφους*.

¹ Indeed, where a later period had occasion to use the reflexive pronoun, it seems to have preferred the fuller form *ἐαυτοῦ* to the shorter *αὐτοῦ*. Compare also Gen. 39: 6, where the Alex. MS. has *καθ' ἐαυτον* instead of *καθ' αὐτόν* which stands in the Roman edition.

² The reverse of this is infrequent; as, III. *Bas.* 11: 18 *μεθ' αὐτῶν*; in the Alex. MS. *μετ' αὐτῶν*.

I omit to give those words in which the *iota* subscript sometimes appears, but which we have written differently from the Roman editors; as, ζῆν for ζῆν, ἦρεν for ἦρεν, etc., and pass by the fact that we have not used the *iota* ad-script in Αἰσωμεν, Ὡδῆ,¹ where they have commonly² employed it.

It has given us much trouble that ἡ ἐφελκυστικόν in the Roman edition, contrary to usage and not without carelessness, I think, has sometimes been added and sometimes omitted; as, Deut. 1: 21, πα-ραδέδοικε ἡμῖν; 4: 20, ἔλαβε ὁ θεός; 28: 22, ἔστι ἐν σοί; Josh. 24: 27, εἶπε Ἰησοῦς; 6: 22, τοῖς κατασκοπεύσασιν εἶπεν; Judg. 19: 14, ἔστι ἐν; I. Bas. 17: 8, ἀνεβόησε εἰς; Ex. 14: 14, ἐξήγαγεν κύριος; 23: 22, ἔσ-τιν πᾶσα; 26: 18, εἰκοσιν στόλους; 38: 10, ἐποίησεν τοῖς; Num. 22: 11, κακάλυψε τήν; Josh. 18: 3, ἔδωκεν κύριος. Of such cases I have left untouched only those which could be defended by a pause in the discourse or by some other sufficient reason; as, Job 36: 16, πρε-σπιηπάτησέν σε. We have likewise everywhere restored εἰκοσι, even where a vowel follows. The Roman edition conforms to this rule in IV. Bas. 16, 2 εἰκοσι ἐτῶν and II. Bas. 3, 20 εἰκοσι ἄνδρες, but not in several other passages; as, Gen. 6: 3. Judg. 4: 3. I. Bas. 4: 18. 14: 14.³ Indeed, I have learned that with very few exceptions it is uniformly given thus in all the most ancient MSS, though Ludwig Dindorf, following the *Etym. Magn.* p. 297, 51, has adopted a different view; compare *Steph. Thes. Gr. Ling.* under εἰκοσι and εἰκοσιεννέα.

§ 11. We next give an account of the more important emendations. A great number of these have been made according to the corrections added with a pen in the Roman edition;⁴ and such of them as have been disregarded by us in common with other editors will be given together. That other things which we have corrected were thus written by mistake in the Roman edition, is so evident that it is strange that nearly all who have reprinted that text, should have had these things repeated without alteration. In regard to other emendations made by us and by others,⁵ only the smaller part proceed-

¹ This mode of writing is at variance with the usage of the Alex. codex and other very ancient MSS.

² Commonly, but not always; as, p. 475 Ωδῆ is found three times, Ωδῆ but once.

³ In this connection and elsewhere Grabe has wrongly given from the Alex. codex, εἰκοσιν; again, in other passages, as IV. Bas. 16, 2, he has correctly written εἰκοσι ἐτῶν.

⁴ Compare above § 8.

⁵ In this number we ought certainly to include Walton, Lambert Bos, and Ernest Grabe.

ing in the first instance from us, no one will doubt that they are well founded.

In Gen. 19: 5 we have given *πρὸς ἡμᾶς* for *πρ. ὑμᾶς*; 20: 14, 16, *δίδραγμα*, just as in 23: 15, 16 and elsewhere, for *δίδραγμα*; 21: 21 with Morin, Reineccius, Ess, the Venice editor of 1822, and with others,¹ we have followed the Roman text as printed: *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ ἡ μήτηρ γυναῖκα ἐκ πατρὸς αἰγύπτου*. But in some copies, perhaps not in all, *πατρὸς* has been introduced with the pen after *ἐρήμῳ*, and *ἐκ πατρὸς* has been changed into *ἐκ τῆς*. Both corrections approach near to the Alexandrine MS. and are favored by much additional testimony, except that most authorities have *γῆς*, with the Alexandrine MS., instead of *τῆς*; 23: 8, *Ἐφρών*, which presently follows in v. 20, we have written, for *Ἐφρώμ*; 27: 45, *τῶν δύο ὑμῶν* for *τ. δ. ἡμῶν*; 33: 18, *παρετέβαλε* for *παρετέλαβε*; 36: 37, *Σαμαδά*, according to the correction of the pen, for *σαμαά*;² 41: 1, *ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ* for *ἐπὶ καὶ π.*; 50: 13, *Μαχίρ*, as it stands twice 46: 20, for *Μαχίρ*.

Ex. 10: 26, *τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν* for *τ. θ. ὑμῶν*; 30: 33, *ὃς ἂν δῶ* for *ὡς ἂν δῶ*; 33: 16, *μοθ' ἡμῶν* for *μ. ὑμῶν*; 34: 11, *ἐντέλλομαι* for *ἐντέλλωμαι*; which had already been corrected in the Roman edition; 35: 7, *ἡρυνθροδανωμένα*, as it had twice occurred before, for *ἡρυνθροδανωμένα*; 35: 13 I have not changed, but the second *τούς* which is wanting in some of the authorities of Holmes, has been erased with the pen in the Roman edition. Lev. 8: 26, *ἔλαβεν*, the Roman editors had put *καί* before this, but afterward cancelled it with the pen; 18: 3, *ἐπ' αὐτῇ*, after the correction by the pen, for *ἐπ' αὐτῆς*. Num. 1: 10 we have written *Φαδασσούρ*, just as it is found in four instances in ch. ii. and vii, for *φαδασσούρ*; 1: 13, *Φαγεήλ*, as in 2: 27 and twice in ch. vii, for *φαγαήλ*; 6: 20, *στηθυνίου* for *στηθηνίου*, 7: 42, *Ἐλισάφ*, which precedes and follows, for *ἐλειςάφ*; 10: 19, *Σουρισαδαί*, as in 2: 12. 7: 36, 41, for *σουρμισεδαί*; 10: 22, *νιὸς Ἐμιούδ*, as in 2: 18. 7: 48, 53, for *νιὸς σεμιούδ* (a different person is intended in 34: 20, *Σαλαμὴλ νιὸς Σεμιούδ*); 14: 29, *ἐγόγγυσαν* for *ἐγόγγυζαν*; 16: 1, *Ἰσάαρ*, as in some cases before, instead of *Ἰσαάκ*; 21: 14 seq., *χειμάζονες* for *χιμαζόνες*; 26: 39, *δῆμος ὁ Σουδαλαί*, just as it stands cor-

¹ Nor does Breitingen mention it. Holmes seems thoughtlessly to have it in his text; for he does not speak of the alteration with the pen, as he usually does in other cases. It is strange that he made his apparatus agree with the text as printed, and not as it stands corrected with the pen.

² Breitingen in his *Prolegomena* less correctly says on this place that *Σαμαδ* was given instead of *Σαλαμ* by a typographical mistake. For as *Σαμαδ* (not, as in the Alex. MS, *Σαλημ*) preceded, so in this passage *Σαμαδ* ought to have been given.

rect in the foot-note, except that τ is confounded with δ , for δ . δ . σουδαλάν; 28: 4, τὸ πρῶν for τὸ τοπρῶν, 33, Αἰλεῖμ we have always given, as it stands in the Roman edition both in Ex. 25: 27 and in Num. 33: 10; on the other hand in 33: 9 it was written αἰλίμ; 33: 14, 15, as everywhere previously, we have edited Παφιδεῖν for φαφιδίν; 34: 8, Αἰμάθ, as in 13: 22, for ἐμάθ.

Deut. 2: 13 seq., Ζαρέθ, as in Num. 21: 12, for ζαρέτ, in the latter place the Alex. MS. has ζαρε, and in the former it fluctuates between ζαρε and ζαρετ; 4: 43, Γαλαάδ, as it had preceded, for γαλαάθ; 14: 17, πελεκᾶνα, as in Lev. 11: 18, for πελακᾶνα; 14: 8, μνηκᾶται, as in Lev. 11: 26, for μαρνηκᾶται; Ess gave by corruption μνηκᾶται; in both passages the Alex. MS. has αναμαρνηκαται; 28: 29, ὡς εἴ τις, as we have corrected, for ὡσεὶ τις; 28: 57, χόριον preserved by the Alex. MS, we have left untouched, but in the Roman edition it has been changed with the pen to κόριον; 29: 18, τίνος ἡ διάνοια ἐξέκλινεν for τινὸς ἡ δ. ἐξέκλινον; it was already corrected ἐξέκλινεν with the pen; Breiting is wrong in ascribing ἐξέκλιναν to the Roman edition and ἐξέκλινον to Morin as an emendation; in Walton and Bos and from them in Ess it stands, τινὸς ἡ διαν. ἐξέκλινεν; 32: 39, according to what follows, we have restored ἀποκτενῶ, which also the Alex. MS. has, for ἀποκτείνω; Walton and Bos preferred ἀποκτείνω.

Josh. 2: 19, we have written ἡμεῖς δέ for ὑμεῖς δέ; 7: 12, ἐγενήθησαν for ἐγεννήθησαν; 13: 22, Βέωρ, as in every previous case, for βαίωρ; 14: 13 seq., 15 seq., Ἰεφοννή, as elsewhere very frequently, for ιεφονή and ιεφονή; 15: 63, ἡδυνάσθησαν, as also Ess after other editors, for ἡδυνάθησαν, which Holmes strangely retains; Reineccius and others have given ἡδυνήθησαν.

Judg. 1: 24, Δεῖξον ἡμῖν for Δ. ὑμῖν; 3: 8, Χουσαρσαθαίμ before εἶτη for κονσαρσαθαίμ, as it precedes in the same verse and follows three times in v. 10; 5: 1, ἦσαν for ἦσαν; 6: 3, ἀνέβαινον for ἀνέβαιναν; 9: 23, ἡθέτησαν, as corrected with the pen in the Roman edition, for ἡθέτισαν; Holmes has absurdly kept this, and gives no various reading with it; 11: 24, κληρονομήσομεν, according to the correction with the pen, for κληρονομήσωμεν; 16: 9, στυππίου we have put for στυππύου, comparing 15: 14. Lev. 13: 47, 59; the Alex. MS. uniformly exhibits the latter form, and we ourselves have not altered it in the Prophets; 18: 14, ὃ τι for ὅτι, the Alex. MS. having τι; 20: 6, ἐμέλιστα, as already restored by the pen in the Roman edition, for ἐμέλησα; xxi, we have always given Ἰαβεῖς Γαλαάδ; the Roman edition has in the same chapter sometimes Ἰαβίς Γ., as in vv. 9, 14; sometimes Ἰαβεῖς Γ., as in vv. 8, 10, 12.

Ruth 6: 11, *Λείαν*, as everywhere before, in the place of *λίαν*.

I. *Bas.* 8: 20, *δικάσει*, after the pen in the Roman edition, for *δικάσῃ*; 10: 5, with Reineccius, Ess, and others, we have restored *ἀνάστημα*, as in the Alex. MS, for *ἀνάστημα*; 25: 10, *πεπληθυμένοι*, according to the correction with the pen in the Roman edition, for *πεπληθυμένοι*; 25: 29, *ἐνδεδυμένη*, as we have edited, for *ἐνδεδυμένη*, which, absurd as it is, has been copied by Ess; 25: 35, *ζρέτισα* for *ζρέτισα*; compare above § 8, on Ps. 118: 173. II. *Bas.* 3: 10, *Βησαβεί*, as elsewhere often, for *βηροβεεί*; 18: 4, *ὑμῶν* for *ἡμῶν*; 23: 4, *ὦ* for *ὦ*, as restored by the pen in the Roman edition, but still overlooked by Ess. III. *Bas.* 2: 23, *ἀρχιστράτηγος*, as elsewhere, for *ἀρχιστράτηγος*; 3: 3, *σαλωμῶν* for *σαλωμὸν* by the correction with the pen in the Roman edition; 3: 36, *Οικοδόμησον* for *ἐκδομήσον*; 4: 12, *ἐκ Βηθσάν* for *ἐκβηθσάν*; 7: 35, *τὰς ἐπαφύστεις* for *τ. ἐπαφύστεις*; 12: 24, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν* for *π. τ. ἀ. ἡμῶν*; 18: 11, *κατῆκει* for *κατῆκη*; 13: 20, *ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης* for *ἐ. τῆς τε* *τρ.*, in the Roman edition the *τε* being erased; 15: 23, *δυναστεία*, as immediately after in 16: 5 and 28, for *δυναστία*; 16: 28, *Συρία Νασιβ καὶ* for *συρία. νασιβ καί*¹; IV. *Bas.* 8: 8, 9 we have twice given *ἀφφαστίας*, the Roman edition in the former verse *-ίας*, in the latter *-ίας*; 16: 10 we have written *Θαλασφελλασάρ* for *θαλάφθελλασάρ*; 19: 25, *συνήγαγον*, as restored by the pen in the Roman edition, for *ἤγαγον*; 19: 28, *ἐν τοῖς* for *ἐκ τοῖς*, which Ess left unchanged; 19: 30, *οἶκον*, after the correction with the pen, for *οἶκον*; 21: 4, *τὸ ὄνομα* for *τῷ ὄνομα*, which Ess reprinted without alteration; 22: 19, *ὅσα ἐλάλησα* for *ὅσα ἐλάλησας*, the *σ*, though crossed out with the pen in the Roman edition, is retained by Ess.

I. *Παραλ.* 2: 9, *Ἰεραμεήλ*, as read in vv. 26, 27, and already corrected in this passage with the pen, we have given for *ιεραμαήλ*; 5: 23, *Βαὰλ Ἐρμών*, as elsewhere, for *βάαλ, ἐρμών*; 18: 1, *Γέθ*, as elsewhere, for *γέδ*. II. *Παραλ.* 3: 16, *δαβίρ*, as it follows in 4: 20. 5: 9, for *δανίρ*; 18: 7, *λαλείτω* for *λαλήτω*; 18: 21, *ψευδές* for *ἀψευδές*, though the *α* was already obliterated with the pen; 30: 18, *Ἰσάχαρ καὶ Ζαβουλών* for *Ἰσάχαρ. ζαβουλών*; 36: 22, *Κύρον*, as already altered by the pen, for *κυρίον*.

I. *Ἑσδρ.* 4: 56, *φρουρούσι*, as we have corrected with others, for *φρουρούσι*; 9: 12, *στήτωσαν* for *στήτῳσαν*. II. *Ἑσδρ.* 2: 61, *ἐκλήθη* for *ἐκκληθή*; 4: 10, *τὸ κατάλοιπον* for *τὸ κατάλιπον*; Neh. 1: 9, *ἡ διασπορά ὑμῶν* for *ἡ δ. ἡμῶν*; 2: 18, *ἐκραταιώθησαν* for *ἐκκραταιώθησαν*;

¹ *αὶ κύνες* in III. *Bas.* 20: 20, we have not altered. Others, as Reineccius and Holmes, have written, *οὐ κύνες*.

3: 22, ἀνδρες Ἐκχεῖράρ we have written; so also, as it seems, in the Roman edition, ἐκχεῖράρ, but Ess with others gave ἐκ Χεῖράρ; 4: 11, φονεύσωμεν, as we have given it, for φονεύομεν; 10: 30, τῆς γῆς, after the correction of the pen, for τοῖς γῆς, which even Holmes with others retained. Tob. 1: 7, αὐτὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις for α. εἰς ιερ.; 2: 7, ὀρύξας, as was corrected with the pen, for ὠρύξας; 3: 9, ἡμᾶς for ὑμᾶς; 3: 10, ὥστε, according to the correction with the pen, for ὅς τε.¹ Judith 6: 5, Ἀμμών for ἀμμώμ; 9: 6, εἶπαν, after the alteration with the pen, for εἶπα; Esther 6: 7, τῷ εἶδει for τὸ εἶδει, which Ess retains; 8: 14, ἐν Σούσοις for ἐκ σούσοις, the ἐκ also being found in Ess.

Job 3: 25, ἐδεδοίκειν for ἐνδεδοίκειν; 5: 15, ἀπόλοιτο is our correction for ἀπώλοιτο; 9: 4, we have given διανοίᾳ, and the same stands in the Roman edition, but the *iota* subscript has almost disappeared, and hence Holmes, Ess, and others, have given *διανοία*, without the *iota*; 9: 14, διακρινεῖ for διακρίνει; ² 18: 11, ὀδύνη, as corrected by the pen, for ὠδύνη, which Ess retained; 18: 17, ἀπόλοιτο for ἀπώλοιτο; 19: 2, ποιήσετε for ποιήσητε; 21: 31, ἀνταποδώσει for ἀνταπεδώσει; 25: 5, σελήνη for σελήνη; 30: 14, κέχρηται for κέκριται, by a correction with the pen; 39: 24, ὀργῇ for ὀργή; 42: 8, ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς.

Ps. 6: 2, ἐλέγξῃς for ἐλλέγξῃς; 9: 29, ἐνέδρα, as Ess correctly gave, the Roman ed. ἐνέδρα, Bos, Reineccius, and Holmes ἐνεδρα; 21: 9, σωσάτω by our correction for σωσάτο; ³ 34, 26, μεγαλοῤῥημονοῦντες for μεγαλοῤῥημοῦντες; 42: 1, ἀνθρώπου, by an alteration with the pen, for προσώπου; 44: 6, with Walton, Bos and others, I have omitted μου before τοῦ βασιλέως; 47: 5, we have given οἱ βασιλεῖ; for οἱ βασι. τῆς γῆς; this addition, though found in the Alex. MS., being cancelled by the pen of the editors themselves; 67: 22, τριχός for θριχός; 77: 1, προσέχετε for προσέσχετε; 88: 1, Ἰσραηλίτη for Ἰσραηλίθ; 50, ὥμωσας for ὤμωσας; 89: 14, εὐφρανθήμεν with Walton, Bos, and the rest, we have left unchanged; Reineccius thus points: ἡμῶν. Εὐφρανθήμεν, ἀνθ'; but the Roman edition has it erased with the pen, and does not recognize it in the Notes. Compare the

¹ In Tobias 7: 3, ἐκ Νινευή, I have made no change; Holmes, after the Alex. MS., gave ἐν Νινευή, but quotes ἐκ from the Vatican codex.

² It was my judgment that οὐδ' ὥς in Job 9: 11, ought not to be altered, though Holmes, Ess, and perhaps others, have edited οὐδ' ὥς.

³ Other words of this class, as πρὶν for πρὸς, ἀνθρωπος, ἀνθρωπος, etc. have not been given in this list.

Alex. MS.;¹ 101: 4, *συνεφρόγησαν* for *συνεφρόγισαν*; 101: 28 and 103: 29, *ἐκλείφουσιν* for *ἐκλείρουνσιν*.²

Prov. 6: 14, we have given *διεστραμμένη καρδιά* for *διεστραμμένη καρδία*; 24: 21, *μηδετέρω* for *μηθ' ἐτέρω*; 25: 3, *ἀνεξέλεγκτος* for *ἀσεξέλεγκτος*; 29: 2, *ἐγκωμιαζομένων* for *ἐγκωμιαζομένων*; 29: 9, *κρί- ναι* for *κρινεῖ*; 29: 27, *ἀδίκω*, according to the correction with the pen, for *δικαίω*; 33: 20, *οἰνοπότης* for *οἰνοπόθης*.

Ecd. 5: 17, *πιεῖν* for *ποιεῖν*; 6: 10, *ἰσχυροτέραν* for *ἰσχυρωτέρον*. Song Sol. 5: 11, *ἐλάται* for *ἐλαταί*. Wisdom Sol. 15: 18, *ἀνοιξ* for *ἀνοισα*; 16: 16, *ἐν ἰσχυῖ* for *ἐν ἰσχύει*. Sirach 4: 17, *διεστραμμένως*, after the alteration with the pen, for *διεστραμμένως*, and *παιδεία* for *παιδιᾷ*; 4: 31, *ἐκτεταμένη* for *ἐκτεταγμένη*; 11: 12, *ἰσχυῖ* again for *ἰσχύει*; 12: 11, *φύλαξαι* for *φύλαξε*; 22: 11, we have restored *ἐξέλιπε γὰρ* before *φῶς*, which was evidently dropped by mistake in the Roman edition; 27: 14, *πολυόρκον* we have edited for *πολιόρκον*; 30: 9, *σύμπαιζον* for *σύμπαιζον*; 30: 15, 16, *ὑγίεια* and *ὑγιείας* for *νίγεια* and *νιγείας*; 32: 12, *καθ' εὖρεμα* for *καθεύρεμα*; 32: 25, *κρίνη* for *κρινῇ*; 37: 6, *ἀμνημονήσης* for *ἀμνημοσύνης*; but Ess, after others had corrected, *ἀμνημονεύσης*; 38: 16, *ἐναρξαι* for *ἐναρξε*; 39: 7, *κατενθῶναι* for *κατενθῆναι*; 39: 13, *εἰσακούσατε* for *εἰσακούσετε*; 46: 12, *ἀντικαταλασσόμενος* for *ἀντικαταλασσόμενον*; 51: 2, *ἀπωλείας* for *ἀπολείας*, and *βοηθός*, from the correction by the pen, for *βοηθός*.

Hos. 14: 3, we have given *μὴ εἴπωμεν* for *μὴ εἴπομεν*. Mich. 5: 4, *ἰσχυῖ* again for *ἰσχύει*; 6: 14, *παραδοθήσονται* for *παραδωθήσονται*; 7: 16, *ἀποκωφωθήσεται*, as corrected by the pen, for *ἀποκωφωθήσεται*; 7: 17, *ὄφεις* for *ὄφις*. Joel 2: 4, *ὡς ὄρασις* for *ὄς ὄρασις*; 2: 16, *παστοῦ* for *μαστοῦ*; 2: 30, *δώσω* for *δώσωσι*.⁴ Jonah 4: 8, *ζῆν*, as was changed by the pen, for *ζεῖν*. Habak. 3: 8, *ὠργίσθης* for *ὠργήσθης*; 3: 9, *τεῦ ἐπικαλῆσθαι* for *τ. ἐπικαλῆσθε*, found also in Ess. Hag. 1: 6, *εὐηργέκατε* for *εἰσενέγκατε*. Zachar. 7: 11, *ἡπειθήσαν* for *ἡπειθῆσαν*. Mal. 2: 17, *παροξύναμεν*, after the alteration with the pen, for *παροξύναμεν*.

Isaiah 1: 8, *πολιορκουμένη* for *πολιουρκουμένη*; 4: 1, *ἡμῶν* twice for *ὕμῶν*; 5: 5, *καθελῶ* for *κατελῶ*; 8: 10, *μεθ' ἡμῶν* for *μεθ' ὕμῶν*; 9:

¹ We have not changed *ἀγαλλιασόμεθα* in Ps. 94: 1. Holmes and others write, *ἀγαλλιασώμεθα*.

² In Ps. 118: 129, I read *ἐξερεῖνησεν* without alteration; Holmes thought this should be *ἐξηρεῖνησεν*. Compare next page, note 2.

³ It seemed that *μεσοπωρῶν* in Sirach 34: 21 ought not to be changed. Henry Stephens in his *Theaurus Graec. Ling.* preferred with others to write *μεσοπορῶν*.

⁴ It appears that Lambert Bos first corrected these passages in Joel.

6, συναπανύσεται, after the correction with the pen, for συναπαύσεται, and βοσκηθήσονται for βοσκήθησονται; 9: 7, Δαβὶδ for δαβὶδ; 15: 8, Μωαβείτιδος, according to the emendation with the pen, for μωαβεΐτιδος; 16: 4, διώκοτος for διώκοντες; 19: 3, τομός ἐπὶ τομόν for νόμ. ἔ. νόμ.; 33: 18, we have not received οἱ συνεβουλευόντες, which in the Roman edition was formed from οἱ συμβουλευόντες; 34: 2, τὰ ἔθνη we have given for τὰ ἔθνη; 38: 2, τοῖχον for τεῖχον; 40: 18, ὁμοιώματι for ὠμοιώματι; 41: 23, ἐπερχόμενα for ἐπεχόμενα; 42: 24, τίς for οἷς; 43: 28, ἀπολέσαι for ἀπωλέσαι; 53: 10, if δῶτε¹ was retained, I thought it necessary to write ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν; 61: 3, καταστολήν for κατὰ στολήν.

Jer. 11: 20, for πρὸ σέ we corrected, πρὸς σέ;² 15: 11, κατευθυνόντων we have put instead of καθευθυνόντων; 31: 38, οὐκ ἐποίησαν αἶδε.³ ἀπό for οὐκ ἐποίησαν, αἱ δὲ ἀπό; 39: 17, τῇ ἰσχύϊ again for τῇ ἰσχύει; 45: 27, ἠρώτησαν for ἠρώθησαν. Lam. 3: 26, ψυχῇ for ψυχῆ; 3: 31, οἰκτειρήσει for οἰκτηρήσει; 4: 21, ἀποχεεῖς for ἀποχέεις. Ep. Jer. 1: 19, τὸν ἱματισμόν for τὸ ἱμ.

Ezek. 17: 17, ἐν χαρακοβολίᾳ; Ess was careful not to add the *iota* subscript, which had been omitted here by the Roman editors; 18: 25, κατευθύνει in the second instance in which this verb occurs, for κατευθύνει; this verse ought to have been emended according to v. 29; 28: 21, ἐπεσκέψω for ἐπισκέψω; 25: 7, χωρῶν for χειρῶν; 26: 4, λεοπετρίαν, as in v. 14, for λεοπετρίαν;⁴ 40: 22, 26, 31, 34 and 43: 17, κλημακτῆρσιν and κλημακτῆρες, by the correction with the pen, for κλημακτ.; 41: 15, κατόπισθεν for κατώπισθεν; 45: 7, τὰ ὄρια τὰ for τὰ ὄρια τὰς; 45: 17, ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις for ἐν ταῖς σαββ. Dan. 5: 4, λιθίνους for ληθίνους; 6: 25, ἐν πύσῃ τῇ γῇ for ἐν πᾶσι τῇ γῇ, which Ess reads without change.

I. Macc. 2: 66, πολεμήσει πόλεμον for πολ. πόλεμος; 3: 37, τὰς καταλειφθείσας for τ. καταληφθείσας; 3: 45, κατάλυμα for κατάλυμμα; 3: 49, ἱεροσύνης for ἱεροσύνης; 4: 45, ἐπέπεσεν αὐτοῖς for ἐπ' αὐτῆς; 7: 23, τὰ ἔθνη for τὰ ἔθνη, which Ess leaves unaltered; 9: 48, ἐνε-

¹ That there is no want of care here appears from the Commentary of the Roman edition, which gives: [ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτιῶς]. So both St. Jerome and St. Cyril read. Some MSS., however, have δῶται, which is found also in Justin Martyr.

² ἀποικίσθη, in Jer. 13: 19, has received no change either at the hands of the Roman editors or at our own. In like manner elsewhere in their edition ἐξολόθρευσεν, εὐσώθη, ἐξερεύνησεν are given. Some have corrected, ἀπικίσθη, ἐξωλίθρευσεν, εὐσώθη, ἐξερεύνησεν.

³ I incline to think that Grabe more properly writes, αἶδε.

⁴ In Ezek. 28: 24, I have left σκόλωψ untouched; others have written, σκόλωψ.

πήδησεν for *ἐνπεδίσεν*; in the Roman edition itself it seems to have been an η, not an ι, but half the letter was broken off;¹ 15: 10, *αἱ δυνάμεις* for *αἱ δυνάμεις*. II. Macc. 9: 24, *τὴν χώραν* for *τ. χώραν*; 11: 4, *ταῖς μυριάσι* for *τ. μυριάσει*; 13: 15, *πρωτεύοντα* for *πρωτεύοντα*; 14: 8, *ἀνηκόντων* for *ἀνηκότων*; 14: 42, *ἀληθρίους* for *ἀλητηρίους*; 15: 4, in *ἀποφνημαμένων* the letters *φην* are written over an erasure, but I do not see what stood there before; 15: 30, *πρωταγωνιστής* for *πρωταγωνιστής*. III. Macc. 1: 23, *θαρήραλέως* for *θαρήραλέως*; 8: 16, *ἀλητηρίων* again for *ἀλητηρίων*; 4: 2, *ὀλεθρίαν*, by the correction with the pen, for *ὀλετρίαν*; 4: 5, *πεπνυκασμένων* for *πεπηκασμένων*; 5: 19, *ἀγγοχέαι* for *ἡγγοχέαι*; perhaps, however, some will think that the form *ἡγγοχέαι*, to which the reading of the Alex. MS. *ἡγγοχέαι* approaches very near, ought not to be quite disapproved.

Moreover we have restored *Μωνσῆς* in several instances, as in Jer. 15: 1. Mich. 6: 4; *ἀνδρεία, λειτουργία* as in I. Παρ. 23: 24, 26, 28. 24: 3, which the Roman edition commonly exhibits, for *Μωσῆς, ἀνδρεία, λειτουργία*; also in Gen. 5: 9, *ἐνενήκοντα*, as in v. 17, for *ἐννενήκοντα*. We regret that we have not done this in every instance. I think it would have been better also not to receive the double forms *ἐνατος* and *ἐννατος*, *ἀέναος* and *ἀένναος*. But it will not be possible to reduce most or all the cases of this class to one and the same form, unless a new and exact revision of the whole text is undertaken. For though the diversity may seem rather a light matter which exists between *ζωργεία* and *ζωργία*, *ἀργία* and *ἀργεία*, *ὑπερηφανία* and *ὑπερηφάνεια*,² *κανῶνες* and *κανῶνες*, *χλιδῶνες* and *χλιδόνες*, *εὔρεμα* and *εὔρημα*, *σύστημα* and *σύστημα*, *φυλάσσειν* and *φυλάττειν*, and the like; the strange difference in the proper names involves extreme difficulty. This is sometimes so great, that one would doubt whether the words designated the same thing; it commonly shows itself in a very free interchange or doubling of letters, especially kindred ones, and also in a change of syllables. The following are examples: *Ἀβινεμ* and *Ἀβινεμ*, *Ἀβεσσαῖ* and *Ἀμεσσαῖ*, *Ἀμβραμ* and *Ἀμραμ*, *Ἀχιμελεχ* and *Ἀβιμελεχ*, *Ἀχινναμ* and *Ἀχιννομ*, *Ἀνναν* and *Ἀνν*, *Βαλταμ* and *Βαλταν*, *Βαιθλεμ* and *Βηθλεμ*, *Βεθσαμνς* and *Βαιθσαμνς*, *Βαριμωθ*

¹ I. Macc. 14: 9 is a similar passage, where Ess gave *κάθηντο*. The Roman edition has *ἐκάθηντο*, but the *ε* in our copy is pale and faded almost away.

² Since in the earlier books *ὑπερηφάνεια* is generally found, afterward [as on Prov. 8: 13] in our notes giving the reading of the Alex. MS., *ὑπερηφανία*, we have commonly stated that the latter stands in the Roman text itself. But the Alex. MS. does not always exhibit this word in the same form; compare Amos 8: 7.

Καδης and Μαριμωθ Καδημ, Γων and Γηων, Γηρσων and Γεδσων, Έδραιν and Έδραιιν, Ίεζραηλ and Ίεζραηλ, Ίεσσαμον and Ίεσσαμιν, Κιτιων and Κιτιαιων, Κισων Κισσων and Κεισων, Μαγεδδω and Μαγγεδω, Μαδιαμ and Μαδιαν, Μαλαα and Μυαλα, Μαρησα and Μαρισα, Μελχιηλ and Μελχυλ, Μεραρι and Μεραρει, Μηδεια and Μηδια, Μωδεϊν and Μωδεειμ, Νινευη and Νινευι, Ναθινιμ and Ναθανιμ, Όμουσι Όμουσει and ό Μουσι, Ραφακης and Ραβσακης, Ραγαν and Ραγαν, Σεπφαροναϊμ¹ Σεπφαροναϊν and Επφαροναϊμ,² Σηλωμ and Σηλω, Σιδων and Σιδων, Σολομων Σαλομων and Σαλωμων, Φαλλος and Φαλλος, Φισων and Φισων, Χεττειμ Χεττειμ and Χεττειμ, Χαριμ and Χαριμ. Though this diversity is a circumstance of great importance in treating the question of the unity of the whole Greek version of the Old Testament, and it is not fully certain whether books composed in Greek are to be conformed to the same law as those translated into the language, I am yet confident that these names in most cases by a careful revision will one day appear very different from what they now do. For the present we were obliged to content ourselves with having pointed out a way to emend the Greek, which is often free from obstacle, by giving in foot-notes under the Roman text, the readings of the Alex. MS. and occasionally those of the Friderico-Augustan and the Parisian Rescript, but critical readers will well understand that even the most excellent MSS. do not always give the same name and word under the same form.³

[To be concluded.]

¹ In IV. Bas. 18: 34, we have confidently corrected, *Σεπφαροναϊμ*, which elsewhere invariably appears, for *-ουρα-*.

² In Isaiah 36: 19. 37: 13, we have restored *Έπφαροναϊμ* for *Έπφαροναϊμ*, since this word had been given everywhere, as IV. Bas. 18: 19, with the diaeresis. Moreover, a strange diversity of readings exists in the parallel passages, IV. Bas. 18: 19 and Isaiah 36: 37. They certainly cannot have been written in this way by the same translator.

³ I cannot leave this discussion without briefly stating how far the editions of the LXX, for the greater part servile copies of the Vatican edition, are from being such a revision of the *editio princeps* as we ourselves have undertaken, or at least have projected and recommended. In the edition of Reineccius many things have received the correction they needed, but errors enough of the same nature still remain untouched; as, Lev. 8: 26, *καὶ ἔλαβεν*; Num. 26: 35 (39), *δῆμος ό Σουθαιδν*; Deut. 4: 43, *Γαλαδθ*; 14: 17, *πελακᾶνα*; I. Sam. 25: 10, *πεπληθυμένοι*, etc., also with the approval of Holmes and Ess, *λάρον*, Deut. xiv, and *λδρον*, Lev. xi; *Αἰνάν*, Gen. 14: 13, and *Αἰνᾶν*, Gen. 14: 24, etc. Of the work of Holmes we shall speak hereafter; a very important case of ignorance or carelessness in his edition we have adduced above on Josh. 9: 23. But a recent edition, now in general use, particularly demands our notice. I mean the stereotyped

ARTICLE IX.

MESSIANIC PROPHECIES.

A POPULAR LECTURE ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH PSALM.

By B. B. Edwards, late Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

To a ship's company, sailing by night, in a narrow channel, with rocks on either hand, nothing is so grateful as a light on shore. It is sometimes hidden by the motion of the ship, by the intervention of a high billow, or of a thick mist. How anxiously does the man on the watch strain his eyes till that blessed light reappears. What a thrill of joy is felt by all on board. It is a *little* object, hardly twinkling in the darkness. But the clouds have prevented for several days the taking of any observations, and the safety of hundreds may be

edition of Leander van Ess, published by Karl Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1824. It is stated in the title *Juxta exemplar originale Vaticanum Romae editum 1587 quod textum accuratissime et ad amussim recusum*; and it is true that to an incredible degree even the evident mistakes of the Vatican edition have been faithfully adhered to. This fact has been shown above by numerous passages, and it will be perfectly clear to any one who will compare with a copy of Ess the list of further corrections now given. There are also so many errors to which it may assert an exclusive claim, that in the matter of these it far surpasses the Roman edition. We subjoin a few instances from the earlier books: *κνηρων, ταυτη* for *ταυτη, εν της χωρας*, *οι* is omitted and elsewhere *η, ηδεν* is written without the *iota* subscript, *οωζε, νιψασθε* for *νιψασθαι, θυρας* for *θηρας, ημωλυτισαν* without the *iota* subscript, *μετ' υμων, μεθ' αυτου, εκ κτησει, κερατιτης εστι, συνοριβη, μισθωτος η, ος* for *το, ειπεν, αυτων, ο αδελφος, οτι οτιδω, εκακτον, Μουσης* often for *Μουσης, εσπισαγμα, ανθρωπον, ιδου, οι* for *οι, το μωσιν, διεφυγεν, κυριος, ημαρτης* for *ημαρτετε, ποπου* for *τοπου, Ιδιμαιον, και αγαθη, ωδης, χιλιδας, των ανθρωπων, ουκ γαρ, μετ' υμων, τας σχιδακας, εξολοθρευσει, γειρων, εν πεδαις χαλκειας, πολλας, την υιον, οπνηρα* for *πονηρα, εν σκουριος, του πολεως, παθη* for *βαθη, ενα* for *ανα, την* for *σην, τι* for *τις, και φοβου* for *μη φοβου, οι λοιπη, επεστρεψη, κατα* for *μετα, συνηχθη* for *συνηχθησαν, ερρησατο, τα αιμα, τα αγιασμα, δεσους* for *δεσως, τοις νοιλας, οι δεσποτεια, γινουνται, αι πονοι*, etc. The accents, moreover, in very many cases are wanting throughout the work; I have seen pages on which above twenty are missing. The *Editio Parisina* in Greek and Latin, for which we are indebted to the labors of J. N. Jager, is so slovenly a production, that in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1840, I. p. 467, Lücke with good reason said that a person not wholly disqualified for critical studies could learn from this book as from no other, in what manner it ought not to be edited.

depending on that small bright speck, scarcely larger than a glow-worm.

The object dearest to the prisoner who has been long immured in a dungeon, is the single pane of glass, high up on the wall, which lets in an uncertain and flickering light. It seems to be the only object that connects him with the outward world. He can sometimes see the wing of the bird that casts a momentary shadow upon it, or the topmost branch of a tree swaying to and fro, reminding him of the freedom which all objects in nature enjoy except himself. By its feeble ray he can see to notch his name on the wall, and the wearisome nights and days of his captivity. It whispers to him, not only what he has lost, but what he may hope to regain. Possibly it is the only thing which keeps him from sinking into total despair. It is a very little object, but it has wondrous powers of consolation.

Not wholly dissimilar, we may suppose, was the experience of the ancient pious patriarchs and prophets. Not altogether unanalogous were their feelings as they looked down the tract of ages and saw the star that was to arise in Jacob. It seemed like a little speck far off over the billows of time. Sometimes it wholly disappeared; often it was very dim. The waves of doubt and unbelief interposed dark objects between it and the beholder. Faith was often lost in sense; and the world was a gloomy prison into which no ray of hope was cast from a distant futurity. Most men saw nothing but a dim outline of clouds and sky gathering into a deeper darkness. But the bright object was there fixed as on an immovable shore. When the vision was clear and a celestial illumination was imparted to the soul, there was not, indeed, the full assurance of faith, but there was the reality. It was not a phantom that moved before the eye of Abraham and David. They *saw* the day of Christ and were glad. Moses was not bewildered with a false light. A surrounding world of polytheists, countrymen prone to every other worship but that of God, an outward dispensation with its numberless ceremonials and symbols, and intervening ages long and dark could not hide the form of that greater prophet that would lead his people to the true Canaan. There was dimness, yet certainty, hope not absolute and perfect, yet real and consolatory.

These Messianic anticipations, as entertained by the pious Hebrews, may not be an unprofitable theme for a few moments' consideration. They are denounced by many professing Christians at the present day as wholly destitute of foundation. By others they are secretly rejected. Those who are accustomed to regard them as mat-

ters of undoubted belief, may still not find it useless to review the grounds on which they rest.

I. My first remark is, that we should be cautious lest we transfer our own views and feelings, sitting as we do in heavenly places in Christ, to those who lived in the twilight or early dawn. No rule of interpretation is more important and none is more frequently violated, than this. Would we gain satisfaction from the study of the Old Testament, we must put ourselves as far as possible, in the circumstances, in the *exact* position of the men whose language and views we would understand. We have no right to affix an interpretation upon their words, which it was not possible for them to entertain. Now if there be any fact which is obvious on the whole face of the Scriptures, it is that they are a *series* of revelations — the morning light increasing into perfect day, the germ small and delicate, imperceptibly unfolding into the flower and the ripened fruit. We cannot make out from the *Gospels* that *complete* system of doctrines that we *can* from the Epistles. The disciples were not able to bear the higher truths unfolded by Paul. We cannot deduce the Messianic prophecy from the Pentateuch as we can from Isaiah. We must carefully consider the peculiarities of each age — the degree of light vouchsafed to the successive generations. As far as practicable, we must divest ourselves of our mature belief and enlarged experience, and carefully study each age and generation by itself, and gather up all that is peculiar to each, and thus obtain a correct and precise idea of the spiritual light enjoyed at every successive period. In no other way can we ascertain the mind of the inspiring Spirit. In every other method we shall be in danger of adding to the words a sense which they cannot have. A body of laws, thousands of years old, must be interpreted as they were understood *by the men* to whom they were addressed, not by the stronger light or more exact science of a distant future. One of the principal difficulties in explaining the book of Job arises from the uncertainty of the age in which it was written. On the settlement of this, the exact meaning of some important passages is suspended.

II. My second remark is, that we should expect, reasoning *presumptively*, that there would be traces of the Messiah in the Old Testament. To this conclusion, we should be led by the works of creation and Providence. Light does not break upon us in the morning full-orbed. The lofty palm is wrapped up in the little seed. Gradual growth, decay marked by *separate stages*, is the law of nature. Great discoveries in science do not commonly open upon the world

in their *perfect* form. It is first a guess, or a fortunate surmise. Several different minds have glimpses of it; then it appears to recede and is almost lost, till finally by toil and patient investigation, it is admitted into the number of established and useful truths. In like manner, the course of Divine Providence in a Christian land, the laws which we all recognize as marking his dispensations, are partially developed, or have analogies more or less direct in a pagan country. Some of the rewards of virtue, some of the punishments of vice, were fully recognized thousands of years ago, by a few who were not favored with a written revelation. The spiritual truths which were fully taught by the later prophets, were not unknown to Joshua and Samuel. The great system of legal sacrifices ordained by Moses, had its manifest germs and beginnings in the patriarchal ages. The book of Genesis contains, as it were, the seeds of thoughts, the germinating principles of the Divine government, certain suggestive intimations or preparatory hints, more and more fully unfolded in the lapse of ages. So the doctrines of the Christian system, not formally propounded in the Gospels, are still implied and may be inferred.

Thus it will be seen that God does not, in any of the departments of his works, communicate truth suddenly and in masses. The mind will not bear, any more than the eye, an instantaneous effulgence of light. The Divine Economist consults the constitution and wants of his creatures. Hence we should be led to infer that in the great central truth of Revelation, the mission and sacrifice of our Lord, he would not deviate from his accustomed; method that he would not *reserve* this truth, which in fact binds together the system, to be revealed at once in the fulness of time. It would be presupposed that a doctrine, on which the salvation of the race depended, would not be wrapped up in *entire* mystery 4000 years. *Some* rays would transpire the thick gloom to be the guide and comfort of the few who were waiting for the Consolation of Israel.

III. My third remark is, that no solid objection can be urged against these Messianic predictions from the fact that the great mass of the children of Israel were so prone to idolatry and worldlymindedness — had so little *aptitude* for spiritual truths, and entertained such gross conceptions, that we can hardly suppose that a doctrine so holy, so far removed from the senses as that of a reigning and atoning Redeemer, would be revealed. If saved at all, they would be saved, it is urged, by a virtue which they could not recognize, by a provision of which they were necessarily ignorant. Even the disciples, taught

by Christ himself, were unable to perceive the need of any Messianic interposition.

In this objection, it may be replied, there is little validity, even when viewed on merely common, earthly grounds. The character of the mass of the people does not involve that of the favored few. The *multitude* may be gross idolaters or immersed in sensuality; Moses, Caleb, Joshua, Samuel may be exceptions. *Their* light may shine the brighter because of the surrounding darkness. They are the mountain tops on which the sun shines, while the intervening valleys are filled with fogs and mists. Plutarch, Plato and Cicero are not the representatives of the Greeks and Romans. They dwell apart and aloft. Their minds were familiar with truths, which never glanced upon those of their contemporaries. Moral and religious subjects were familiar to Bacon, Baxter and Howe, which were utterly unknown or incomprehensible to the throngs of their countrymen. There are always, in every nation, *elect* spirits, who have an aptitude or fitness for the truths which are invisible and eternal.

But in addition to this natural superiority over the mass of their countrymen, men like Moses, Samuel, David and Isaiah were privileged with an extraordinary illumination. Their intelligence, and elevation of character marked them out as the depositaries, in a certain sense, of the Divine communications. As sinners, they might feel, in the depths of their consciousness, their need of some better sacrifice for sin, than the thousands which were smoking on their altars. Still, their eyes would never have been directed to the reigning or atoning Messiah, slain from the foundation of the world, unless the veil had been lifted up by an *unseen* hand. In dreams, in visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, they looked far down the floods of time and saw the star that was to come out of Judah, its little rim of light just gleaming on the bosom of those floods. The vision was supernaturally illuminated; the message was a special revelation.

IV. My fourth remark is, that it is no objection to these Messianic Prophecies, that they are often inserted in the midst of other topics; that the transitions *to* them and *from* them are exceedingly abrupt; that they are separated only by an invisible thread from events which occurred hundreds of years before, or were to happen ages after. This is the *manner* of the inspiring Spirit, with whom a thousand years are as one day. This is the method of his inspired servants, the general prophetic law, as it is preëminently in accordance with the genius of Hebrew poetry. The writer is not careful to forewarn

us *when* he is about to take his daring flight. Without preface, preliminary explanation, possibly without any connecting thought, he passes in a moment over long tracts of history, glancing only on the lofty eminences, entirely overlooking events which *we* call mighty, individuals who, we think, affected the destinies of the world, and alighting on some great era in the annals of the church, or some catastrophe that was to introduce a new dispensation. In the midst of an historical narrative or a didactic discussion, the prophet, taking the reader altogether by surprise, leaps over space and time, and sketches with a few bold strokes the scenes of the day of Pentecost, or the last acts in this world's drama. Utterly foreign from him are the forms of logic, the conventional proprieties of speech, or the tardy and measured movement of prose. His soul is on fire; his imagination divinely strengthened is satisfied only with the distant, the indefinite, the illimitable; his heart exults in rapturous anticipation of the glories of the coming Messiah; no expressions are too abrupt and daring; every object, nature herself, the heavens, the universe must witness and sympathize. In the first three verses of the last chapter of the book of Daniel, the prophet seems to pass, with scarcely a note of warning, from the destruction of the Syrians, in the time of the Maccabees, to the final resurrection of the dead and the rewards of eternity. That unknown future seems to be in the closest proximity with events several hundred years anterior to the coming of Christ. He who objects to a Messianic prediction on this ground, does not understand the nature of prophecy or of Hebrew poetry; has not found one of the most important keys which unlocks the mysteries of revelation.

V. It may be remarked, in the fifth place, that if there be no Messianic predictions in the Old Testament, if the supposed references to a coming great Deliverer, had an earthly and temporary application only, then it is not easy to account for the general belief on this subject in the *pagan* world. The contemporary heathen nations certainly enjoyed *some* straggling rays of the light which shone from the hill of Zion. God did not leave himself without witness in the surrounding tribes. Fragments of truth, greatly distorted and corrupted it may be, found their way far and near. Jewish exclusiveness could not build a wall high enough to exclude them. Pagan darkness was not so deep as wholly to cover them.

Among these scattered and half connected truths was an apprehension, dim yet real, that an extraordinary personage was to appear in Judaea, that a new order of time would there begin, that at his advent

the golden age would again bless the earth, and Heaven once more open wide her gates. The glowing language of the rapt Isaiah had its feeble counterparts, its obscure outlines in the pages of pagan moralists and poets who lived far away. Now the most reasonable explanation of these facts is, that they originated in Judaea, that they may be traced to the pages of the Hebrew Prophets, that they find their solution in Him who was in a certain sense the *Desire* of ALL nations. It may be said, that the expectation of a golden age and of a great Deliverer, is *natural* to fallen and wretched man. But how natural? How came such to be the expectation? The *natural* feeling would be remorse, dread of punishment, despair. If *hope* visits the soul, its origin must be in Heaven; from some hint or rumor at least that a supernatural interposition might be expected.

VI. I remark, in the sixth place, that the New Testament positively asserts the existence of Messianic expectations and prophecies in the Old. Its declarations on this point are explicit and incontrovertible, and they apply to every part of the Old Testament. "Beginning at *Moses* and *all* the prophets, he expounded unto them in *all* the Scriptures the things concerning himself. Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me. Had ye believed *Moses*, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words? Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad. These things said *Esaias* when he saw his glory and spake of him. And Philip began at the same Scripture and preached unto him *Jesus*. Now I say that *Jesus Christ* was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers. Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you, searching what or what manner of time the spirit of Christ which was in them did signify when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow."

Most of these declarations, it will be perceived, do not refer to single passages of the Old Testament. Their meaning is not exhausted by this or that detached prophecy. They affirm that *Moses* wrote of Christ, that *all* the prophets followed his example, that the testimony for the Messiah is contained in all the Scriptures, and that he fulfilled the promises made to the *fathers* as a body.

If, therefore, the New Testament, any part of it (for these declarations are made in almost every book), is inspired, then the Messianic predictions rest upon an unshaken basis. *One* is no more cer-

tain than the *other*. We have the explicit assertions of our Lord, who cannot lie, who would not accommodate his instructions to Jewish prejudices, that *every* part of the Old Testament contains references which centred and were fulfilled in himself. Whoever, therefore, rejects these, rejects Christ or makes him a deceiver or impostor; or what amounts to the same thing, whoever acknowledges in general the existence of these Messianic predictions, and yet sets himself at work to deny and explain them away in detail, does virtually reject the entire Scriptures and puts himself on the ground of simple deism. Multitudes at the present day are thus believers in general, but skeptics in regard to every particular passage. Others, who profess to believe in the Divine mission of Christ and the authority of his precepts, utterly discard the more ancient records. But if they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither can they believe any other messenger, whom the Almighty may send.

I am now prepared to state the general principles or rules by which we can decide when a passage is Messianic, or what portions of the Old Testament really contain predictions of a coming Messiah. They may be comprehended in two.

I. Those passages are Messianic which are affirmed to be such in the New Testament. Here we have an infallible rule, an index which cannot be mistaken. Some of these we should not have suspected or inferred to have been of this character, were it not for the declaration of Christ or his apostles. Some of them as they stand in the Old Testament might be interpreted of God the Father. But the Gospels and Epistles determine otherwise. The only difficulty which we shall experience in the application of the rule, will be to distinguish between those passages which have really the character of predictions and those which are employed merely in accommodation or illustration and also those passages which are to be regarded as typical. The language of the Old Testament was familiarly known to the writers of the New. The phraseology of the Mosaic code was on the lips of the priests every day. These old records were the great store-house of language, sentiment, imagery, illustration; the law-book of the people, their confession of faith, their hymn-book, their manual of devotion and the sacred repository of a part of their national literature. In such circumstances, nothing could be more natural than to quote and in every possible way refer to these treasured and consecrated words. To the Jewish hearers of the apostles, these quotations would impart to anything which they might say, dignity, point and authority. They would equally serve for doctrine

or illustration, and would show that the apostles in establishing a new economy, would still cherish a reverence for the language of the old, and show that the one grew out of, and was built on the other. Nothing could be more spontaneous than such references and quotations. The apostles were Hebrews in soul. They were not *imbued* merely with the old literature, it was incorporated in the very texture of their minds. The Divine Spirit in his inspiration did not destroy or derange anything in their education or feelings that was natural or proper. When Isaiah says, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that publisheth salvation," he refers to the messengers who are sent beforehand from Assyria to Judaea to announce the coming deliverer. The watchmen on the ruinous walls of Jerusalem repeat, as with one voice, the glad news; all is ecstasy at the joyful event. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans adopts this beautiful language to describe the feelings with which the first preachers of the Gospel would be welcomed, as they went from mountain to mountain with the joyful tidings. This is not a prediction; it is only an accommodated illustration. But when Peter declares that the scene at the day of Pentecost was that which was spoken of by the prophet Joel, it is a prediction in the highest sense of the term. When the Evangelist affirms in relation to Christ, I have called my son out of Egypt, he uses, by way of accommodation, the terms which an ancient prophet had applied literally and historically to the children of Israel. But when the writer to the Hebrews inquires, "For unto which of the angels, said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" there is a direct prophecy of the exaltation of the Redeemer. When it is prediction on the one hand, or mere accommodation or illustration on the other, must be determined by the passage itself, by its context, or by its original position. By the exercise of a sound judgment and of an enlightened piety we shall generally arrive at satisfactory results.

Here it should be remarked, that to constitute a passage as *Messianic*, it is not necessary that the precise language of the Old Testament should be quoted. The writers of the New Testament often adopt the phraseology of the Septuagint version, or they transfer only the substance of the sentiment, not the exact terms, nor even all the ideas embraced in the original.

No one can have been a very attentive reader of the Scriptures without perceiving that they do not lay much stress on minutiae, on mere verbal differences. The Scriptures are written in a popular manner and their interpretation requires hardly anything more than sound sense

and truly liberal views. The narratives in the four Evangelists show how many variations are consistent with truth, or rather how the credibility of the history may be in part depending on those very variations.

II. Those passages in the Old Testament refer to the Messiah, which cannot be otherwise interpreted, without doing violence to their spirit or language, or without explaining away or diluting their full force and significance. There may be no allusions to these passages in the New Testament, or quotations from them, still they are Messianic, if the natural, simple interpretation requires it. We have no right to resort to forced conjectures, doubtful hypotheses, or far-fetched analogies, in order to get rid of this application. Rather we should recollect that the declarations of our Lord and his apostles would lead us to expect numerous references to his coming in the ancient prophets, and that by referring them to some earthly hero or king, we are guilty of misinterpreting his word. It is true there has been an extraordinary propensity in many ages and churches, to find these Messianic references in almost every chapter of the Old Testament, in history as well as in poetry, at the expense of all just principles of criticism, as well as of sober views and chastened piety. Here it is true, as in many other cases, that one or two passages, which, when fairly interpreted, leaving no reasonable doubt that they are true Messianic predictions, are more satisfactory to the feelings and afford a firmer support to the faith than twenty passages which cannot be thus referred without putting upon them a violent construction. At the same time, it should be remembered, that there *has* been, and is *now*, a decided tendency to rob the Old Testament of all its Messianic glories, to reduce it to the level of an ordinary history, to close the eyes of its holy seers to any visions save those which were temporary and evanescent, and to make the whole Jewish economy a cumbrous machinery to end with itself, without one reference to the great accomplisher and antitype. Far be it from us to fall into either extreme. We believe fully that life and immortality were brought to light in the Gospel, that the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than patriarchs and prophets, and that the whole old dispensation was a shadow to pass away, a veil to be rent in the fulness of time. But we also believe that the shadow *pointed* to a substance, that the lamb slain on the altar did have reference to the innocent victim hung on the cross, that the rising sun is preceded by the dawn, and that the animating and binding principle of much, especially in the later prophets, is the incarnate Son of God, the dim and distant vision of whom filled them with holy joy.

Some other rules or methods for determining the Messianic character of passages in the Hebrew prophets might be mentioned, but they seem to be subordinate, or to be included in those which have been already stated. Thus the proposition that those portions of the Old Testament are Messianic, which have been so regarded by the traditions of the Jews and the current authorities in the Christian church, must derive its principal force either from the internal evidence, or the declarations of the New Testament. The same remark is applicable to the statement that the pieces are Messianic which accord in spirit and language with those which are *confessedly* of that character. In other words, the study and comparison of different texts must decide their interpretation. Here, however, it is assumed that the passage which is selected as the standard, has the characteristic Messianic features which have been indicated.

The principles which have been delineated may now be briefly applied to the one hundred and tenth Psalm.

"Jehovah said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." This is Jehovah's oracle addressed unto my Lord, sit on my right hand, the place of honor, as an associate in my kingdom, a partner in my authority, until I have utterly subdued thine enemies.

"The sceptre of thy strength Jehovah shall send out of Zion. Rule in the midst of thine enemies." The poet addressing the associate king, declares that Jehovah shall commit to him a powerful; royal sceptre, that is, exalt him as a prince on the throne, so that he will restrain and subdue all his foes.

"Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in holy array; from the womb of the morning, thou hast the dew of thy youth." Thy people, thy warlike people, or soldiers, shall be willing, shall be most prompt, in the day when thou dost marshal thy powers. Thy young warriors shall spontaneously come around thy standard in consecrated vestments, numerous as the drops of dew which spring out of the bosom of the morning.

"Jehovah hath sworn and will not repent. Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek." Jehovah will not repent of his promise. He has sworn that thou shalt have an eternal priesthood, according to the order of Melchisedek. Like him, and not like the sons of Aaron, thou shalt unite the regal and priestly dignities in thine own person.

"The Lord on thy right hand shall dash in pieces kings in the day of his wrath." He shall rule over the nations, filled with dead bodies.

He shall break in pieces the heads over many lands, that is, he shall make a great slaughter of his enemies in the broad fields or lands where he shall encounter them. Of the brook in the way he shall drink, therefore shall he lift up the head. When thirsty he shall drink and be refreshed, and with new strength proceed on his victorious march.

In this brief and very condensed language is described the exaltation of Christ at God's right hand, the zeal with which his numerous converts would hasten to do his bidding, the setting apart of the Messiah to his twofold office as king and priest, and his going forth conquering and to conquer, till all enemies were subdued under his feet. The language, the imagery, the dramatic form are peculiarly oriental. It represents in the most compressed manner, yet glowing with life, a mighty king assuming his sceptre, marshalling his hosts of youthful warriors, who eagerly flock around his standard, numerous and fresh as the morning dew-drops. At their head he marches to victory, filling the wide battle-fields with the slain, renewing his strength and lifting up his head in triumph.

The spiritual and fearful victories which the Prince of peace effects in the world, are depicted under this bold and stirring imagery. Christ is represented as reigning, not suffering, extending his spiritual dominions till all enemies have submitted to his sway.

That this is the true interpretation of the Psalm, we have the most decisive proof. The language itself will not admit of any other exposition. Jehovah would summon no earthly king to sit at his right hand. No Jewish monarch united the regal and sacerdotal offices, after the manner of Melchisedek. "This predicted personage, would not be an ordinary priest, such as Aaron or any of his descendants, but a priest of a singular and higher, yea of a royal rank." His dominions, too, would not be limited to Palestine, or those lands over which David swayed his sceptre, but far beyond. The heathen would be his inheritance and the ends of the earth his possession. If the song be referred to any earthly sovereign, as Solomon, it is impossible to imagine what could excite the poet to celebrate this king, as he does, in a manner so solemn and emphatic. In short, every other interpretation but the Messianic, is tame and unsatisfactory, neither answering to the spirit or exhausting the language.

The other test is equally decisive. Christ himself declares, as recorded in three evangelists, that David composed this Psalm in the Holy Spirit, by immediate Divine inspiration, and that in it is recog-

nized the superhuman dignity of the Messiah, both David's Lord and David's son.

Peter, also, on the day of Pentecost, declares that David is not ascended into the heavens, to be an assessor with the Almighty, but he saith himself, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thy foes thy footstool." This passage, also, is the basis of the argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the priesthood of Christ is *compared* with the unchangeable priesthood of Melchisedek, and *contrasted* with that of the sons of Levi, which was assumed without an oath, was constantly changing, imperfect, and at length vanished away. All those passages, moreover, where Christ is represented as sitting on the right hand of God, may be traced back to the declaration of this Psalm. It is the germ or seed, from which the combined priestly and royal character of our Lord is unfolded in the New Testament — the *compassionate* high-priest, sitting forever at the right hand of the Majesty on high, touched with a feeling of our infirmities.

In this subject we may see the ground of the unity of the worshippers of God under all dispensations.

We are accustomed to speak of Abraham and Moses and David as pious Israelites, holy men, yet not standing in an intimate relation with the Saviour, not as being Christians, but as good men, who served the one true God and led a blameless life. But there is a vital sense in which they *are one* with all the New Testament believers. They were redeemed by Him whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are *past*; the sacrifice of Christ, the pardoning mercy of God extends to sins committed under the former dispensation; the death of Christ accomplishing the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first Testament, his blood has a retroactive as well as a present and prospective influence. In addition to this, some of the pious Israelites at least were favored with gleams of light from this great luminary, little foretastes of the blessings of redeeming grace. They counted him faithful who had promised. *Indistinctly* they beheld his coming. *Many* prophets and kings *desired* to see what was withheld from their vision. But this desire, this eager search, this patient waiting for the Consolation of Israel, proved them to be one in spirit with their more favored posterity who departed in peace, because their eyes had *seen* this salvation. They are now singing the song of Moses *and* the Lamb, with an experience and feelings, we may well suppose, somewhat different from those

who trusted in a Saviour incarnate or glorified. These *elder* participants in glory have a history to retrace which it is not possible for others fully to conceive. They pursued a long and weary journey, beset with misgivings and perplexities, favored only with a few rays of light, occasionally stealing in as through an opening in a dark forest. *Now*, it is possible, that they have an intensity of interest, a degree of holy admiration, which others cannot fully share. We wonder not that when two of them who appeared in glory and talked with the Redeemer, should speak of the *decease* that he was to accomplish at Jerusalem.

Another obvious reflection relates to the extent of the privileges which Christians at the present day, and especially in this country, are permitted to enjoy. They are so common and so abundant, that perhaps they never command our serious attention. Like the air which we breathe, and the light which we see, we regard them as a matter of course, not as privileges but as rights, not as a free gift, but an inheritance to which we have an absolute claim; not recollecting that they are conferred on the guilty, that they were purchased with agonies unknown, for ages the theme of prophecy, and the object of intense desire and of most eager curiosity by men on earth and angels in heaven.

What separates this Christian land from the darkest realm of paganism? What diffuses social blessings so profusely around us; ascertains and guards the rights of conscience; cherishes those finer sentiments which add a charm to the character of individuals; gives an invisible power to public justice; prompts and encourages every deed of benevolence; breathes hope into the dying and takes the sting from death? What in short is regenerating society and accomplishing what the wisdom of ages could not effect?

Blessed are *your* eyes for they see, and *your* ears for they hear.

Had we any adequate idea of the value of the Gospel, of the position in which it places us, of the glorious hopes which it proffers, we should not only not be ashamed of it, but esteem all the troubles of this present life—all our daily trials and cares as of no account. Our anxiety would be to enjoy this inestimable treasure to the utmost possible extent and to spread it to the ends of the earth. Like the Being from whom it comes, it comprehends all *other* good, and leaves the soul which has nothing else, immeasurably rich.

ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

I. TISCHENDORF'S GREEK TESTAMENT.¹

THIS is in many respects the most valuable edition of the original text of the New Testament which has appeared since the time of Griesbach. But before describing it particularly, it may be well to give some account of the author's previous labors.

Lobegott Friedrich Constantin Tischendorf was born at Lengefeld in Voigtland, a district of Saxony, in 1815. In 1837 he published a dissertation, entitled "*Doctrina Pauli Apostoli de vi Mortis Christi satisfactoria*," for which he received a prize; in 1838, a volume of poems called *Maiknospen*, or "*May-buds*"; and, in the following year, another prize essay on John 6: 51—59. In 1840 he published a critical and exegetical dissertation on Matthew 19: 16 et seq., and a small work on the history of the Flagellants, based on one written in French by Schneegans, entitled "*Le grand Pèlerinage des Flagellants à Strasbourg en 1849*."

Tischendorf's first edition of the Greek Testament appeared at Leipsic in 1841; a convenient manual, exhibiting a text deviating more frequently than Griesbach's from that of the Elzevirs, accompanied with the more important various readings and authorities. To this were prefixed about eighty pages of Prolegomena, containing, with other valuable matter, a confutation of Scholz's doctrine respecting the superiority of the "*Constantinopolitan*" to the "*Alexandrine*" manuscripts, to the latter of which classes our most ancient copies belong. This edition, which appears to have been well received, was followed by two others printed at Paris in 1842, one of them presenting substantially the same text as the Leipsic edition, but without the Prolegomena and critical authorities; the other with a text conformed to the Latin Vulgate, in connection with which it was first printed as one of the volumes of Didot's "*Scriptorum Graecorum Bibliotheca*." The latter, of course, possesses no *independent* critical value.

In the preparation of these editions, Tischendorf was struck with the defectiveness of the existing collations of even our most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament — the *uncial* manuscripts, as they have been called, from being written in uncial or capital letters — although these, generally speaking, have been much more thoroughly examined than the great mass of more modern copies in cursive characters. With the exception, perhaps, of Mat-

¹ NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRAECE. Ad antiquos testes recensuit apparatus criticum multis modis auctum et correctum apposuit commentationem isagogicam præmisit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF, Theol. Dr. et Prof. Editio Lipsiensis secunda. Lipsiae, 1849. 8vo. pp. xcvi, 768.

thaei, whose Moscow manuscripts were for the most part of inferior value, even the best collators often passed over such readings as they chose to consider of little or no moment. Chasms, also, in the copies used were not always accurately noted. Hence, in many passages, the silence of the collator gives no assurance that the manuscript in question agrees with the Received or Elzevir Text. Those who have followed the steps of Scholz, in particular, who has probably *looked at* more manuscripts than any other editor of the Greek Testament, have made sad complaints of his negligence and inaccuracy. To take an instance given in the Leipziger Repertorium for Aug. 6, 1847 — the manuscript W, of about the sixth century, contains two fragments of St. Luke's Gospel, chap. 9: 34—37 and 10: 12—22. In the latter passage it varies from the Received Text fifteen times. Scholz, who first collated it, gives *four* of these readings correctly, another quite erroneously, and leaves the remaining *ten* unnoticed!

Most of the readings thus neglected by collators may indeed be, like nineteen twentieths or more of all the various readings, of no consequence whatever as affecting the sense. But they may yet possess some degree of philological or critical interest, and, at any rate, be important as affording means for determining the affinities of particular manuscripts with each other, and thus testing the merits of any system proposed for their classification. It is not safe to talk about a manuscript's belonging to this or that recension when we are ignorant of half its readings.

To supply such deficiencies, and place the criticism of the text on a surer basis, Tischendorf, since the year 1840, has devoted himself with rare zeal and assiduity to the task of thoroughly collating, and, in many instances, editing, the most important Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, together with some very ancient copies of the Vulgate (as the *Codex Amiatinus*) and earlier Latin versions. For this purpose, he has visited the principal public libraries containing such documents both on the Continent and in England. Not satisfied with this, he has also, in the prosecution of his critical researches, travelled in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, bringing home, among the fruits of his enterprise, rich manuscript treasures. We may mention by the way, that in 1845, soon after his return, he received the appointment of Professor Extraordinary of Theology in the University of Leipsic, and, the next year, published an account of his Eastern travels, which has been translated into our language. Some of the results of his labor have been given to the world in his splendid edition of the celebrated *Ephrem* manuscript in 1843 and 1845 (a copy of both volumes of which is in the Library of Harvard College), followed in 1846 by the *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, embracing the important manuscripts L of the Gospels and B of the Apocalypse, with seven others of great antiquity, but containing only small portions of the New Testament. This edition of the manuscript B (the *Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus*) is particularly valuable, as we have but two other uncial manuscripts containing the Apocalypse, the Alexandrine and the Ephrem, and the latter is sadly mutilated, more than two-fifths of the book having perished. The manuscript B was indeed collated, after a

fashion, for Wetstein, by order of Cardinal Quirini; but the person employed to perform the task was very unfaithful or incompetent. For example, in the seventh chapter, it contains, as Tischendorf states, twenty-four variations from the Received Text. Of these the collator noticed but *one*, and gives that incorrectly! The Received Text, it may be remarked, is in a much worse condition in the Apocalypse than in any other book of the New Testament.

Tischendorf's account of the manner in which he obtained the readings of this manuscript is a little curious. The jealous keepers of the Vatican Library have refused to allow other scholars the collation of this, as well as of the Vatican manuscript. It does not appear that Tischendorf asked for this favor. "In the summer of 1843," he remarks, "permission having been granted me to take a fac-simile of some verses of the manuscript, it happened that, in making the fac-simile, I noted down in my Leipsic edition all the various readings."¹ This was a fortunate accident.

In 1847 Tischendorf edited the *Evangelium Palatinum*, a very ancient Latin manuscript of the Gospels, referred by him to the fourth or fifth century. He has also published the readings of two others, the *Codices Bobbienses*, of about the same antiquity, one containing fragments of the Gospels, the other of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. Very recently, he has rendered an important service to biblical criticism by his edition of the *Codex Amiatinus*, probably the most ancient existing manuscript of the Latin Vulgate. This had before been professedly published by Fleck, but with such carelessness that at least *fourteen hundred* of the readings given by him prove to be inaccurate. There can hardly be a better guaranty of the correctness of the present edition than the fact that it is founded on the independent collations of the MS. by Tischendorf and Dr. S. P. Tregelles. To their united labors we are also indebted for an edition, published within the present year, of the *Codex Claromontanus* or Clermont manuscript, written in Greek and Latin, one of the most ancient and valuable of those containing the Epistles of St. Paul.

In the present edition of the Greek Testament by Tischendorf, the chief results of these various researches, with those of others who have labored in the same field, are embodied in a neat, unexpensive, and convenient form. Designed for a manual edition, it does not profess to give all the various readings indiscriminately, nor does it always detail minutely the authorities for those which are given. It does not, therefore, in all respects supply the place of the larger editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, to those who make the criticism of the text a particular study. But, in its very copious selection of readings, one may be confident that all of any authority or importance are included; not a few, indeed, so trifling that no notice is taken of them in the editions referred to. Its statements, moreover, of the evidence of a very important class of our authorities for settling the text, the uncial manuscripts, is far more complete and accurate than can be found anywhere

¹ Prolegom. ad edit. Lips. secundam, p. lxxiv.

else. Of the forty manuscripts of this kind (not including Evangelistaries or Lectionaries) which contain the whole or fragments of the New Testament, twelve have been edited by others. Some of these publications, however, Tischendorf has been the first to use for the purposes of a critical edition of the Greek Testament; and by a careful collation of the printed editions of others he has often supplied readings which had been neglected by his predecessors. Twelve of the remaining uncial manuscripts have been edited by Tischendorf himself; and he has collated with great care ten more, transcribing several of them with his own hand. With respect to the famous Vatican manuscript, generally supposed to be the oldest Greek copy of the New Testament extant, he has carefully compared the three already existing collations of it by Bartolucci, Bentley and Birch, settled as many of their discrepancies as he could during the short time in which he was permitted to examine it personally, and consulted Cardinal Mai by letter in regard to other passages. We give these details partly to illustrate the ardor and diligence with which the editor has devoted himself to his task.

It is proper, however, to observe that there is some difference in the execution of different parts of the work. In the latter portion, commencing with the Acts of the Apostles, and published some time after the former, he has adopted the plan of distinctly specifying the evidence both *for* and *against* all the various readings respecting the genuineness of which there may be any reasonable question. This he had generally neglected to do in the Gospels, and it had never before been done, except in a few cases of particular interest, by any preceding editor but Lachmann, who, in his larger edition of the Greek Testament, exhibits the whole testimony of the comparatively small number of critical authorities which he admits. The convenience and advantage of this course are obvious. It gives us certainty in a thousand cases where we were before left in doubt as to the testimony of important witnesses. As has already appeared, the *silence* of the collator was a very unsafe thing to reason from in the case of many of our best manuscripts; and in respect to evidence derived from the Fathers, it of course amounted to nothing. It deserves to be mentioned, that, in the latter half of the work more particularly, Tischendorf has made very considerable additions to our critical materials by an examination of many of the Fathers, as also of the ancient versions, new editions of some of which, as the Coptic and the Gothic, have been recently published.

In the Prolegomena to the present edition, Tischendorf gives a concise account of his preparatory labors; lays down and illustrates his principles of criticism; treats at some length of the New Testament dialect and of various orthographical and etymological peculiarities found in the more ancient manuscripts, many of which he adopts; and discusses briefly the vexed subject of recensions, which he is not inclined to make much account of in the criticism of the text. He then notices the more important critical editions of the Greek Testament, giving some striking illustrations of the character and value of that of Scholz, which expensive work, published at Leipsic in 1830 and 1836 in two quarto volumes, we fear is not so well known as it

should be. It has, indeed, obtained great reputation, not so much on the Continent as in England, where it has been very liberally praised by critics of the same class as those who favored the American public some years ago with such high commendations of Roy's Hebrew Dictionary. Scholz, as he himself informs us, always used in his collation of manuscripts the second edition of Griesbach. Bearing this in mind, we may in some measure appreciate his thoroughness as a collator, his critical judgment as an editor, and his general habits of accuracy, by attending to the fact, that in more than half a dozen instances specified by Tischendorf (in addition to which we have noticed several others of the same kind), he has not only copied the *typographical errors* of Griesbach into his own text, even where they make absolute nonsense, but that on these absurd readings he has noted in his critical remarks that another reading (the one which these misprints have accidentally displaced and which is *really* supported by all the critical authorities) is extant, now in *one*, now in *three* or *four*, or, it may be, a few more manuscripts! For instance, in Eph. 6: 1, Griesbach's printer had accidentally substituted ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν, making the sentence read: "Children, obey *our* parents in the Lord." Scholz adopts this in his text; but his laborious collations have enabled him to mention *three* manuscripts which read "*your* parents." In Rev. 21: 2, in Griesbach's larger edition, the word *νενοαμηνελην* is misprinted *νενοαμηνε*. Scholz receives this imaginary word as genuine, informing us in his note that *one* Greek manuscript reads *νενοαμηνελην*. The curious reader may find similar examples in Col. 2: 19. Philemon i. and ii. Heb. 9: 5. James 4: 4. 2 Pet. 1: 15. Apoc. 15: 2. The blunders we have noticed belong to a single class (necessarily a small one) of the errors of gross negligence or ignorance which deform every page of Scholz's work. Tischendorf gives examples of other kinds. But we believe this will be a sufficient specimen.

The most recent edition of the Greek Testament which Tischendorf notices is a pretended publication of "the Vatican manuscript, with the *entire various readings of the apostolic age* [!], etc., by Edward von Muralt;" which he calls, apparently with justice, "*Opus incredibili inscitia, socordia, perfidia*," though many, he says, have been imposed upon by the author's high-sounding promises "*verbisque sesquipedalibus*."

Tischendorf concludes his Prolegomena with a descriptive "Index of Critical Helps," which occupies about thirty-five pages, and furnishes the latest and most correct information respecting the ancient manuscripts and versions of the New Testament.

From what has been stated, it will be perceived that the work before us possesses high and peculiar value, independently of the critical judgment of the editor in settling the text, respecting which there will naturally be some difference of opinion.

The book is very neatly printed, though in a rather small and not very agreeable type, of the same size and form as that used in Didot's "*Scriptorum Graecorum Bibliotheca*." The text is accompanied with marginal references to parallel and illustrative passages and to quotations from the Old

Testament, the different readings and critical authorities being given below, with all the variations of Stephens's third edition, the Elzevir text, Griesbach, Lachmann and Scholz.

Tischendorf has also lately published a very neat manual edition, corresponding in form to Theile's Hebrew Bible, and containing the text of his second Leipsic edition (with a very few corrections), but without the critical authorities.¹ The variations of the Elzevir text and of the third edition of Stephens are given in the margin. The references in his larger edition to parallel passages and to quotations from the Old Testament are also retained. The type is very neat and distinct, of the same kind as that employed in Prof. Robinson's edition of Hahn.

There are other publications of Tischendorf to which we can here merely allude, as his edition of the Septuagint; his "*Synopsis Evangelica*," a Harmony of the Gospels, on the tripaschal theory, published in 1851; and the "*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*," also published the same year. This is to be followed by editions of the Apocryphal Gospels and the Apocryphal Apocalyptic Writings. The researches of Tischendorf, have enabled him to edit much more correctly from manuscript authority many of these books which had before been published, while others he has now for the first time brought to light. Nothing, perhaps, can place the internal evidence of the authenticity of the historical books of the New Testament in a more striking point of view, than their contrast in matter and manner with these fictions of a later age.

There is still another work soon to be published by this indefatigable scholar, which will, we believe, be a great convenience to theological students. We refer to the "*Novum Testamentum polyglottum, sive Novum Testamentum Græce, Latine, Germanice, Anglice*," in 8vo. This is to contain, 1. his recension of the Greek text, with the various readings of Stephens's third edition and that of the Elzevirs, references to parallel passages, and a notation of the Ammonian and Eusebian sections; 2. a critical edition of the Latin Vulgate, based on the most ancient authorities, the variations of the Clementine edition being also indicated; 3. Luther's German translation, revised by Tischendorf, the displaced renderings of Luther being given in the margin; and 4. the common English version.

In the preface to his second Leipsic edition of the Greek Testament, Tischendorf mentions his intention of preparing a palæographical work on the MSS. of the New Testament, illustrated by fac-similes, and also a Grammar for the Septuagint. When we consider how much he has done and how much he proposes to do, we are very glad to learn from Dr. Tregelles (see his Letters from the Continent in Kitto's Journal of Sac. Lit. for Oct. 1850), that he "seems all vigor and energy, as if no amount of literary work came amiss with him." We most cordially wish success to his labors. A.

¹ *Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græce. Recensuit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF. Editio stereotypa. Lipsiæ, Bernh. Tauchnitz jun. 1850. 8vo. pp. xix, 412.*

II. KÜHNER'S GREEK GRAMMAR.¹

THE query is sometimes raised, whether the translation of the works of German lexicographers and grammarians is, after all, so conducive to a spirit of free and independent inquiry, among classical scholars in our own country, as is sometimes supposed. Such a question seems to us like asking, whether men would accomplish more, and answer the end of their existence better, by setting aside the accumulated knowledge and experience of ages, and suffering each generation to discipline itself by the discovery of similar arts, and the acquisition of the same amount of knowledge as had been made by those before them. We acknowledge at once the absurdity of such a question. Men do not lie idle, because they find at hand the various arts and sciences in a state of comparative perfection. The mind with a restless energy only rises with increased vigor to the pursuit of new inquiries. It operates like a lever; every additional advantage it gains, is an increase of purchase-power, by means of which still greater results may be achieved. So is it in the case before us. Germany is confessedly the home of classical philology; it was there, when the first gleams of the dawning reformation shot forth from the darkness of the past, that philology had its birth. Since then fostering influences of various kinds, have led it to be cultivated in that country with enthusiasm and success. If, therefore, we would maintain a high standard of classical study in our own country, we must be willing to become the humble disciples of the great masters of Germany, who have treated with such a copiousness of detail the several departments of Greek philology. Having made the result of their investigations his own, the American scholar need not stop here, but may, like those who are engaged in the pursuit of natural science and art, push his inquiries still further.

These remarks we premise by way of obviating objections that are sometimes made to the introduction into our schools and colleges of the translated works of German authors. The thanks of the American student are, we think, justly due to those able scholars of his own country, who have rendered accessible to him the vast store-houses of German erudition, which otherwise would have remained to him unrevealed. The very favorable reception, which the works of the leading German philologists of the present century has met with from time to time in our own country, we hail as a positive indication of the increased interest with which the American people have for some time past regarded the study of the Greek and Latin classics. Such a reception we anticipate from scholars for the present edition of Kühner's School Grammar.

Of the Greek grammarians, with whose works we are familiar, we do not

¹ Grammar of the Greek Language for the use of Schools and Colleges, by Dr. Raphael Kühner. Translated from the German by B. B. Edwards, late Professor in the Theological Seminary, and S. H. Taylor, Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover. Second edition. pp. 620. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852.

hesitate to assign our author a place in the front rank. None have evinced a more delicate appreciation of the niceties of the language, with the same comprehensiveness of grasp, none have surpassed him in the philosophical accuracy and perspicuity of his analysis. The diligent student will not rise from the perusal of this work, as though he had seen from afar, through a hazy atmosphere, but a faint and shadowy outline of the language; he will rather feel that he has been in the presence of a master, at whose bidding the Greek mind in its various aspects and developments had been made to pass in review before him. Our author, like the natural philosopher, having carefully collated and analyzed the peculiar phenomena of the language, has, by a system of clear and concise generalization, given expression to its various laws. We detect in him a thorough sympathy with the Greek mind. So manifest is this, that he seems like one who is revealing to us the laws according to which his own thoughts are developed, rather than those of a people foreign to him. The flexibility of the language is thoroughly appreciated by him. Its delicate shades of thought as indicated by its modes, its subjective and objective forms of expression, are all set forth with an accuracy and perspicuity, which will at once delight and satisfy the inquiring student.

Of the peculiar excellencies of this Grammar our space will allow us to speak only in general terms. The most striking peculiarity, is the exact generalization, and the systematic arrangement, which pervades both the etymological, as well as the syntactical portion of the work. The general division into separate classes of nouns of the third declension, according as they assume or reject the gender-sign in the nominative case; the subdivisions made in the same declension according to the characteristic consonant of the noun, are all classifications which tend greatly to facilitate and to simplify the acquisition of the noun. Particularly would we call attention to the clear and admirable classification of the verb, so long the interminable "*potus asinorum*" of every disheartened school-boy. We are not aware that any previous grammarian has presented to the learner this difficult subject, in so clear, so comprehensive, and so tangible a form as our author has done in the work before us. By two general divisions of the verbs in *-ω*, and as many subdivisions under each of these general heads, the whole subject of the verb is so simplified, that the student is prepared, by seeing system and order before him, to enter upon his labor with alacrity and pleasure. The analysis of the various strengthened and modified stems of the verb deserves particular mention. This subject is treated with so much clearness and point, that the student who has made himself at all familiar with our author's system of analysis, will at once be able to detect and separate from its encumbered form, the simple stem of the verb. The so many apparent anomalies in the forms of the Greek verb, will be found to be such only in appearance. The application of a few general principles will be capable of explaining every seeming irregularity. In a careful examination of that portion of the work devoted to the verb, we were particularly struck with the effort, as well as with the success of the grammarian, in reducing the so called anomalies of the verb, to such a system of *unity*, as cannot but greatly facilitate

the efforts of the student in mastering this hitherto unwieldy subject. Other grammarians may have said as much in their endeavors to simplify the verb, but none, so far as we are aware, have presented the subject in so concise, so uniform, and so perspicuous a manner as our author has done in the work under review. Nearly fifty pages of the work are devoted to an explanation of the dialectic peculiarities of the language. This will prove of valuable assistance in the study of Homer, as well as the Ionic and Doric writers. More has been done in this work to explain and simplify the subject of dialects, than in any similar work now in general use. To this section is appended a valuable alphabetical list of dialectic verbs. From a careful comparison of the whole subject of etymology as presented in the grammar before us, with that of other similar works, we are led to regard it as unsurpassed in clearness and systematic arrangement. Its perspicuity is not marred by diffuseness, nor its classifications rendered unnatural by forced analogies. Like a well ordered house it has a place for everything, and everything in its place.

The Syntax, however, is the crowning excellence of the work. It is in this department that our author peculiarly shows himself as the acute thinker and nice discriminator. There is not a page but bears the impress of a master. His rules appear to be the combined result of a severe analysis and a careful generalization. They have this marked peculiarity: they aim at *picturing*, as it were, to the mind, the various modes of thought peculiar to the language, rather than at stating an unsatisfactory rule without a why or a wherefore. The Syntax of this grammar is not a collection of rules, so called, with nothing to say for themselves, it is one of generalized principles, the reasons for which are exhibited in the statement of the principle. The subjective and objective modes of expression peculiar to the Greek are kept distinctly in view. This is presented with great clearness in the case of the participle, or the accusative with the infinitive as a complement with *verba sentiendi* and *declarandi*. The section on prepositions is valuable. It sets forth in a very satisfactory manner the original and figurative use of the prepositions. The remarks on the use of the modal adverb *ἄν* are worthy of special attention. On the difficult subject of the modes, we may affirm without fear of contradiction that this grammar has no superior; the nice shades of thought peculiar to the Greek optative and subjunctive modes are set forth with a clearness and point which has never been excelled if equalled; acute discrimination and logical precision mark every step. Every possible combination of conditional thought is treated with an accuracy and plainness, which will render it peculiarly acceptable to the practical scholar. Had this work no other excellence than that alluded to on the use of the modes, this of itself would be enough to recommend it to the lover of the Greek classics. The sections on subordinate clauses cannot fail to arrest the attention of scholars. This subject is treated at considerable length, under the head of substantive, adjective and adverbial clauses, according as the subordinate sentence consists of the development of a substantive, an adjective, or an adverbial thought. There are many other points of excellence peculiar to this work which we have been compelled to pass over in

silence; these, in connection with the more prominent which we have mentioned, render the work eminently worthy of the attention of American scholars. Many important changes have been made in this new edition of the Grammar, which has materially increased its former value. The publishers have spared no pains to present the work to the American public in a neat and attractive form. Of the elegance and perspicuity of the translation, we need say nothing; it will speak for itself. In conclusion, we most heartily recommend the work to all who would perfect themselves in a language, which for flexibility of expression in all the wide compass of thought from "gay to grave, from lively to severe," has remained for ages the admiration of the world.

B.

III. OWEN'S GREEK READER.¹

THE course of Greek reading, presented in this new text-book, is shorter than in the similar works of Jacobs, Colton and Felton, the most popular among its predecessors. The text is printed on 98 duodecimo pages, and is in amount somewhat less than that of the old *Graeca Minora*. Dr. Owen, apparently, has been afraid of putting a cumbrous and unmanageable book into the hands of the beginner. Perhaps in this anxiety to avoid excess, he has erred on the side of deficiency. At least there appears to be one reason of considerable importance for desiring a greater extent of reading in a work of this kind. A copious Greek Reader has this advantage, that it furnishes a broader basis for school editions of the Greek classics. An editor of Xenophon, or Homer, or Herodotus, who can be sure that no student will come to his book, without the knowledge and experience to be gained by reading 250 or 300 pages from a variety of authors, may feel himself dispensed from much elementary annotation, which he might otherwise regard as necessary. It is not difficult to see that some editions of Greek classics published in our country, would have been materially improved, if the editor could have presupposed this extent of study and attainment in the class who were to use them. We might thus have escaped that endless repetition of trite remarks, useless except for mere beginners, and that amount of translation, perhaps worse than useless even for such, with which some of our books are overloaded.

It may well be doubted whether anything from Homer should have been included in so short a course. We are far from sharing the views of those who would confine the student for years to a single author, at whatever risk of monotony and tediousness, lest his perception of Greek should be confused and blunted by the variety of different styles. The diversities of Xenophon and Plato, of Strabo and Plutarch and Lucian, are much less philological

¹ A Greek Reader, containing Selections from various Authors, adapted to Sophocles's and Kühner's Grammars, with Notes and a Lexicon, for the use of Schools and Academies, by John J. Owen, D. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in the Free Academy in New York City. New York: Leavitt & Allen, 27 Dey Street. 1852. 12mo. pp. xi. 334.

than rhetorical, and scarcely more likely to embarrass the learner than the diversities of Goldsmith and Gibbon and Irving to embarrass a German in his first attempt to learn English. But we might hesitate to give the German at the outset of his course the works of Gower or Chaucer, differing so widely as they do in language and idiom from the English of these later centuries. And it seems equally unadvisable to plunge the student, who has hardly yet become familiar with the common Attic forms, into the vast and various maze of the Homeric language.

Among the poetical extracts, we have also some of the Anacreontic odes. In regard to these, the editor has inadvertently expressed himself in such a way, that the student might suppose some of them at least to be the genuine productions of Anacreon. Their spuriousness is at present universally acknowledged.

The Joe Millerisms of Hierocles, which stand here, as in the *Graeca Minora*, after the Aesopic fables, are a somewhat questionable concession to the love of fun, inherent in the student mind.

The remaining selections, viz. the Apothegms ascribed to Plutarch, the Dialogues of Lucian, and the extracts from the *Cyropaedia* and the *Anabasis*, call for no particular remark. The Greek text is very elegantly, and, as far as we have observed, very correctly printed, and the whole appearance of the work is highly creditable to the publishers.

The merits of Dr. Owen as a commentator are too well known to require remark. The work closes with a *Lexicon*, which seems to be carefully prepared, though in the definitions there is perhaps too much accumulation of synonymous expressions.

H.

IV. THE STUDY OF WORDS.¹

THERE are those who criticise language as if it were a product of mechanism. They either disregard it, as a matter of comparatively little consequence, or they hew and hack it, change its orthography and pervert its meaning as remorselessly as if they were but whittling a stick. We can never feel too strongly that language is living, that it keeps pace with the thought and manifold experiences of the nations that use it, and in its various conditions from age to age, is no mean indicator of the dignity and grandeur, or increasing degradation of the people. Its most perfect state may not synchronize exactly with the highest national prosperity, but its iron, its silver, its golden, its brazen ages will be found pretty nearly to follow the intellectual and moral condition of those who write and speak it. But language is made up of words, and it is the object of Mr. Trench to show how there is stored up in words, and not in books alone, truths of history and

¹ On the Study of Words, by Richard Chenevix Trench, B. D., Vicar of Itchenstroke, Hants; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford; and Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. From the Second London edition, revised and enlarged. Redfield, Clinton Hall, New York. 1852.

morals, of passion and imagination. Another purpose of these interesting and valuable lectures, is to lead the mind to a careful discrimination of the meaning of words, and of their full value in the expression of thought, and thus to lead the student to exactness and precision as well as to comprehensiveness and power. A subtle master of the tongue suffers his language to bend and apply itself to every form of thought. Sometimes it is rigid and severe in definition and demonstration, sometimes tumultuous in passion, sometimes cool in argument, sometimes simple and artless in narration. The occult power of words is often that which gives them their peculiar fitness and charm. Images, feelings, thoughts, half awakened by the word or phrase, constitute its peculiar felicity and mark the practical movement of the mind which uses it. Words may be compared to an *alto rilievo*, behind the main and prominent figures of which, you see dim outlines of forms moving silently and attending upon the principal actors. Take these away and the procession is comparatively solitary and desolate.

Mr. Trench's six lectures abound in information, and they will serve a still better purpose in standing as a model of what every student and every writer of our language should do, and may easily do, to a certain extent, for himself. The subjects treated are, besides the Introductory lecture, The Morality in words; The History in words; Rise of new words; The Distinction of words; and The Schoolmaster's use of words.

Under each of these topics he illustrates the value of a careful study of words, and by the simple process of the etymology or the history of terms, shows how full their meaning may be, and what richness of information is often concealed within the narrow and unsuspected limits of a few syllables. We cannot better give an idea of the work, and of the really delightful manner in which it is executed, than by quoting a few illustrations from the different Lectures.

" 'Iliads without a Homer,' some one has called, with a little exaggeration, the beautiful but anonymous ballad poetry of Spain. One may be permitted, perhaps, to push the exaggeration a little further in the same direction, and to apply the phrase not merely to a ballad but to a word. Let me illustrate that which I have been here saying somewhat more at length by the word 'tribulation.' We all know in a general way that this word, which occurs not seldom in Scripture and in the liturgy, means affliction, sorrow, anguish; but it is quite worth our while to know *how* it means this, and to question the word a little closer. It is derived from the Latin 'tribulum,' which was the thrashing instrument or roller, whereby the Roman husbandman separated the corn from the husks; and 'tribulatio' in its primary significance was the act of this separation. But some Latin writer of the Christian church appropriated the word and image for the setting forth of a higher truth; and sorrow, distress and adversity, being the appointed means for the separating in men of their chaff from their wheat, of whatever in them was light and trivial and poor from the solid and the true, therefore he called these sorrows and griefs 'tribulations,' thrashings, that is, of the inner spiritual man, without which there could be no fitting him for the heavenly garner. Now in proof of what I have just now said, namely, that a single

word is often a concentrated poem, a little grain of gold capable of being beaten out into a broad extent of gold-leaf, I will quote, in reference to this very word 'tribulation,' a graceful composition by an early English poet, which you will at once perceive is all wrapped up in this word, being from first to last only the expanding of the image and thought which this word has implicitly given :

'Till from the straw, the flail, the corn doth beat,
 Until the chaff be purged from the wheat,
 Yea, till the mill the grains in pieces tear,
 The richness of the flour will scarce appear.
 So, till men's persons great afflictions touch,
 If worth be found, their worth is not so much,
 Because, like wheat in straw, they have not yet
 That value which in thrashing they may get.
 For till the bruising flails of God's corrections
 Have thrashed out of us our vain affections ;
 Till those corruptions which do misbecome us
 Are by thy sacred Spirit winnowed from us ;
 Until from us the straw of worldly treasures,
 Till all the dusty chaff of empty pleasures,
 Yea, till His flail upon us He doth lay,
 To thrash the husk of this our flesh away ;
 And leave the soul uncovered ; nay yet more,
 Till God shall make our very spirit poor,
 We shall not up to highest wealth aspire ;
 But then we shall ; and that is my desire.'

Language is truly, as Mr. Trench calls it, "the amber in which a thousand precious and subtle thoughts have been safely embedded and preserved. In the second lecture, on "the Morality in words," the subject is thus admirably opened :

"But has man fallen, and deeply fallen, from the heights of his original creation ? We need no more than his language to prove it. Like everything else about him, it bears at once the stamp of his greatness and of his degradation, of his glory and of his shame. What dark and sombre threads he must have woven into the tissue of his life, before we could trace such dark ones running through the tissue of his language ! What facts of wickedness and woe must have existed in the first, ere there could be such words to designate these as are found in the last. There have been always those who have sought to make light of the hurts which man has inflicted on himself, of the sickness with which he is sick ; who would fain persuade themselves and others that moralists and divines, if they have not quite invented, have yet enormously exaggerated, these. But are these statements found only in Scripture and in sermons ? Are there not mournful corroborations of their truth imprinted deeply upon every region of man's natural and spiritual life, and on none more deeply than on his language ? It needs no more than to open a dictionary, and to cast our eye thoughtfully down a few columns, and we shall find abundant confirmation of this sadder and sterner estimate of man's moral and spiritual condition. How else shall we explain this long catalogue of words, having all to do with sin, or with sorrow, or with both ? How came they there ? We may be quite sure that they were not invented without being needed, that they have each a correlative in the world of realities. I open the first letter of the alphabet ; what means this 'ah,' this 'alas,' these deep and long-drawn sighs of humanity, which at once we encounter there ?

And then presently follow words such as these: 'affliction,' 'agony,' 'anguish,' 'assassin,' 'atheist,' 'avarice,' and twenty more — words, you will observe, for the most part not laid up in the recesses of the language, to be drawn forth and used at rare opportunities, but occupying many of them its foremost ranks. And indeed, as regards abundance, it is a melancholy thing to observe how much richer is every vocabulary in words that set forth sins, than in those that set forth graces. When St. Paul (Gal. 5: 19—23) would put these against those, 'the works of the flesh' against 'the fruit of the Spirit,' those are seventeen, these only nine; and where do we find in Scripture such lists of graces, as we do at 2 Tim. 3: 2, Rom. 1: 29—31, of their opposites?

The criticism on such words as "tinsel," "animosity," "prejudice," "plague," the Latin word "assentator," "libertine," "passion," "silly," and many others, is equally full of ingenuity and wise suggestions.

Of the "History in words," some singular instances are given. Take, for example the terms "saunterer" and "poltroon:"

"'Saunterer,' derived from 'la Sainte Terre,' is one who visits the Holy Land. At first a deep and earnest enthusiasm drew men thither to visit — in the beautiful words which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of our Fourth Henry, and which explains so well the attractions that at one time made Palestine the magnet of all Christendom — to visit, I say —

'those holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter cross.'

By degrees, however, as the enthusiasm spent itself, the making of this pilgrimage degenerated into a mere worldly fashion, and every idler that liked strolling about better than performing the duties of his calling, assumed the pilgrim's staff, and proclaimed himself bound for the Holy Land; to which very often he never in earnest set out. And thus this word forfeited the more honorable meaning it may once have possessed, and the 'saunterer' came to signify one idly and unprofitably wasting his time, loitering here and there, with no fixed purpose or aim.

"A curious piece of history is wrapped up in the word 'poltroon,' supposing it to be indeed derived, as many excellent etymologists have considered, from the Latin 'pollice truncus;' one, that is deprived, or who has deprived himself, of his thumb. We know that in the old times a self-mutilation of this description was not unfrequent on the part of some cowardly shirking fellow, who wished to escape his share in the defence of his country; he would cut off his right thumb, and at once become incapable of drawing the bow, and thus useless for the wars. It was not to be wondered at that Englishmen, the men of Crecy and Agincourt, who with those very bows which he had disabled himself from drawing, had quelled the mailed chivalry of Europe, should have looked with extremest disdain on one who had so basely exempted himself from service, nor that the 'police truncus,' the poltroon, first applied to a coward of this sort, should afterward become a name of scorn affixed to every base and cowardly evader of the duties and dangers of life."

Equally curious are the derivations of "mammet" and "mammetry" from Mohammed; of "dunce" (alas) from "*Duns* Scotus"; of "tariff" from Tarifa," etc. An admirable illustration closes the lecture:

"That which has been spoken in this lecture will, I trust, abundantly justify the comparison with which I would conclude it. Suppose, then, that the pieces of money which, in the ordinary intercourse of life, are passing through our hands, had each one something of its own which made it more or less worthy of note; if on one was stamped some striking maxim, on another some important fact, on a third a memorable date; if others were works of finest art, graven with rare and beautiful devices, or bearing the head of some ancient sage or heroic king; while others again were the sole surviving monuments of mighty nations that once filled the world with their fame; what a careless indifference to our own improvement would it argue in us, if we were content that these should come and go, should stay by us or pass from us, without our vouchsafing to them so much as one serious regard. Such a currency there is, a currency intellectual and spiritual of no meaner worth, and one with which we have to transact so much of the higher business of our lives. Let us see that we come not here under the condemnation of any such incurious dulness as that which I have imagined."

We forbear simply from want of space to quote from the lectures on the "Rise of new words" and on "Synonyms." The passages already selected are but fair specimens of the whole. A few remarks on the abomination called "phonetic spelling," the object of which is that "all words should be spelt according as they are sounded," shall close our extracts:

"The tacit assumption that it ought so to be, is the pervading error running through the whole system. But there is no necessity that it should; every word on the contrary has *two* existences, as a spoken word and a written; and you have no right to sacrifice one of these, or even to subordinate it wholly, to the other. A word exists as truly for the eye as for the ear, and in a highly advanced state of society, where reading is almost as universal as speaking, as much perhaps for the first as for the last. That in the *written* word moreover, is the permanence and continuity of language and of learning, and that the connection is most intimate of a true orthography with all this, is affirmed in our words, 'letters,' 'literature,' 'unlettered,' even as in other languages by words entirely corresponding to these.¹

"The gains consequent on the introduction of such a change as is proposed, would be insignificantly small, while the losses would be enormously great. The gains would be the saving of a certain amount of labor in the learning to spell; an amount of labor, however, absurdly exaggerated by the promoters of the scheme. This labor, whatever it is, would be in great part saved, as the pronunciation would at once put in possession of the spelling; if, indeed, spelling or orthography could then be said to exist. But even this insignificant gain would not long remain, seeing that pronunciation is itself continually altering; custom is lord here for better or for worse; and a multitude of words are now pronounced in a different manner from that of a hundred years ago, so that, ere very long, there would again be a chasm between the spelling and pronun-

¹ As *litteræ*, γράμματα, ἀγράμματος.

elation of words; — unless indeed the former were to vary, as I do not see well how it could consistently refuse to do with each variation of the latter, reproducing each one of its barbarous or capricious alterations; which thus it must be remembered, would be changes not in the pronunciation only, but in the word itself, for the word would only exist as a pronounced word, the written being a mere shadow of this. When these had multiplied a little, and they would indeed multiply exceedingly, so soon as the barrier against them which now exists was removed, what the language would ere long become, it is not easy to guess.

"This fact, however, though alone sufficient to show how little the scheme of phonetic spelling would remove even those inconveniences which it proposes to remedy, is only the smallest objection to it. The far deeper and more serious one is, that in innumerable instances, it would obliterate altogether those clear marks of birth and parentage, which, if not all, yet so many of our words bear now upon their very fronts, or are ready, upon a very alight interrogation, to declare to us. Words have now an ancestry; and the ancestry of words as of men, is often a very noble part of them, making them capable of great things, because those from whom they are descended have done great things before them; but this would deface their scutcheon, and bring them all to the same ignoble level. Words are now a nation, grouped into tribes and families, some smaller, some larger; this change would go far to reduce them to a promiscuous and barbarous horde. Now they are often translucent with their idea, as an alabaster vase is lighted up by a lamp placed within it; in how many cases would this inner light be then quenched. They have now a body and a soul, and the soul looking through the body; oftentimes then nothing but the body, not seldom nothing but the carcase, of the word would remain. Both these objections were urged long ago by Bacon, who characterizes this so-called reformation, 'that writing should be consonant to speaking,' as 'a branch of unprofitable subtlety;' and especially urges that thereby 'the derivations of words, especially from foreign languages, are utterly defaced and extinguished.'"

As will be inferred, we cannot too strongly commend this little book to the attention not only of students but of all interested in our language. We notice one word on the last page, the use of which is a strong illustration of some of the points suggested in the discussion, viz. the word "solemnizing," in the sense of producing a solemn feeling. This word has been edging its way into respectable society for a number of years, though often charged upon us as an Americanism and more specifically still as a clerical fault, but we were taken a little by surprise to see it in such a treatise. B.

V. NEW WORK ON THE LIFE AND LABORS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.¹

It is well known that detachments of the British Navy have been employed for many years in making most minute and searching examinations of nearly all the coasts, islands, etc. of the eastern Mediterranean. In this way a great amount of accurate information has been deposited in the ar-

¹ The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, by the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M. A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. In two vols. Vol. I. pp. 492. 4to. London. 1851.

chives of the British admiralty. These expeditions have furnished protection and efficient aid to private individuals, men of taste and science who have traversed the adjacent regions, some of whom have written works of great value. What shores, what regions to examine! How the imagination kindles at their very names! Troy, Byzantium, Tarsus, Antioch, Smyrna, Lesbos, Mt. Athos, "the great landmark," Philippi, and the beautiful isles and coasts of the Aegean. How precious to the Christian, no less than to the classical scholar, are these venerable lands! May the day soon come when not only the classic spirit shall spring up from its ashes, but when the Day Spring from on high shall dawn on all the scenes of the great Apostle's labors, and Christianity everywhere appear in its own freshness and purity.¹

The life and character of every individual are more or less affected by the times and circumstances in which he lives. While it is true that all the great controlling minds of any age, give in some measure a character to their age, it is also true that the age leaves its own impress on the men who lived in it. The great names that shape and mould society will in no small degree make their own circumstances, and yet in an important sense their circumstances make them. No man in a given position, and under particular influences, is what he would have been, had these been reversed. The system of education under which his mind first began to develop itself, the social influences into which he was brought in contact, the civil polity under which he lived, the different phases of life which daily met the eye, the religious views current in his time, the philosophical systems of his age, the very scenery with which he has been familiar, all have their influence upon his character. The knowledge of these conditions becomes the more necessary, as they are the more remote from the present time, and are less familiar to our present experience and observation; and they become indispensably necessary, where there is a lack of other materials for a complete biography. It is the object of this work to meet these conditions, "to give a living picture of St. Paul and the circumstances by which he was surrounded." The direct materials for his biography are gleaned from his Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles; both these sources of information are valuable, and indeed indispensable; but alone, they would leave his biography in a mere skeleton-form, the filling up and beautifying of which would require a knowledge of all the moulding and modifying influences that could be gathered, on every hand, from the widely different circumstances in which he was placed. This the authors have done in a very faithful and minute manner, no sources of information having been overlooked, that would throw light on the life, the writings and missionary labors of the Apostle. They introduce us to the influences under which he grew up in Tarsus, "the chief city of Celicia," and the education he would receive in the schools of his home; we follow him to the new scenes and associations by which he is surrounded, when, at a ma-

¹ Thus far Professor Edwards had written but a few weeks before his death, when his increasing prostration compelled him to lay down his pen on his manuscript, both of which have been treasured up as sad mementos of his last literary labors.

turer age, he leaves the plains of Cilicia, and is placed in the "hill country" of Jerusalem, "at the feet of Gamaliel," the most eminent ornament of the two prominent schools then at the Jewish capital. The circle of influences within which he was here brought, can hardly fail to be detected in his subsequent life and character. The disputations that he constantly heard upon the Law, the system of dialectics with which he must have become familiar, a system not unlike the Socratic method of instruction, "both in hearing and asking questions," fitted him to meet successfully in his ministry the sophistries of the cavilling Jews, and to reason mightily out of the Scriptures. In this way the Apostle is traced in all his journeyings, "in his perils in the city, in his perils in the sea, and in his perils among false brethren," with all the array of influences, whether favorable or adverse, that attended him. An account is given of each of the countries and places he visits, and the circumstances by which he is there surrounded. The lands, the cities, the seas and harbors connected with his travels become familiar objects. We can follow him "among the palms of Syria, the cedars of Lebanon, the olives of Attica, the green Isthmian pines of Corinth." We enter the Piræus with him; we stand with him upon the Areopagus, with the Acropolis, the Agora and Pnyx in view, with the temples, the altars and statues innumerable rising before him. We hear him disputing with the Stoics and Epicureans, endeavoring to refute the Pantheism of the one, and the Atheism of the other, by making known to them "the unknown God."

It will be readily seen from the one or two points glanced at, how valuable an auxiliary the present work will be in giving a fuller understanding of the character and writings of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. The following extract from the Introduction to the work, will show the wide circle from which the authors intend to draw illustrations in order to give a full view of the Apostle's character as a missionary to the heathen; and what they here mark out as necessary for this purpose, they have very successfully accomplished, so far as the work has been completed:

"To understand St. Paul's personal history as a missionary to the heathen, we must know the state of the different populations which he visited; the character of the Greek and Roman civilization at the epoch; the points of intersection between the political history of the world and the scriptural narrative; the social organization and gradation of ranks, for which he enjoins respect; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many of his letters; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he not vainly sought to imbue with the loving spirit of the Gospel; the quality and influence, under the early empire, of the Greek and Roman religions, whose effete corruptness he denounces with such indignant scorn; the public amusement of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration; the operation of the Roman law, under which he was so frequently arraigned; the courts in which he was tried, and the magistrate by whose sentence he suffered; the legionary soldiers who acted as his guards; the roads by which he travelled, whether through the mountains of Lycaonia, or the marshes of Latium; the course of commerce by

which his journeys were so often regulated; and the character of that imperfect navigation by which his life was so many times endangered."

The Epistles are inserted in chronological order in the course of the biography, accompanied by such explanations of the circumstances of those to whom they were sent, as to make them more fully understood, and to give them a deeper interest. A new translation of the Epistles is given, having more the form of a paraphrase, than the common version, and marking with more precision than a literal translation could do, the transitions and sudden changes of thought. The translation is therefore designed to make the same impression upon the English reader, as the original made on those to whom the Epistles were at first addressed. The work is published in the quarto form, the first volume containing 492 pages. The present volume is furnished with thirty finished steel engravings, representing the places which the Apostle visited. These engravings were taken on the spot, by eminent artists, expressly for this work. Maps, too, have been supplied, "exhibiting, with as much accuracy as can at present be attained, the physical features of the countries visited, and some of the ancient routes through them, together with the plans of the most important cities and maritime charts of coasts, when they were required." The second volume, completing the work, which has been delayed by the ill health of one of the authors, will be published early in October.

VI. HISTORY OF THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON.¹

THIS is a book which no Christian man, and especially no Puritan Christian, can read, without the highest respect for, and the profoundest sympathy with, the writer. It is one of those outgoings which show that there is yet, deep in the heart of the Unitarian community, a rich vein of the old Puritan element, throbbing and working and feeling, and *turning the hearts of the children to the fathers*. God be praised that it is so. The Puritan fathers were not perfect; they had their faults, strong faults, for their whole character was a character of mighty strength. Yet they loved God and God's truth; to this they were willing to sacrifice every earthly endearment — and their most fervent prayer for their posterity, to the remotest generation, was, that they too might possess God and God's truth, whatever else they might lack. Such prayers are not to remain always unanswered. The children of the Puritans by bodily descent will yet be their children by spiritual regeneration, and it shall not be the reproach of New England that the glowing, unworldly, Scriptural faith of its founders has died out.

We hope to see many more such local histories as this from those who are now in possession of the old establishments; and we long to find the authors, *not only almost, but altogether, such as we are, except — that which is faulty.*

S.

¹ A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston, to which is added a History of the New Brick Church, with Engravings. By Chandler Robbins, Minister of the Second Church. Boston: Published by John Wilson & Son. 1852.

ARTICLE XI.

SELECT THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ASIA.

From the Journal of Rev. Dr. J. Perkins, Missionary at Orúmiáh, communicated in a Letter dated Jan. 16, 1852.

"MAY 23rd (1849), we crossed the Tigris, and were obliged to wait a long time on the eastern bank for our muleteers. We thus started late, and rode to the village of *Tel-keepa*, which is ten or twelve miles distant from Mosul. Our course was a little west of north. Our road lay over a slightly undulating section of the great Plain, which, like the rest of it, is extensively cultivated with wheat. We saw several stags in one of the wheat-fields, and they are said to be common all over the Plain. As we passed along the north end of old Nineveh, opposite Mosul, which we had visited before, I observed that the ancient wall turns at right angles, and has a very regular appearance. There are *gaps* in the ridges marking these walls, probably the sites of *gateways*, through which roads from the east to Mosul now run, doubtless right along the great streets of the ancient city.

"*Tel-keepa*, the village where we stopped for the night, is inhabited by Papal Nestorians, and is estimated to contain 500 families, being much the largest Papal Nestorian village in this province. It is situated in a hollow, and takes its name, *Stony-hill*, from the stony hills around it. The houses are built of soft lime-stone, in irregular fragments, laid in mud.

"May 24. We rose before the sun, having slept on the flat roof. There was a heavy dew, from which I had taken cold. We soon proceeded on our way, and travelled about twenty miles to the town of *Elkúsh*. We rode many miles still over the undulating Plain, the swells and hollows being clothed with a rich growth of wheat; but there were no trees nor streams; and in the villages, stagnant pools and wells in low hollows, their only dependence, can furnish no good water. The crops are all sustained by the rains of spring; and it must be parched and dreary on this vast fertile Plain, later in the season. Our course was still a little west of north. We passed a Papal Nestorian village, six or seven miles north of *Tel-keepa*, the name of which is *Bütnai*, containing 130 families. Six or eight miles farther on, is the village of *Tescopa* (high hill), also inhabited by Papal Nestorians, and containing 120 families. We passed over extensive sections of soft lime-stone, the protruding edges of alabaster strata glistening in the sun, and pointing us to the inexhaustible quarries from which the marble for the palaces of ancient Nineveh were obtained. Two miles distant, on our left, appeared three white, pointed domes of the *Yezedees*, the *Sheikhs*, as they are called, viz. *Sheikh Semes* (the sun), *Sheikh Haddee*, and *Melek Fâkir*

din, situated at the base of a ridge of low lime-stone hills. The place is regarded by the *Yezedees*, as very sacred. Winding our way up through these hills, we came to a sluggish brook, a rare object in this region. Advancing two miles, we rose upon the level Plain of *Elkûsh*, the town now being in sight, still three or four miles distant, on the north side of the Plain. On our right was a Yezedee village, the name of which is *Shava-feea*. Proceeding directly north, across the Plain, we came to *Elkûsh*, situated on a broken, stony declivity, right under the first range of the Kûrdish mountains. This range consists of naked lime-stone rock, stretching far to the east and west, a continuation of the same bold rampart which we had observed on our way to Mosul, as hiding from our view the higher and more varied Kûrdish ranges beyond.

"On our stage, to-day, we must, somewhere, have crossed the track of Alexander, in his advance toward the camp of Darius. 'On his right,' says the historian, 'lay the Tigris; and on the left, the mountains called Cordyæi,' i. e. the Kûrdish mountains.

"The situation of *Elkûsh* is very hot, lying directly under the high Kûrdish mountains, on the northern extremity of the great Assyrian Plain. A few stunted pomegranates and figs were growing in small gardens, in the village, which were the only trees to be seen, to relieve the eye as it stretched along the bare lime-stone range, and over the vast Plain in the other directions. The town contains about 300 Papal Nestorian families. Three hundred of its men were slaughtered, seventeen years ago, by the bloody Kûrdish Meer of Ravendûz, who sacked the place and nearly ruined it, his Vandal bands not even sparing the books in the churches. Many of the houses, built of stone, are still half dilapidated. The people speak the modern Syriac and the Kûrdish.

"I hardly need say that *Elkûsh* is a very ancient town, the home of Nahum the prophet, whose grave is with the *Elkûshites* unto this day. We visited the Prophet's tomb. It is in a small Jewish synagogue. An oblong box, twice the size of a common cart, covered with green cotton cloth, stands over what purports to be his grave. The synagogue and tomb are kept by a Christian, there now being no Jews in *Elkûsh*. Many Israelites make the pilgrimage and spend the feast of Tabernacles in this ancient and venerable place, coming for that purpose even from Burrorah, Constantinople and Jerusalem. The Ravendûz Pasha plundered the Jewish synagogue, in common with everything else at *Elkûsh*. We visited the ancient Nestorian church in this town, and were pained to find its venerable walls dishonored by tawdry pictures hung there in great profusion by modern emissaries of Rome, since the place was converted to Papacy.

"In the course of the afternoon, we rode up to the Papal monastery, *Rabban Hormezd*, which bears the name of a Nestorian saint, whom the Papists detest, but by substituting a Papal martyr, of the same name, as the presiding spirit of the place, they find no difficulty in appropriating the establishment to their use. The monastery is situated about two miles north-east from the town of *Elkûsh*, in a deep, wild, rocky ravine, under a bold, lofty

cliff, some five or six hundred feet above the Plain. The place is very romantic and well chosen for so unworthy an object. Perched on the side of the cliff, is a very fine stone arched church, which has come down from ancient times; and cells for the monks are built separately along in the clefts of the rocks, the whole like birds' nests hanging high in the air, on the almost perpendicular face of the cliff. The path up to the monastery is formed by stairs cut in the rock. The wild glen smiled with a few small pomegranate and fig trees. We found at the church an abbot, priest Emmanuel, more than seventy years old, and two younger priests, his associates. Under them are about thirty monks. The abbot received us very politely and showed us the different apartments of the church, and the tomb of *Rabban Hormezd*, which gives sanctity to the place. From the monastery, the broad Plains of Assyria and Mesopotamia are seen to a great distance. The city of Mosul is also visible. The town of Elkûsh being a little higher than those vast plains, also commands a similar prospect, very grand in its immensity, to the east, west and south.

"The mountains back of Elkûsh are singularly contorted, the layers being twisted and tilted in every direction, and into the wildest intricacies, as though the range had been hove up by a mighty power from below, and strung along in a state of fusion by a moving whirlpool. As we rose on leaving Elkûsh, the Tigris appeared about four miles to the westward."

GERMANY.

THE publications of the last quarter include but little that is of any general interest. They are mostly of a local practical value. One class of these, however, will interest the American church. Attention has been called to the great activity of the Catholics in Germany. The Jesuits are working more openly and earnestly than for several years before, and considerable numbers are going over from the Protestant to the Catholic faith. Many, wearied with the indefiniteness and the negative character of much so-called Protestant faith, are easily induced to go over to Catholicism, where faith in the creed of the church gives them at least something positive. Among the publications called forth by this state of things, we notice a number of spirited controversial pamphlets which have appeared at different points along the Rhine, from Dr. Schenkel and others on the Protestant side, and Dr. Stolz and others on the side of the Catholics.

In the department of Biblical and Ecclesiastical literature we have to notice: Ebrard's *Dogmatics*, Vol. II.; a seventh revised edition of De Wette's "Introduction to the Old Testament;" a Commentary on Genesis by Delitzsch, displaying his usual acuteness and learning as a Hebraist, and involving some concessions which are quite satisfactory to the critical school of commentators (e. g. the recognition of two different sources employed in the composition of Genesis, and of Deuteronomy as the only book of the Pentateuch which claims to be from Moses's hand), together with some fancies which are regarded as detracting from the real value of the work. A

work of Dr. Düsterdieck on "The Ethical Nature of General and Messianic Prophecy in the Old Testament," is highly commended. So "Alttestamentliche Studien," by von Gumpach. With reference to the New Testament, we notice a little work by a Licentiate, Luthardt, on "The Structure of the Gospel of John," and from Dr. Hilgenfeld, a "Commentary on Galatians, with a translation and various excursus." Prof. Tischendorf has added to his numerous works an edition of the Codex Claromontanus, designated in his editions of the New Testament as *D ad Epistolas*" (Imp. 4to. xi. 599). The edition contains the Greek text of Paul's Epistles, with a Latin version. Two other contributions to early Christian literature, which are invaluable if they are genuine, are "The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans," and "The Correspondence between Christ and Abgarus, king of Edessa," both of which were "revealed by the Lord himself to a chosen servant in the year 1844."

We have further a little work from Hengstenberg on "The Lord's Day." The first part is new, and contains the Exegesis of all Scripture passages relating to the Sabbath. The remaining practical part is a reprint from his periodical. The edition of the Coptic N. T. begun by Schwartz is taken up by Dr. P. Böttcher; the "Acts" have been already published, and the Epistles will soon follow. A second number of Jelliaek's "Contributions to the History of the Cabbalah" has appeared.

In the History of the Church, we have from Dr. F. C. Baur "Epochen der Kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung;" further, Vol. II. of Baum's *Life of Beza* (I. in 1843), and Vol. II. of Hasse's "Anselm of Canterbury (I. 1843).

In the department of Philosophy, besides new volumes in the series of *Reader's* and of *Herbart's* works, we notice Vol. II. Part 2, of Sengler's "Idu Gottes," containing "The Speculative Cosmology." Vol. I. of Taute's "Philosophy of Religion," has appeared in a new edition, and of Vol. II, "Philosophy of Christianity," Part I, which contains "The fundamental facts of Evangelical History." The philosophical quarterly which was mentioned in the last *Bib. Sac.*, as established by Dr. Wirth and others, is merged in the philosophical Journal of Prof. Dr. Ulrici which is revived. No. 1 was to appear in May. The Journal in its new form is to receive articles from men of various philosophical schools, and is to include more practical discussions than were formerly common in such journals.

In the department of Lexicography, we have to announce a report that the long expected Syriac Lexicon of Prof. Bernstein is now going through the press. For the more thorough study of the German, we have the first number of the great Lexicon of the brothers, Jacob and William Grimm. As is well known this work has been many years in preparation. Its design is to give the results of the most thorough investigation into the forms and relations of words, together with a historical view of the development of their significations. The field of literature investigated extends from the time of Luther to Göthe. As the work undertaken was too great even for the indomitable energy of the brothers Grimm, they have sought and received the coöperation of a large number of scholars from all parts of Germany. To each of these, particular authors were assigned, whose works were to be

examined according to a prescribed plan. The vast amount of material collected in this way, the Grimms are arranging and will publish as rapidly as possible. The work is to appear in numbers of 15 sheets octavo each, and is to amount to at least 500 sheets. No. 1 includes A — Allverein. In its external form the work appears remarkably well. As a specimen of the internal we give an outline of the article "All." The root of the word is traced as differently developed in the Gothic, Old German, Anglo-Saxon, Swedish, Danish, English, Irish, Welsh, Armoric, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, etc. The article develops further the German forms, signification, position, and forms in composition; the *form* as varying in different ages, and in different positions of the word, and in the usage of different authors; the *signification*, when the word occurs with or without the article, before or after the substantive, as attribute or predicate; the *position*, as varying with the degree of emphasis, the shade of meaning, etc.

The third Heft of the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1852, contains an article by Ullmann entitled "des Wesen des Christenthums und die Mystik." It is a polemical article defending his work on the Essence of Christianity, particularly against de Gasparin and other French critics. The second article is from D. Lange, "über die Betrachtung der Natur aus dem Christologischen Gesichtspunkte." There are further articles by Rinck on the origin of evil and the Fall, by von Gumpach on the taxing (Luke 2: 1—5), and by Kling, a continuation of his account of the fourth "Evangelical Churchday."

The April number of the Lutheran Quarterly of Rudelbach and Guericke contains Article VII. of the series of Rudelbach on "State Churchism and Religious Freedom." Further, an article from Drechsler with a supplement by Delitzsch on the O. T. phrase אָבִיר חַיִּים, art. 1 of a series by Neumann entitled "Leben, Schauen und Wirken eines Protestanten in Rom. 1851," and a letter by Ströbel in regard to the Lutheran Conference in Leipsic, together with 108 pages of literary notices.

The April number of Baur and Zeller's "Jahrbuch" contains the conclusion of Schweizer's article on Moses Amyraldus, one by Keim on "The Roman Edict of Toleration for Christianity A. D. 311—313, and its historical worth," the conclusion of Dr. Hilgenfeld's article on Mark's Gospel, and "Explanations of some theological subjects from the doctrines and *usus loquendi* of the later Greek philosophers," by Dr. Zeller.

Benfey's Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache is said to have added less than was expected to the scientific understanding of the language. The author seems to have come down from the high station of Comparative Philology, and taken his stand upon the grammar of the native Indians. He has labored to exhaust the multiplicity of their rules and limitations and exceptions, and thus to make his Grammar a Thesaurus of theirs.

Weber's History of Indian Literature is now in press, and will perhaps make its appearance in August or September.

Vullers, of Giessen, has issued the Prospectus of a new Persian Dictionary, with definitions in Latin. It is to be purely Persian, rejecting the multitude

of Arabic words found in the classical writers of Persia, except where those words have been subjected to the regular changes of the Persian language.

GREAT BRITAIN.

JOHNSTONE and HUNTER of Edinburgh, the publishers of the new edition of Owen's works, are about to issue a "Protestant Library," in 12 volumes. The publication will extend through three years, the subscription price being one guinea a year. The issue for the first year will comprise 4 volumes; Vol. I. Barrow on the Supremacy claimed by the Pope of Rome, Thomas M'Crie, D. D., LL. D., editor; Vol. II. On the Rule of Faith, edited by William Symington, D. D. of Glasgow, embracing treatises by Archbishops Tillotson and Tenison; Bishops Patrick, Williams, Kidder, Stratford, Fowler; Dean Sherlock; Richard Baxter; — Hutcheson, Esq. and Dr. Claggett; Vol. III. On the Infallibility claimed by the Papacy, Andrew Thompson, D. D. of Edinburgh, editor, treatises by Tenison, Tully, Stillingfleet, etc.; Vol. IV. Treatises on the Reformation, Rev. W. K. Tweedie, editor, by Tenison, Patrick, Sherlock, Stratford, Doolittle and others. In the issue for the second year it is intended to have volumes on the Idolatry of Romanism, on the Corruptions of the Moral Law by Popery, on the Popish Doctrine respecting the Confessional, Celibacy of the Clergy, Convents and Nunneries, and on the Persecuting Spirit of Popery. The last is to be edited by Dr. Robert Vaughan.

The "Congregational Lectures" which have been in the course of publication for fifteen years, are to be reissued in a cheap and uniform edition. They are offered at the exceedingly low price of twelve shillings for four volumes. The first issue, which is to be put to press immediately, is to comprise Wardlaw's Christian Ethics, Vaughan's Causes of the Corruptions of Christianity, Joseph Gilbert on the Christian Atonement and Henderson's work on Divine Inspiration. The remaining volumes of the full series are, 5. Redford's Holy Scripture Verified; 6. John Pye Smith on Scripture and Geology; 7. Alexander's Connection and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments; 8. Bennett's Theology of the Early Christian Church; 9. Scott's Existence of Evil Spirits; 10. Halley's Sacraments, Part 1, Baptism; 11. Payne's Doctrine of Original Sin; 12. Hamilton's Revealed Doctrine of Rewards and Punishments; 13. Davidson's Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament; 14. Stowell's Work of the Spirit; 15. Halley's Lord's Supper.

In the "Library for the Times" we notice a Life of Roger Williams, Founder of the Colony of Rhode Island, by Romeo Elton, D. D.; Life of Constantine the Great, by Joseph Fletcher; the Church of England in the Reign of the Tudors and Stuarts, 2 vols.; the Test of Experience, or the Voluntary Principle in the United States, by T. H. Hinton; the Free Church of Ancient Christendom and its Subjugation by Constantine, by Basil H. Cooper; John Milton, designed to exhibit his Ecclesiastical Principles, by Cyrus R. Edmonds.

Joseph Fletcher's History of the Revival and Progress of Independency

in England is completed in 4 vols. 12mo. at 2 shillings a volume. The Introduction contains an account of the development of the principles of Independency in the Age of Christ and his Apostles, and of the gradual departure of the Church into Anti-Christian error, until the time of the Reformation.

Bagster's Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament has been published, uniform in plan and size with the Hebrew Analytical Lexicon, which was prepared by Dr. Benjamin Davidson. This is an alphabetical arrangement of every word found in the Greek text, in every form in which it appears, and each form is referred to its root. It is a 4to volume published for £1. 5s.

Christophany: the Result of Original Investigations into the Manifestation of the Son of God, under the Old Testament dispensation; by the late Rev. G. B. Kidd. Edited by the Rev. O. T. Dobbin, LL. D. A Dissertation on Church Polity, by A. Ceventry Dick, Esq., Advocate, appears in a second edition. Of Barnes's Notes on the Old and New Testament in Cobbin's edition, upwards of 115,000 volumes have been sold in England.

As in preparation are announced: First Lines of Christian Theology, in the form of a Syllabus prepared for the use of the students in Homerton College, by the late John Pye Smith, edited by the Rev. William Farrar, secretary and librarian of New College, London; and a Memoir of Dr. Pye Smith by the Rev. John Medway; the 4th volume of Chalmers's Memoirs; a new edition of Biblical Topography, being Lectures on the Position and Character of the Places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, by Samuel Ransom, Tutor in Hackney Theol. Seminary. The Memoirs of Robert Haldane and his brother James Alexander Haldane have just been published. The works of Edmund Burke are to appear in a new and complete edition, to be comprised in eight monthly volumes, of which two have been issued. Hand-book of Chronology, on the basis of the "*L'art de verifier les dates.*"

Among the recent philosophical works, Sir William Hamilton's Discussions in Philosophy, Literature, etc., being a reprint, with additional notes, of his widely known articles in the Edinburgh Review, is the most important. Whewell, Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England. The Theory of Reasoning by Samuel Bailey is one of the works, following in the track of Mills's Logic, which would make all that is valuable in Logic, to be in the inductive rather than the deductive processes. Thomson in his Necessary Laws of Thought gives a far more satisfactory view of the sense and value of the two processes. Jas. F. Ferrier, Theory of Knowing and Being, a text-book of Metaphysics, is announced for publication in Edinburgh. The author is a professor at St. Andrew's University. A translation of Oersted's Soul in Nature forms one of the latest volumes of Bohn's Scientific Library.

The following are some of the more recent works in theology, history and general literature: A Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language, compiled by the Rev. Samuel Crowther, Missionary to Abeokuta, with a Preface by the Rev. O. V. Vidal. Seymour's Mornings with the Jesuits at Rome, noticed in our last number, has reached a fifth edition in England. Horae Evan-

gelicæ: the Internal Evidence of the Four Gospels, with reference to their Date, Structure and Authenticity, by the Rev. T. R. Birks, in one vol. 8vo. The second edition of John Stoughton's Life and Labors of Philip Doddridge. The Case of Miss Sellon, and the Sisters of Mercy of Plymouth, is printed in pamphlets, for and against. The bishop of Exeter has withdrawn his protection. Rev. James Spurrell has written an Exposure; Miss Sellon and a member of the University of Oxford have replied; Mr. Spurrell publishes a rejoinder, and other pamphlets still are announced.

The whole of the noted Gorham Case is summed up by E. F. Moore in one volume. O. T. Dobbin, Wesley the Worthy and Wesley the Catholic. The second part of the State of Man subsequent to the Introduction of Christianity, in "Small Books on Great Subjects." Clinton, an Epitome of the *Fæsti Hellenici*. An Inquiry into the Theology of the Anglican Reformers, with extracts from their writings. On Mormonism there is the third edition of a work giving the history of its rise and progress, and a biography of Joseph Smith by Tyson. S. J. Tregelles, Historical Evidence of the Authorship and Integrity of the Books of the New Testament. The Restoration of Belief, Part I. on Christianity in Relation to its Ancient and Modern Antagonists, pp. 112. Cambridge. The second edition of a Catechism of Church History, by Rev. W. F. Wilkinson, with the chronology to the present times. Spirit and Scope of Education, from the German of Dr. Stapf (a Roman Catholic). A translation of Nitzsch's *Babylon and Jerusalem*, which is a reply to Madame Pfeiffer's lucubrations. Franke Parker, *The Church*, in one volume folio, is a literary and theological curiosity, such as only England could produce. Theopholi *Episcopi Antiochensis libri tres ad Antiochum*, ed. G. G. Humphrey. *Worsæ* (T. T. A.), Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland. Muston's *Israel of the Alps*, the History of the Waldenses. Ellis (G.), *Irish Ethnology*, an outline of the Celtic and Saxon races. Bayldon (G.), *Annals of the Church in metre* from the Apostolical Age to the Reformation, in one volume for 5 shillings. (In 1722 Thomas Hobbes published, "True Ecclesiastical History in verse"). Three Treatises of John Wyklyffe, D. D., now first published from the MSS. by James Hawthorne Todd, D. D. Dublin; I. On the Church and her members; II. Apostasy of the Church; III. Antichrist. A new edition of Robert Vaughan's *Life of Wyklyffe*, published about 1830, is announced, which is to contain a full account of W's works and MSS. Dr. Candlish, *An Exposition of Genesis*, in 2 vols. The Literature of Northern Europe, by William and Mary Howitt. Dr. S. R. Maitland, the author of *Essays on the Reformation and on the Dark Ages*, adds to these, *Eight Essays on Various Subjects*. The first part of a *Life of Mohammed* from original sources, by Dr. A. Sprenger. F. W. Newman, *Regal Rome*, an Introduction to Roman History. Whewell on Liberal Education, Part III. J. R. Woodford, *The Church past and present*, in four lectures on Church History. Rev. J. C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church for Students of Theology*, in 2 vols. 8vo. reaches to the Reformation. A *Manual of Ecclesiastical History*, from the first to the twelfth century inclusive. By the Rev. E. S. Foulkes,

Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. This is arranged by centuries. The author promises a continuation. He breaks off the narration at the twelfth century, because "nothing would seem more unphilosophical than the usual method of separating the Reformation, as well from the causes which led to it as also [from] the results which have ensued from it." Spondanus and Spanheim, Mosheim and Fleury, Gieseler and Döllinger, are his chief authorities. It is proposed to publish a new edition of the *English Church Historians* from Bede to Foxe, uniform with the recent edition of Foxe's *Acts and Martyrs*, in 8 vols. 8vo.; it is to be issued by subscription in three half vols. each year until completed. The most recent announcement of the Chevalier Bunsen's work on Hippolytus and his *Times*, prepared in consequence of the publication of what purported to be the *Philosophumena* of Origen, extends it to four vols. instead of two. Palmomi: *Essays on the chronological systems of the ancient Jews and other chronographies.*

Dr. Pusey has published *Regal Supremacy not Arbitrary but limited by the Laws of the Church of which kings are members*. Part I. *The Ancient Precedents*. Chs. Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion*, to which is added a series of Documents from 1536 to 1615. Camithen's *Church History of England to 1688*, in a new edition, in 2 volumes. Dr. H. Pauli's *Alfred the Great and his place in History*, has been translated by Thomas Wright, Esq. English critics are forced to the confession that a German has given them the best life of their great king. A *History of England and France under the house of Lancaster*, with an introductory view of the early Reformation, one vol. 8vo, attracts a good deal of attention. J. B. Marsden has continued his *History of the Puritans* by a volume entitled, *History of the Later Puritans from 1642 to the ejection of the Non-conformist clergy in 1662*. His former work was, for a "clergyman" comparatively impartial.

Among the works called out by the recent Roman Catholic agitation, the following may be considered as having more than a fugitive value: Robert Hussey, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oxford, *The Rise of the Papal Power*, traced in three lectures. This begins with the council of Sardica, A. D. 347, and traces the progress of the Roman Catholic claims in a very clear and succinct historical narrative. In a short compass, we know not where a better view of the subject can be obtained. Edward John Shepherd, Rector of Ludderdown, in his *History of the Church of Rome to the end of the Episcopate of Damascus, A. D. 384*, which is the first volume of a larger work, attempts a more difficult task, the critical examination of the original documents. He finds forgeries on the largest scale; the "Letters of Cyprian" are all suppositions, and Cyprian himself is "probably an imaginary personage." The book shows more acuteness than sobriety in its criticisms. James Brogden, *Records of the Supremacy of the Crown, and of the Civil and Religious Liberties of England*. A translation of the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, by T. A. Buckley. The translation of Rev. J. Waterman, being dedicated to "his Eminence, the Archbishop of Westminster," may be supposed to be more in favor with the Roman

Catholics. Rev. Ed. Muscutt, *History of Church Laws in England from 602 to 1850*, is said to be valuable on the relation of the Canon to the Civil Law. William Uswick, *The Triple Crown*, Dublin. Wilks, *The Popes from Linus to Pius IX.* Litton, *The Church of Christ in its Idea, Attributes and Ministry*, with reference to the Roman Catholic Controversy. Protestantism and Popery contrasted by the Authentic Teaching of each Religion, edited by J. E. Cox of Oxford, in 2 vols. 8vo. Willett's *Synopsis Papisari* is in the course of republication. The Mass by William Anderson, LL. D., Glasgow; of this work the British Quarterly says, that it "supplies within a very moderate compass, a condensed yet comprehensive view of the entire theory and ritual of the Mass." The author himself says that his volume is "full of bitterness, scorn and indignation," though "written more under the influence of the love of truth than under that of the hatred of error." A *Handbook of the Romish Controversy*; being a refutation in detail of the creed of Pope Pius IV. on the grounds of reason and Scripture, by Charles S. Stanford, A. M., Prebendary of St. Michan's, is a slight volume, which has reached the eighth thousand, and is sold for a sixpence, but it is just the sort of book which is needed, clear, concise, giving the Roman Catholic positions in the very words of the Creed and of Trent, and refuting them by clear grounds of Scripture, and concise argument. It is so much the more effective, that it cites the Scriptures usually from the Douay version.

FRANCE.

In addition to Vinet's *Studies upon Blaise Pascal* in 1848, and to the "life and criticism of Pascal" by Maynard in 1851, there has been recently issued a new edition and revision of Pascal's *Thoughts* by Ernest Havet, which the "*Révue des deux Mondes*" commends as giving a view of the whole recent controversy, and as recasting the well-known edition of Faugères.

The voluminous series of theological works by Abbé Migne, distinguished for its remarkable cheapness, contains among other works, the *Summa of Aquinas* and the *Sentence of the Lombard* in 4 vols. for about \$6; a "*Scriptorum Sanctorum Cursus Complet*," in 27 vols. for about \$30; *Démonstrations évangéliques*, in 18 vols.; an edition of Perrone's *Praelectiones theologicae*, in 2 vols. Among its later issues is the first volume of a new edition of M. leBaron Henrion's *Ecclesiastical History* from the creation to the Pontificate of Pius IX, which is to be comprised in 25 volumes; *Alcuin's works* in 2 vols. 15 fr.; *Dictionary of Christian and Anti-Christian Biography*, in 3 vols.; *Dictionary of Christian Literature*, in 1 vol. 4to. 7 francs.

The second edition of the "*Historie Universelle de l'église Catholique par l'abbé Rohrbacher*," in 28 vols. is in the course of publication. It is of the most extravagant and ultramontane order. Tily, *deux couvents au moyen âge*, treats of Abelard and Heloise. The *History of the Destruction of Paganism in the East* by Etienne Chastel, published in 1850, is a counterpart to the *History of the Destruction of Paganism in the West*, published in

1835, by Beuquot; both these works were crowned by the Academy. *Histoire ecclésiastique de Bretagne depuis la réformation jusqu'à l'édit de Nantes*, par Philippe le Noir, sieur de Crevain, pastor of the Reformed Church of Blain, published from MSS. in the library of Rennes, by B. Vaugirand.

Among the philosophical works lately published are Léon de Montbeillard, *De l'éthique de Spinoza*; Louis Königswater, *Hist. de l'organisation de la famille en France*, a work crowned by the Institute; Ch. Bénard, the second edition of "*Précis de philosophie à l'usage des collèges*;" a translation from R. W. Emerson under the title "*Essais de philosophie Américaine*," par Emile Montegut; Bartholèmes, *Histoire philos. de l'Académie de Prusse depuis Leibnitz*, in 2 vols.; a translation from the Spanish of Jacques Balmer *Philosophie fondamentale*, in 3 vols.; the 4th edition of Lezaud, *Platon-Aristote*; Lezaud, *Résumés philos. on Hobbes, Locke, Helvetius*, etc.; the 4th vol. of Vacherot's *Histoire critique de l'école d'Alexandrie*, completing the work; de l'idée du progrès par A. Javary; de l'utilité des études logiques, par Waddington-Kastres; *Etudes sur Diderot* par Ernest Bersot; M. Haureau, *Exposition de la philosophie scholastique*, 2 vols. 8vo, a work which is highly lauded, and which received the chief prize of the Academy; Barni, *Examen de la critique du jugement de Kant*. Charles Lecretan, formerly professor in the Academy of Lausanne, published in 1849 a remarkable work, "*La philosophie de la liberté*," a course on Moral Philosophy, given at Lausanne, 1842—1847. In consequence of the revolution in the Canton, he was removed from his professorship with Vinet and others in 1845. The *will* is with him the centre of all philosophy; "pure liberty is the absolute essence and the supreme cause." He follows out, he says, the ideas of Duns Scotus, of Descartes, as he interprets him, and of Schelling in his later system. His exposition of the philosophy of Descartes differs from that which is current in the Cousin eclectic school of France. We may recur to this work again.

Vinet's *Pastoral Theology or Theory of the Evangelical Ministry* was published from his notes in 1850 in one volume; and his *Homiletics or Theory of Preaching* is promised. The former work is divided into four parts, which treat of the Individual Life, the Social Life, the Pastoral Life, and the Official Life of the Preacher.

O. de Chérrier, *Histoire de la lutte des papes et des empereurs de la Maison de Sonabe*, was completed in 1850 by the publication of the fourth volume; Abbé Guettée, *Histoire de l'église de France*, the 7th vol. in 1851; Neve, *Tradition indienne du déluge*; Baron Sirtema de Grovestena, *L'église Anglicane et l'église catholique*; M. Capefigue's *History of the Church in the first four centuries*, 4 vols. 1850-1, has been followed by his *History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, in 2 vols. 1852; Brunet, *Avant le Christianisme*, gives an exposition of the philosophy and religions of ante-Christian times; of the Count de Gardin's *Hist. générale de Traités de Paix*, the 14th vol. has been issued; Audin has published a new edition of his calumnious and vivacious life of Luther; *Histoire du clergé de France*,

depuis l'introduction du christianisme, 4 vols. 8vo.; Pressensé du catholicisme ex France; Olleris, Discours sur l'histoire universelle de Bossuet; de l'église gallicane dans son rapport avec le souverain pontife, is announced as a continuation of De Maistre's noted work on the Pope, which has recently been translated into English; the complete works of Augustin Thierry have been issued in 4 volumes.

Besides the edition of Thomas Aquinas in Migne's Collections, noticed above, there was also published by Aug. Gardin, *Philosophia juxta D. Thomae dogmata*, comprising logic, physics, ethics and metaphysics, in 4 vols. 12mo. in 1850; and an edition of the *Summa* by Billuart in 10 vols. in 1839.

The Life of St. Louis, by Nain de Tillemont, on the basis of MSS. hitherto inedited, has been completed by the publication of the sixth volume. Ginounlliac, *Hist. du dogme Catholique dans les trois premiers siècles*, 2 vols. 8vo. Correspondence de Rome, Briefs, etc. during the years 1848-50 has been published in one volume. Fornici, *Institutiones liturgicae*, 1851, is a text-book for the Seminaries. M. de Rémusat, Secretary of the Academy, and author, among other works, of the Life of Abelard, has just published a volume on Anselm of Canterbury.

Of works which attempt a philosophical defence of Christianity from the present French point of view, we have, W. D. Frayssinore, *Défense du christianisme*, 2 vols. 8vo.; Abbé Chassy, *Défense der christianisme historique*; Abbé Polgé, *Démonstration philosophique du catholicisme*; Bugneau de St. George, *Essai philos. et historique sur le christianisme dans le XIX. Siècle*; Reghellini, *Examen de la religion chrétienne et de la religion juive*.

Several comprehensive biographical, literary and theological Dictionaries are just published, or in the course of publication. Hoefer (Dr.), *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* is to consist of 32 vols. at 3 1-2 francs a volume, to be published in weekly parts. Bergier's *Diction. de Theologie*, edited by Gousset and Doney, in 6 vols. 8vo. can be procured for 18 francs; the ninth part of the valuable "*Diction. des sciences philosophiques*," by men of the Eclectic school, has been issued, a tenth will complete the work; the Prospectus of a *Nouvelle Biographie universelle*, in 20 vols. 4to. each of 100 sheets at 15 francs a volume, has been issued by Jacob (Paul Lacroix); it is to be entirely new, and intended to be the most complete of any, and to be issued within five years. J. M. Quirard, the author of *La France Littéraire* (10 vols. 8vo. 1837-9) and other works, proposes the publication of an "*Encyclopédie du Bibliothécaire*," in 15 vols., to comprise an account of the whole of French literature. His "*France l'Heraire*" was chiefly devoted to the 18th and 19th centuries.

Guizot is employing his political leisure in collecting his various scattered writings, and in reëditing several of his works. In one of the latest bulletins of French works, "*Corneille and his Times*," and "*Shakspeare and his Times*," are announced as in the press, and "*Studies on the Fine Arts in general*" as published. In 1850 he edited the *Writings of Washington* in 6 vols. with a *Life of Washington*. The same year the fourth edition of his *Dictionary of French Synonymes* was published in 2 vols. In 1851, a 2nd

edition of his *Memoirs of Monk, Meditations and Ethical Studies, Historical and Biographical Studies on the Principal Characters in the English Revolution, and his Lectures on the Origin of Representative Governments in Europe*, in 2 vols. were issued. There are also announcements of the following works: *Characteristics and Portraits*, in 2 vols., *Fragments of Personal Memoirs*, in 2 vols., and *Parliamentary Discourses*, with notes, in 4 vols.

Edmond Scherer, whose views on inspiration have excited so much discussion, has also written: *Prolegomena to the Doctrinal Theology of the Reformed Church*; *Sketch of a Theory of the Christian Church*; a pamphlet on the Present State of the Reformed Church in France; and several articles in the *Revue de Theologie*, published at Strasburg.

A new "Spicilegium" of the Fathers is announced, and the first volume has been published under the title: "*Spicilegium Solesmense complectens sanctorum patrum Scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera, selecta e graecis orientalibusque et latinis codicibus, publici juris facta curante J. B. Pitra. Tom. I. in quo praecipue auctores saeculi V. antiquiores proferuntur et illustrantur.*" (LXXVIII. and 596 pp. with a lithograph in folio). Parisii, Didot fratres. It is collected at the abbey of Solesmes near Sarthe. This collection is to consist of two series of 5 vols. each, the first series extending to the ninth century, the second comprising relics from the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. It is to embrace fragments of Irenaeus, of Melite of Sardis, of the Gospels of Origen, of Venerable Bede, of Hincmar, and of Scotus Eugena and others. There have been six previous collections of the same general character, of which this is a continuation, viz. the *Spicilegium* of D'Acbery, the *Analecta* of Mabillon, Montfaucon's *Anecdota Graeca*, Martène and Durand's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum*, by the same, T. D. Bernard Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissima*.

Among the subjects for prizes announced by the Institute for 1852-3 are the following: (1) The influence of Christianity in the Roman world, producing new institutions while respecting rights and property; (2) The influence of the literature and genius of Italy upon France in the 16th and the first part of the 17th century; (3) The history of French narrative poetry in the middle ages; (4) The intellectual and literary character of France before the Tragedy of the Cid, and the Discourse of Descartes on Method.

NOTICE OF PROFESSOR B. B. EDWARDS.

It became our melancholy duty, when we published the second number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for the current year, to omit from our title-page the venerable name of Moses Stuart. A deeply afflictive Providence requires us, as we publish our third number, to remove the name of Professor Edwards. He died at Athens, Georgia, on Tuesday, April 20, at a quarter before nine o'clock in the morning. For several years he had suffered from a severe pulmonary affection, but he did not apprehend that it would termi-

nate his life so speedily. His remains were removed from Athens to Andover, and were interred, with appropriate religious solemnities on Friday, April 30, 1852. He now sleeps near the grave of his friend and colleague, Professor Stuart, in the burial ground of the Seminary.

At a meeting of the Alumni of Andover Theological Institution, held at Boston, May 26, 1852, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

"Whereas, it has pleased an All-wise Providence to remove from the scene of their earthly labors, the Rev. Moses Stuart and the Rev. Bela Bates Edwards, Professors of Sacred Literature in the Andover Theological Seminary, therefore

"1. *Resolved*, That in the death of Professor Stuart, the churches and ministers of our land have been bereaved of a father who has watched over them with affectionate care, and has labored with persevering diligence to spread before them the treasures of the inspired volume. As a pastor he was earnest; as a teacher, enthusiastic; as an author, luminous and instructive; as a man and a Christian he was honest, generous and noble. He was the ardent friend of those whom he instructed, and he deserves from them a grateful and continued remembrance.

"2. *Resolved*, That in the more recent death of Professor Edwards, the Philanthropic Societies and the Literary Institutions of our country have lost a wise counsellor and an able advocate; his pupils mourn the loss of one whom they loved with a peculiar affection, and his numerous readers lament that they are to peruse no more of the Essays marked by his delicate taste, his literary zeal and his Christian mildness. The purity and uprightness of his character, the dignity and gentleness of his deportment, his modest, unaffected, profound piety, his vast and multifarious labors, have endeared him not to his pupils alone, but to a large and enlightened community.

"3. *Resolved*, That a committee of ——— be appointed to represent the feelings of the Alumni, in a letter of condolence to the widows and the children, who have been most deeply afflicted by the removal of these eminent Divines.

"4. *Resolved*, That in view of the inestimable favors conferred upon the Alumni of the Seminary, by the two Christian scholars who have so recently gone to their reward, it is alike the duty and the privilege of the Alumni to erect appropriate monuments at the graves of their beloved teachers; and it is expedient to designate now a committee of ———, who shall coöperate with a similar committee, recently appointed at New York, for providing such memorials as the love and gratitude of pupils incline them to raise at the sepulchres of their reverend guides."

The committee designated to express the sympathy of the Alumni with the families of the late Professors, are Rev. Dr. Adams and Rev. Mr. Treat of Boston, and Rev. Mr. Stearns of Cambridgeport.

The committee for providing monuments, are Rev. Dr. Blagden of Boston, Rev. Dr. Hawes of Hartford, Ct., Rev. Dr. Wheeler of Burlington, Vt., Rev. J. S. Clark, D. D. of Boston, Rev. Prof. Brown of Dartmouth College, Rev. Thatcher Thayer of Newport, R. I., Rev. Seth Sweetser of Worcester, Mr. Samuel H. Taylor of Andover, Rev. Daniel Butler of Westborough, and Rev. H. M. Dexter of Boston.

The Alumni who met at New York, May 13, 1852, had selected as their committee for superintending the erection of monuments, the following gen-

tlemen: Rev. William Adams, D. D. of New York, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr. of Brooklyn, Rev. J. W. McLane of Williamsburg, Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D. of Newark, N. J., and Rev. T. Brainerd, D. D. of Philadelphia.

As it is our intention to publish a more extended obituary of Professor Edwards in our next (October) number, we abstain from additional remarks at this time. It may be agreeable, however, to the readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, to see a catalogue of the principal essays which have been written for it by him, who was for several years its principal Editor. His numerous Literary Notices and Summaries of Religious Intelligence cannot be easily specified. The following more lengthened Articles, some of them anonymous, were from the pen of Professor Edwards:

1844. The Imprecations in the Scriptures; pp. 97—110. Historical and Critical Inquiry respecting the Ascension of Christ; pp. 152—178.

1845. Condition of Theology in Holland, especially in the Reformed Church; pp. 141—162. Remarks on the Authenticity and Genuineness of the Pentateuch; pp. 356—398 and 668—682. Obligation of the Eastern Churches to the Home Missionary Enterprise; pp. 621—636.

1846. The Scriptures the Proper Standard of Appeal in the Formation of the Moral and Religious Character; pp. 22—36. Life of Philip Melancthon; pp. 301—346. Memoir of Count Zinzendorf; pp. 540—579.

1847. Translations from the Sermons of Professor Julius Müller of Halle; pp. 217—236. Importance of a Puritan Library in New England; pp. 582—598. University of Oxford; pp. 773—788.

1848. Studies in Hebrew Poetry; pp. 58—79. The Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Virtue; pp. 358—375. Translation of the Prophecy of Nahum, with Notes; pp. 551—576. The Roman Catholic Religion in Italy; pp. 597—624.

1849. Remarks on certain Erroneous Methods and Principles in Biblical Criticism; pp. 185—196. Notice of Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament; pp. 357—365. Biblical Chronology (from Winer's Lexicon); pp. 558—571. Remarks upon Bunsen's late Work upon Egypt; pp. 709—719. Translation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Chapters of Isaiah, with Explanatory Notes; pp. 765—785.

1850. Present State of Biblical Science; pp. 1—13. Libraries in Boston and its vicinity; pp. 173—191. Commentaries on the Scriptures; pp. 379—387. Public Libraries in New England; pp. 402—407. The System of Education at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; pp. 586—600. Life and Character of Dr. De Wette; pp. 772—799.

1851. Collegiate Education — Mathematical and Classical Study; pp. 1—25. Introduction to the Pastoral Epistles; pp. 318—346. Recent Works on Asia Minor; pp. 857—877. The last named article was designed to introduce a more extended and elaborate one, which our lamented friend was intending to insert in a future number of the Review.

1852. Messianic Prophecies; pp. 609—622.

Professor Edwards has left several Essays, which we trust will be given to the public in succeeding numbers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

THE
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA,
NO. XXXVI
AND
AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY,
NO. LXXXVIII

OCTOBER, 1852.

ARTICLE I.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. KARL GOTTLIEB BRETSCHNEIDER.

Translated from the German by George E. Day, Professor in Lane
Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[DR. K. G. BRETSCHNEIDER, long and widely known as one of the most eminent scholars and divines in Germany, died in Gotha, where for many years he had filled the office of general superintendent, on the 22nd of January, 1848. Among his papers was found an extended account of his own life, written with remarkable simplicity and frankness. At the earnest solicitation of his friends, this has been lately given to the public by his son, together with an appendix containing sixty-seven letters from the most eminent of his correspondents, such as Reinhard, Tittmann, Berthold, von Ammon, Gieseler, Uhlich, Ronge, Hase, Wegscheider and others.

The memoir, with some omissions, has been deemed worthy of a place in this Journal, partly on account of the picture it presents of the literary and theological training and the ecclesiastical and pastoral experience of a prominent German divine, and partly on account of the light it sheds upon the rationalism of Germany in its near and every-day aspects. It is a singular fact that in this country the most opposite opinions have been entertained in respect to the theological position of Bretschneider. While some have erroneously regarded him as essentially evangelical in sentiment, others have classed him among the rationalists. These contradictory views may be accounted

for perhaps by the changes which passed around him and which altered his apparent, and to a certain degree, his real position. A protégé of the celebrated Reinhard, whose supranaturalism, as is well known, did not escape the enfeebling influence of the prevalent spirit of the times, Bretschneider, during the first half of his life, assumed like his master, though less distinctly, a certain conservative attitude. In contrast with the school of Wegscheider, Röhr and Paulus, who contended that human reason constitutes the exclusive source and arbiter of all religious knowledge, thus denying on the one hand the inspiration of the Scriptures, and on the other casting overboard the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel, he might almost appear to occupy high ground. The supernatural character of Christianity he received and defended; and if he claimed that the statements of the Bible must be compared with the decisions of reason and experience, and only those which can pass this test be received as belonging to a revelation from God, it might easily appear to those who looked only upon the surface, that this was just the ground on which the supernatural character of the Christian religion could be best defended against the assaults of a growing and audacious scepticism.

But in 1815-17 the tide began to turn. In the scourge of war, the German people had been humbled beneath the mighty hand of God. The tri-centennial anniversary of the reformation in 1817 led the thoughts of men to the great and solemn truths with which those ancient churches had once resounded. The commanding influence of Schleiermacher was making itself felt in the growing conviction that religion, instead of being the capacity of understanding a series of logical propositions, was a living sense of dependence upon God. This new and deeper feeling, as it spread, manifested itself in different, but always in earnest, forms. But with none of them did Bretschneider sympathize. The critical philosophy which had sprung up before his eyes, and in some of its forms had moulded the theology of most of his contemporaries in Germany, he neither relished nor understood. The pious feeling which gave shape to the theology of others, he comprehended as little and detested more. As years passed on, it became more and more evident that the tide was leaving him. With Neander, Nitsch, Ullmann, and the disciples of Schleiermacher, who rallied around a historical Christianity and a living Redeemer, his whole cast of thought and feeling disqualified him to unite. With those who aimed to reinstate the old orthodoxy in its ancient position, like Hengstenberg and the contributors to the

Evangelical church journals, or even dreamed, like Rudelbach, Gue-rike and their associates, of restoring the ancient Lutheranism, he had still fewer affinities. He regarded them as no better than mystics, fanatics and pietists, who were laboring to bring about a mischievous reaction. They, on their part, very naturally regarded him as the representative of a mutilated and frozen supranaturalism, essentially rationalistic in its spirit and tendency. This was a serious change in the position of Bretschneider, and his autobiography shows that he felt it keenly. Indeed, he does not hesitate to say, that had he foreseen it, he never would have devoted himself to the study of theology. The active antagonism into which he was now thrown with the revived orthodoxy, had the natural effect of rendering his tendency towards rationalism more decided. He had begun with being a rationalistic supranaturalist; he ended with being at most a supranaturalistic rationalist.

Bretschneider was too honest to make any profession of feelings which he did not possess. It is quite significant that in this whole memoir, he makes no allusion, except incidentally, to Christ. On the other hand, he is perfectly frank in disclosing the motives which influenced him in his entrance upon the ministry and his connection with it. With these explanations, the manner in which he expresses himself on several subjects will be readily understood.

In the translation, details relating to members of his own family or to minor matters, which would be of no interest out of the circle of his immediate relatives and friends, have been omitted. In a few instances, where the narrative seemed to be unreasonably diffuse, the substance has been given in a briefer compass. The part of the memoir, also, which relates to other things than those which have a bearing upon theology, has been either wholly omitted or greatly abridged. On the other hand, whatever serves to illustrate the ecclesiastical and religious state, however trivial in itself, has been retained. — TR.]

I. Childhood.

I was born in Gersdorf in Saxony, between Lichtenstein and Hohenstein, on the 11th of February, 1776, the ninth of my father's ten children, and was baptized on the 14th of the same month. I still remember being sent to the village school at Gersdorf, with a new A B C book, and a new catechism, together with a pencil, and receiving a sugar whistle from the schoolmaster, and how I supposed

that I should every day receive such a one; and how surprised I was on the following days at receiving nothing. In the year 1780, my father, after having been seventeen years pastor of the church in Gersdorf, was transferred to Lichtenstein. He would have preferred, as he often said, to remain in Gersdorf; but as the parish was unwilling to build a new parsonage, although it was indispensably necessary, it cost him only a word to the old count in Hartenstein, to effect his removal. In consequence of this, the greater part of my childhood was spent in Lichtenstein.

My father was well situated in Lichtenstein. His income was far more ample than at Gersdorf. He was obliged to preach only once on Sundays and holidays, because a Diaconus resided there; and in addition to this, he was only a quarter of a league from his farm in Callenberg, which had fallen to him on my grandfather's decease. In regard to the personal appearance of my father,—he was short, but stout and vigorous. His face was much marked by the small-pox; a noble countenance and handsome blue eyes, however, he still retained. As a preacher, he had an animated delivery, and a fine voice. His sermons he did not fully write out, but preached from plans, which were very carefully elaborated, even to the minor subdivisions. In performing the service, he was very dignified; and I have still a lively recollection of the impression made upon me, when he administered the rite of baptism, or read the funeral service in the graveyard, and pronounced the benediction. He was held in great esteem by the whole parish. Whenever he took a walk, and this was seldom, he always appeared in shoes and stockings, and either in black clothes or in an iron-grey overcoat with black buttons. Boots he wore only when he went fishing. He had on his own farm five beautiful ponds, besides three more upon the parsonage farms, and a brook with trout and crayfish. He took much pleasure in fishing, and to us, boys, the fishing party was always a great treat. In theology, my father remained true to the school of the celebrated *Crusius*,¹ and hence belonged to the orthodox. Still, he could tole-

¹ Christian August Crusius was born in 1715 and died in 1775, while Professor of Theology in the University of Leipsic. His efforts were directed towards reconciling philosophy with the doctrines of orthodoxy. Regarding the attainment of this an impossibility on the Wolfian system, he endeavored to overthrow it and to substitute a system of his own. The certainty of human knowledge he rested upon an inward necessity of the understanding, and instrumentally upon the Divine veracity; moral responsibility upon the freewill of God. Although he enjoyed the reputation of being an acute philosopher and theologian, and exerted considerable influence for a time by his writings and lectures, he finally

rate more liberal views; and I remember very well, that he once said to a friend, what surprised me, though a boy: "we cannot deny that our proofs for the independent divinity of the Holy Spirit are very weak." Considering the age and circumstances in which he lived, he possessed a more than ordinary knowledge of philosophy. He spoke Latin fluently, and attached much importance to the ability to hold a conversation in it. His thorough knowledge and clear mind, united with a natural fondness for the instruction of youth, made him an excellent teacher. While in Gersdorf, he prepared boys for the higher schools, and aided students and candidates of theology in Hebrew. But in Lichtenstein he devoted himself specially to the instruction of his own children. My elder brother, four years older than myself, he fitted for the Gymnasium, in a superior manner. When I was about ten years old, he took me into the school, one or two hours every day. He was a skilful grammarian, and had composed an outline of his own in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which we were required to commit to memory. In this way, I perfectly learned the formation of the Latin and Greek substantives, adjectives and verbs. He required me to translate from Latin into German, and *vice versa*, and to read in Latin, *Erasmii Colloquia*, in Greek, the Gospel of John. He also gave me a very extended, and to me very interesting, course of instruction in the history of the Old Testament, which was continued, however, only down to the erecting of the tabernacle in the wilderness. All his children, both girls and boys, were instructed in vocal and instrumental music, and many an evening we spent entirely in singing. Even thorough bass, my father began with me, in the last year of his life; but in this, I made no progress worth mentioning. My father was no less cheerful in his family, than earnest in his official duties. He was no stranger to a hearty laugh; but he also knew how to be angry. He was always strict with us, and we feared him. Being naturally somewhat timid, I was more affected by his sternness than was good for me. I never ventured to contradict him, even when I knew that he was mistaken. This diffidence was of long continuance, and it is only recently that I have been able to overcome it. Our musical entertainments were rendered more pleasant, by what was for that time a remarkably good harpsichord, which my father owned, and to which he had made with his own hands three additional sets of reeds, so that it had the

outlived the refutation of his system. His works are now nearly forgotten. In private life he was distinguished for strict integrity and uncommon piety. —
T₂.

effect of a small organ. My father was a skilful mechanic, a talent of which I have inherited nothing. The family circle continued unbroken until the year 1789. I passed a pleasant childhood, although I was kept constantly busy.

[He then gives an account of the breaking up of the family. His father died of apoplexy in June, 1789; his mother in the September following. His brother and sisters were separated. He himself was sent to school at Hohenstein, where his uncle Tag resided. There, although he forgot much of the grammar his father had taught him, he made rapid progress in thorough bass, which was afterwards of use to him as well as a source of much pleasure.]

I also became acquainted in Hohenstein for the first time with belles lettres literature. My uncle Tag belonged to a reading club, from which every fourteen days, he received a package of periodicals and books, mostly romances, together with a sprinkling of history and poetry. Having little to do out of school hours, I seized upon these books with the greatest avidity, and read what came to hand; for example, Campe's Robinson, the tales of Musaus, which highly delighted me, and the then fashionable fairy tales; for which, however, I acquired no taste, but was rather offended at the strange transformations they related.

About Easter, I was confirmed in Hohenstein by the pastor Schubert, residing there, whose son Henry (now professor in Munich) has been, from childhood, a dear friend of mine. In the preparatory instruction for this, the Dresden Catechism, then used in the schools, was strictly followed. Although the pastor Schubert was a man of talent, his instructions made upon me no permanent impression; except, that the order of the doctrines, as they were then taught, viz. effectual calling, illumination, repentance, faith, justification, regeneration and conversion, appeared to me very singular; and was so little in accordance with the course of moral education which I saw in others, that I could not regard this order as correct, and said to myself: it is not so! that is not true! Still, in consequence of my diffidence, and the reverence I had for Schubert, I took care not to express my feelings. I have mentioned this circumstance, because it was the first time in which, having my own thoughts upon religion, I questioned the truth of what was advanced; and as an illustration of what may be going on in the minds of many other youth about to be confirmed, without any suspicion of it on the part of the clergyman.

II. School-life in Chemnitz.

At Easter, 1790, I was sent to a learned school. The Lyceum¹ at Chemnitz was selected, which had a good reputation and was tolerably well patronized. The inhabitants were noted for their liberality towards indigent students, and my uncle had facilities for placing me at once in the choir. A very worthy citizen and distant relative of my mother, the button-maker, Theiss, who resided there, was also willing to give me board and lodging, at a very low rate. He belonged to the silent ones in the land, and was a right noble man, without cant or hypocrisy. On fast days there was nothing eaten in his house but water gruel; but in consideration of my belonging to the choir, and hence being obliged to be much in the church, he soon changed this, and had dinner provided as usual. Although the above circumstances had decided my being sent to Chemnitz, this selection was nevertheless unfortunate.

The celebrated Heyne had obtained his gymnasial education here, but the school was now in a sinking condition. The rector, Rothe, was an excellent teacher, and a good Latinist of the Ernesti school, but he did little in Greek, was advanced in years, and was quite too easy. The hour in the afternoon in which we should have recited Homer, was frequently given to us for ourselves. The conrector, Lessing (a brother of the great Lessing), was an extraordinary linguist. He understood not only Latin and Greek, but Hebrew, Arabic, French, Spanish and English. This learning, however, was of little use to us, for he was entirely deficient in the gift of teaching, and the power of commanding respect. He was always making witticisms, and yet had no wit; hence he only rendered himself a laughing stock. He was suspicious and very irritable, and was frequently unjust, from being unwilling to listen to any explanation. In his instructions he was deficient both in good taste and in judgment. Often have I heard him ask the scholars in Secunda:² "now! *est*, what is *est*?" His renderings into German, often made him ridiculous. For instance, he translated *jam stabant Thebæ* (Thebes was

¹ Another name for Gymnasium, which nearly corresponds to the college with us. Its principal aim is to prepare students for the professional studies at the university. — Tr.

² The highest class in a German Gymnasium is styled *Prima*, the second, *Secunda*, etc. A student in *Secunda* would be as far advanced as a Sophomore or Junior in an American college. — Tr.

already built), Thebes already stood.¹ It was not, therefore, possible for the man to command our respect, or make us diligent in our studies.

Besides, the Lyceum consisted properly of only *Secunda* and *Prima*, for *Tertia* was rather a Burger school. The rector and con-rector were the only teachers; the first of *Prima*, the second of *Secunda*, and in all public recitations the two classes were combined, and only divided in the two daily, private recitations. How could anything great be done? Mathematics, modern languages, geography, natural philosophy, were not taught at all; one hour a week was devoted to history, and the same time to religion, according to the Latin Compendium of Reichard. In Greek, Lange's Orphan House Grammar was still used; in Latin, the small grammar of Scheller had just been introduced into the school. Hebrew was taught by the rector *privatim*, from a very meagre outline by Biedermann. Bad as the school was in which my preparation for the university was to be made, it had a large number of students, many of whom became afterwards distinguished men. I found there the friend of my youth, Ludwig Pöhlitz,² who was with me the last year at school, and was afterwards privy-counsellor and professor in Leipsic, where he died. At the same time with myself, or shortly after, came Heinrich Tzschirner³ to the school, who subsequently became an ornament of the University of Leipsic, and died there, alas, too

¹ Schon *Standen* Theben; the blunder, which cannot well be expressed in English, lies in rendering *Stabant* in the plural. — Tr.

² Karl Heinrich Ludwig Pöhlitz, one of the more prolific writers of the age in the departments of history, political science, and the German language, was born in 1772 and died in 1838. On Reinhard's recommendation, he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy and History in the Ritter-Academy in Dresden, and subsequently of Philosophy in Leipsic. Thence he was transferred to Wittenberg, as Professor of Natural and National Law, but in 1815 was again called to Leipsic. His library, containing thirty thousand volumes, he left by will to the city of Leipsic. — Tr.

³ Heinrich Gottlieb Tzschirner, a distinguished theologian and pulpit orator, was born in Saxony in 1778. He commenced the study of theology at the University of Leipsic in 1796 and was appointed ordinary professor of theology there in 1809. On the death of the elder Rosenmüller in 1815, he succeeded him as superintendent, in which capacity his uncommon eloquence as a preacher exhibited itself. Among his most important works are his "Continuation of Schröckh's Church History," and his "Fall of Heathenism." His theological views were similar to those of Bretschneider. He obtained much credit as a bold defender of Protestantism against the encroachments of the Romish church, and the effects of his vigorous language are said to be still felt in Germany. He died of consumption in 1828. — Tr.

early, as professor and superintendent; also Neander,¹ from Lengefeld, now bishop in Berlin; not to mention other worthy men, who now occupy important positions in Saxony.

No introduction to our studies was furnished us; we went to the recitations, studied in our rooms whatever we pleased, and were too much left to chance and our own inclinations. In the first two years I made but little progress; at home, I occupied myself principally with music, of which I copied a great deal, and composed a number of small pieces. I also took lessons on the violin, in which I was very diligent, but made only moderate proficiency. The circulating library I eagerly devoured and read it quite through; but after having finished all the Robinsons, the Island Felsenburg, and the romances of Chivalry, I became thoroughly and permanently disgusted with this class of writings, and since then have been unable to read even the most celebrated works of fiction, as, for instance, those of Goethe, Walter Scott and others. This was one result. A second was, that I commenced reading our best poets, as Gellert, Hölty, Voss, Wieland and Bürger, who greatly fascinated me, and whose works I purchased and repeatedly perused. Many songs of Hölty, Voss and Bürger I set to music, with an accompaniment upon the harpsichord. It was not till the third year of my residence in Chemnitz, that I devoted myself with much diligence to the private study of Latin and Greek. The whole of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* I read with a friend, the present upper pastor Schanze of Stauchitz. We also went through the picture of Cebes, and Epictetus's manual. In Latin, I read a part of Cicero, Ovid, Terence and Florus, which were among my books, and especially Cornelius Nepos. The latter I translated into German, and then from German again into Latin, after which I compared the original text with my translation. These exercises were very useful to me, and by means of them I made such rapid progress in Latin and Greek, that at Easter, 1794, the close of the fourth year, the teachers had no hesitation in dismissing me to the university with a good testimonial.² I was not ripe for it, however.

¹ Dan. Amadeus Neander, whose original name was Dan. Gottlieb Newmann, Bishop of the Evangelical Church of Prussia and General Superintendent of the province of Brandenburg, was born in Saxony in 1775. He belongs to the rationalistic school. — Tr.

² Of this document, which may be distinctly compared to the diploma conferred on American students on being graduated, the following is a copy:

L. P. S. Fautricem in tribuendis ingenii dotibus naturam nactus est Juvenis Humanissimus atque ornatissimus

I knew nothing at all of mathematics, and had even forgotten, for the most part, the arithmetic taught in the common schools. Of geography and natural philosophy I knew nothing beyond what I had found in a few books I had read. My pronunciation of French was fundamentally erroneous. My knowledge of history was fragmentary and superficial. Of Greek I was far too ignorant, and in Latin was only decently prepared for the university.

In regard to my religious training, I came to Chemnitz with the ideas acquired from my father and pastor Schubert. The religious instruction at the school was continued in the same spirit, and was made up of doctrinal tenets entirely severed from any practical application. On the other hand, the preaching of the superintendent, Dr. Merkel, was very attractive to me, and I wrote off a large number of his sermons, word for word, which his slow mode of speaking allowed me to do. Merkel was a supporter of the Wolfian philosophy, an excellent logician, and a man of genius and learning. Having a good delivery, he was quite a favorite preacher. He frequently introduced current events into his sermons. I have heard him speak, for instance, of universal equality and freedom, of illumination, and similar topics, and he always knew how to say something to the purpose. Among the books which I read, there were some which might easily

CAROLUS THEOPHILUS BRETSCHNEIDER,
Lichstentein. Schoenbrg.,

quem utroque Parente orbatum Propinqui Honestissimi paterno amore ac fide prosecuti sunt, et ante hos fere quinque annos ad nos deductum ita in disciplinam nostram dederunt, ut, quibus artibus ac preceptis ista aetas ad humanitatem et pietatem informari deberet, iis institueretur. Ex quo enim tempore scholam nostram frequentavit, eum et ingenii sui dotes magis magisque explicare, et non mediocri optimarum artium amore duci, non sine animi voluptate intelleximus. Atque sic factum est, ut et sanctioris doctrinae praecepta bene precipere, et in linguis eruditis, latina, graeca et hebraica, itemque in musicis ceterisque quae pertinerunt ad humanitatem studiis eos faceret progressus, qui ipsi ad altiora cum fructu tractanda viam aperire possent. Ad quam studiorum rationem cum etiam probi mores, obsequium, pietas et modestia accesserint, Honestum hunc Iuvenem non solum bono vitae apud nos actae testimonio orandum censuimus, verum etiam omnes eos, qui bonis ingeniis favent, ut ipsius inopiae ope, auctoritate, consiliis et quibuscunque possint rebus, subveniant, etiam atque rogamus. Deum autem Optimum Maximum, ut eum etiam in posterum favore suo complecti, studia ejus fortunare, commodam ei valetudinem largiri, et propinquorum optimorum nostramque spem de eo conceptam ratam facere velit, religiose veneramur.

P. P. Chemnicii ipsis Non. Februar. A. R. S. MDCCXCIV.

M. IOANNES GOTTFRIED ROTHE.
Rector.

have shaken my purpose to study theology. The conrector Lessing had the impudence to warn us in school against reading the publications of his brother. This excited our curiosity, and the fragments¹ issued by Lessing were circulated among the scholars. I read that part which treats of the Old Testament miracles; but it made no impression upon me, for Christianity did not appear to me to rest upon these miracles in the least. The decision to study theology was in my case merely the result of circumstances. It was my father's wish, and my mother's brothers were all ministers. Of lawyers, I had no good opinion, in consequence of my father's frequent repetition of the proverb: "Juristen böse Christen." So theology carried the day, although of the real nature of this science I had not the slightest conception.

III. *University Life in Leipsic.*

On the 24th of May, 1794, my name was entered as academic citizen in Leipsic, under the rectorate of Professor Eck. I possessed property enough to meet my expenses; for my patrimony amounted, as near as I can recollect, to about twelve hundred thaler (\$840), of which I had spent but little while at school. At the university I lived very economically, spending the first year only a hundred thaler (\$70), the second and third years only a hundred and twenty thaler (\$84), and in the fourth, somewhat more, in consequence of purchasing about fifty thaler's worth of books.

¹ The Wolfenbüttel Fragments, to which reference is here made, produced a sensation at the time they were issued, in 1774-78, equal to that produced by Paine's *Age of Reason* in England and this country, or Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, more recently, in Germany. It is now generally admitted that their real author was Samuel Reimarus, a Hamburg deist. They were published, however, by Lessing (who pretended to have discovered them among the treasures of the Wolfenbüttel library of which he had the charge), as the productions of some old unknown writer. They represent the Evangelists as wilful deceivers. The original design of Jesus, they affirm, was to reform Judaism, throw off the yoke of Rome, and establish an earthly Messianic kingdom. On the failure of this plan, in consequence of the death of Jesus, his followers gave a spiritual signification to the doctrine of the kingdom of God, and invented the history of the resurrection. The several narratives of this event, the writer endeavored to prove, are incredible, and contradictory with each other.

The consequence was, according to the graphic account of Semler, an immediate outbreak of senseless jests and deliberate scoffing, which first spread among the younger part of the educated near, and from them to a wider circle. Many students of a reflecting and serious cast of mind, who had the ministry in view, were thrown into great perplexity by the shock given to their faith, while not a few determined to pursue another profession. — *Tr.*

My profession was to be theology; but neither of the nature nor extent of the science did I have a clear idea, and knew still less on what plan I ought to study. Hence, like others, I took counsel of older students. My early friend, Pölitz, had finished his Triennium when I came to Leipsic, and had just entered his name as university teacher. From him, therefore, I specially sought advice. He counselled me to attend the lectures of Platner¹ on philosophy, of Keil and Beck on theology, and also of the latter on exegesis and dogmatic history. This advice I followed. In the first semester, I attended the lectures of Platner on logic and metaphysics, which followed the order of his printed "Aphorisms," and in order to become better acquainted with the subject, attended the same course in the winter semester following. In spite, however, of the utmost attention on my part, the fruits were quite insignificant. Platner had indeed an excellent delivery, which I adopted as a model, and was really a man of genius; but he was no teacher for youth who knew nothing at all of philosophy, and had not even learned the proper aim of this branch of science. His lectures on logic and metaphysics presupposed an audience of philosophers, which we certainly were not, whatever we might become. He himself had, as his "Aphorisms" show, no settled and thoroughly digested system, but was rather an eclectic. It must certainly be regarded as a matter of prime importance in philosophical instruction, that the student be made acquainted with some thoroughly elaborated and entirely harmonious system; not, of course, that he may always firmly adhere to it, but in order to give him a clear insight into the object and nature of philosophy, and the connection of its principles. Besides, Platner was always attacking in his lectures the Kantian philosophy which had just sprung up, by which he not only wasted much time, but also made us uncertain in our opinions. The consequence was, that though I knew much about philosophical systems, I had, properly speaking, no philosophy. Even at this early period, I learned from experience, the impossibility, for me, of adopting any doctrine, except on condition of its standing fully and clearly developed before me; a peculiarity which has adhered to me during my whole life, and has always preserved me from Mysticism and the theology of feeling. For though I am

¹ Ernst Platner, distinguished for his knowledge of medicine, physiology and philosophy, was born in Leipsic in 1744 and died in 1818. Spinoza and Rousseau are said to have been favorites with him, and it is understood that he rather prided himself upon entertaining a certain scepticism. His physiological and philosophical lectures procured for him a wide reputation. — Tr.

naturally enthusiastic, and possessed of strong emotions, yet my feelings always refused to attach themselves warmly to anything, which I had not first ascertained to be true, by scientific examination. I also attended the lectures of Platner on aesthetics and philosophical ethics. There was no other philosopher of importance, especially so Kantian, at that time among the instructors in Leipsic, for the gifted Heydenreich,¹ who lectured on the Kantian philosophy, was the laid aside by diseases which early removed him. My philosophical education was consequently defective.

In theology, I attached myself principally to Beck, Keil and Burscher; and in Hebrew, to Meisner and Kühnol. Beck² read, year in, year out, an exegetical course upon the New Testament. This I attended from my entrance into the university to my departure from it. The benefit of Beck's lectures to myself, I cannot rate very highly. They were delivered in Latin, and from hearing this language spoken an hour every day and taking notes in it, my acquaintance with Latin expressions became more familiar and accurate. Besides this, he cited a large number of authors. Wetstein, the commentators on the New Testament who draw illustrations from the classics, and the old grammarians, he was constantly quoting. With these, therefore, I became acquainted, and studied their works; but Beck's exegesis left much to be supplied. He was a pupil of Fischer, and had the same mode of interpretation which prevails in Schleusner's lexicon. I well remember how burdensome the word *πνεῦμα* and *πνεῦμα ἄγιον* became, which he explained as expressing now *sensum Christianum*, now *fervorem animi*, and then again something else. I felt that these explanations were not correct, and consequently could not accept them. The grammatical and philosophical acuteness, which prevails at present in treating the language of the New Testament, did not then exist. The chief benefit I received

¹ Carl Heinrich Heydenreich, born in Saxony in 1764 and appointed ordinary professor of philosophy at Leipsic in 1789, was endowed with brilliant talents, but became the victim of dissolute habits, and died in the prime of life, at the age of thirty-seven. He was first a follower of Spinoza, and then of Kant. His numerous writings are thought to be of unequal value. — Tr.

² Christian Daniel Beck was rather a classical philologist and historian than a theologian. He was born in Leipsic in 1757, and was at different times professor of the Greek and Latin languages and of history in the university in that city. He died in 1832. The number of his works, most of which are in the department of ancient literature, is truly surprising. His work entitled, "*Monogrammata Hermeneutices librorum Novi Foederis*," was published in 1803, several years after Bretschneider had left the university. — Tr.

from Beck's lectures was a knowledge of the helps and principal canons of criticism and hermeneutics.

I derived more satisfaction from the lectures of Professor Keil.¹ He had just taken the place of his teacher Morus, in the theological faculty, and I heard from him lectures on exegesis, New Testament hermeneutics, dogmatic theology and ethics. In exegesis, indeed, like Beck, he was a pupil of the Fischer school, but he held the broad principle, which cuts away a mass of arbitrary interpretation, that the words and phrases of the New Testament must be taken in the sense in which they were demonstrably used by the Jews speaking Greek, and that this use must determine their sense in the New Testament. This principle — the principle of historical interpretation, as Keil termed it — enlightened me perfectly. I adopted it fully, and entered with the greatest zeal upon the study of the Jewish theology and its *usus loquendi*. In consequence of this, a multitude of arbitrary explanations were set aside, and neither for Teller's dictionary nor for other modern interpretations, in which new ideas are attached to the words of the Scriptures, could I acquire the least relish. The efforts to explain away the devil from the Bible, to reduce the passages respecting Christ's preëxistence and higher nature to a moral sense, to make the miracles of the New Testament, by exegetical subtleties, mere natural events, were odious to me, as denials of revealed truth. In his dogmatic lectures, Keil was faithful to his exegetical principle, and consequently did not endeavor to pervert the declarations of the New Testament by exegetical subtleties.

But with all my willingness to recognize the truth of Beck's fundamental principle in *exegesis*, I could not regard his *dogmatic* principle as true and well established, to wit, that all those religious ideas which already existed among the Jews, previous to the age of Christ, do not belong to the Christian revelation, because they were previously common, and consequently that if Jesus and the apostles expressed themselves in accordance with these ideas, this should be regarded as done in accommodation to the views of their contemporaries. Among these, Keil reckoned all the *Messianic* representations, the doctrines of the Logos, the *πνεῦμα*, the fall of Adam and its consequences, the sacrifice of Christ, the devil, demons, the kingdom and the coming of Christ, the resurrection, etc. My sense of truth continually protested against this accommodation hypothesis.

¹ Karl Gottlieb Keil, professor of theology and philosophy at Leipsic was born in 1754, and died in 1818. His principal works are on hermeneutics, and are regarded as in many respects able. — Tr.

I have never regarded it as well-grounded, but even at the university looked upon it as a mere shift; nay, a desperate expedient, in order to reconcile reason and theology, which cannot in this way be harmonized. Keil's theology left me, therefore, entirely unsatisfied. In consequence of this, I turned to another academic teacher, who had the reputation of being rigidly orthodox, Professor Hempel, and began to attend his lectures on dogmatic theology, for I felt the need of gaining possession of the old dogmatic system in its entire connection, and especially of its scientific evidences, and supposed I should accomplish my object with Hempel. I found myself, however, entirely disappointed. His lectures lacked scientific thoroughness, and hence, after attending them some time, I gave them up. There was no one else who lectured on dogmatic theology; for the venerable Rosenmüller¹ read only on exegesis, church history and practical theology. I heard him lecture upon the Gospel of John, but not to my satisfaction. He gave too little of learned exegesis, and too much of practical, with which as yet we had nothing to do.

The senior of the theological faculty, the prelate Burscher, ought to have supplied the great deficiency which I felt, viz. an exhibition of the church creed, supported by learned proofs, since he alone, and that too *jussu principis*, read lectures on symbolik, which all students in theology were required to attend; but how little he was qualified to satisfy reasonable expectations, all who have heard him know. In his lectures he occupied the time in relating the external history of the symbolic books, but had no conception of a systematic comprehension and exhibition of their theological import. When he assailed the Neologists, which he often did, it was unfortunately in a humorous rather than an instructive manner. He was here often more than *naïve*. Thus, for instance, when he came to speak of the fact, that the Neologists refused to acknowledge as valid many proof-texts adduced in the old books on dogmatic theology, I heard him more than once say with a triumphant air: "they to whom these Scripture proofs are not satisfactory, may find others." His opinion was that

¹ John George Rosenmüller, principally known in this country by his "*Scholia in Nov. Test.*," and his "*Historia interpretationis librorum Sacrorum*" in five volumes, was born in 1736, settled in the ministry in several places, and at length in 1785 called to Leipsic, after having been for a short time professor in Giessen, as Pastor of the Thomas Church, Superintendent and Professor of Theology. He died in that city in 1815, highly distinguished as a preacher, and as the author of numerous works of a practical character. Ernst Fr. Karl Rosenmüller, Professor of Oriental Literature in Leipsic, and the well known commentator on the Old Testament, who died in 1835, was his eldest son. — Ta.

dogma *must necessarily* be expressed in the Bible as a part of revelation, and since there were no other proof-texts than those cited, dogma must lie in these, and the theological interpretation be correct. A main point which he often made against the Neologists was, "the Holy Scriptures in the *entire* connection of the entire Old and New Testament," which words he always accompanied with a peculiar movement of both elbows, right and left. But *how* this *entire* connection could do such great things, we did not learn. He constantly charged the Neologists with having no knowledge whatever of the principal works pertaining to dogmatic theology, and then would often earnestly and confidently add, "only come to me, most highly respected gentlemen, *I know all.*" But notwithstanding this boundless vanity, which greatly amused us, he had such a childlike and excellent disposition, and was such a real friend to the students, that we overlooked all his eccentricities and treated him with respect. The lectures from which we derived the most benefit, were those which he delivered upon the history of the Reformation, not because of their spirit and connection, but on account of the multitude of particulars with which he made us acquainted, and the large number of beautiful books, besides Cranach's paintings, which he exhibited to us in the lecture-room; respecting the value and history of which, he gave us useful information. In the history of the Reformation, he treated each year by itself, and brought forward the most important events in an insulated manner, without the least regard to their connection. His only introduction was, "A new point in the year 15 . . ." I once began to attend his lectures on Jewish Antiquities, but soon left him, after he had demonstrated in several lectures "how the tower of Babel *must* have been built." All his demonstrations led, in his own opinion, to results which were entirely beyond question. Accordingly in his assurance "that he knew all," he was entirely serious. Once, after saying this, he himself raised the objection: "but why — most highly respected gentlemen, you will ask me, do you not publish it to the world, so that they *must* believe? — Why if I should, the new gentlemen (the Neologists) would only push my book away and would not read it. I would rather lecture here, most highly respected gentlemen, on the subject, in its *entire* connection."

In Old Testament exegesis I first attended the lectures of Professor Extraordinarius Meisner, which were too diffuse and pedantic: afterwards those of Professor Extraordinarius Kühnoel¹ (subsequently in

¹ Christian Gottlieb Kühnoel, whose commentaries on the Gospels and the Epistle to the Hebrews were at one time considerably used in this country, was

Giessen), who explained the Old Testament, at least with taste and with the brevity requisite for students. I heard from him lectures on Isaiah, the minor prophets, and the Psalms, and became acquainted with the spirit of the Hebrew poetry. The proper Professor of the Oriental languages, Dindorf,¹ who had taken Dathe's place, had so poor an elocution, that no one would attend his lectures.

Church history I heard from Beck; also universal history. Both courses were good, but he generally dwelt so long on the beginning, that he had not time enough at the end, and hence his lectures, in respect to fulness, were extremely unequal. Homiletics I heard from Keil, whose practical exercises also, I attended; he himself, however, was unfortunately a tiresome preacher. Church polity I heard from Professor Weisse, but was driven from his lectures by the wit and satire upon the clergy, in which he was always indulging, in order to please the law-students. I also heard a half year's course on mathematics, from Professor Rothe, though without deriving any special benefit from it, probably from my own fault in not devoting time and attention enough to the subject. I also took private lessons in French, and made sufficient progress to be able to understand a book in the language without much difficulty. Fencing I did not learn at the fencing-school, but from good friends who taught me *privatim*. Hence I made only moderate proficiency. In the latter part of my course I sometimes took riding lessons under the direction of equestrian friends, and became a fearless rider, if nothing more.

My first essay in preaching I made at the close of my second university year, in the village of Lössnig, near Leipzig, where I conducted the afternoon service, in place of the schoolmaster, who was accustomed to read a sermon, and with whom the students were in the habit of arranging the matter, without consulting any one else. I remember that I preached on the duty of gratitude; that I spent fourteen days in committing the sermon to memory, and delivered it without hesitation, except that once, I was obliged to refer to the manuscript, because a dog ran into the church. Some of my friends accompanied me from Leipzig and criticised my discourse, as it hap-

born at Leipsic in 1768, and died at the University of Giessen, in 1841, aged seventy-three. The latest edition of his Commentary on the Gospels (1837) has the reputation of being superior to the earlier editions in grammatical accuracy. — Tr.

¹ Gottlieb Immanuel Dindorf died in 1812, aged fifty-seven. He edited an edition of the Commentary of Morus on the Gospel of John, and on the Acts; also of Ernesti on Hebrews. The eminent classical philologist and critic, Wilhelm Dindorf, is his son. — Tr.

pened, not unfavorably. The whole time of my residence in Leipsic, I was very diligent. I attended all the lectures in their order, and faithfully reviewed them. I also learned Chaldee by myself, from the grammar of the elder Michaelis, on account of the Chaldee passages in the Old Testament. For this reason, I was not satisfied with the three years' course, and remained another year. It also contributed to render me diligent that I had two studious room-mates, Pastor Schanze and afterwards the present Professor Kreyssig. We kept away from beer-houses and drinking clubs. Even at school, I had taken no pleasure in such things, and could never perform the indispensable feat of drinking a whole mug of beer without stopping. My recreations consisted in walking, riding, and playing billiards and ninepins, for trifling sums. At billiards I did a good deal, and passed among my friends for a master-player. Among my associates, both at school and in Leipsic, the spirit of diligence and morality generally prevailed. We established among ourselves a private society for disputing in Latin on an essay which each one in turn was required to write. Its members, besides Schanze, Kreyssig and Facilides (now Superintendent in Oschatz), were Bräuniger, from Lower Lausatia, who died early, the associate rector of Dresden free-school, Neander (now bishop in Berlin), Tzschirner, who afterwards became Professor and Superintendent in Leipsic, Winzer (now Professor of Theology), and several others. We disputed with all the fire of youth, and although what we discovered did not amount to much, we still learned something, gained practice, and cherished the love of science. Duels were almost entirely out of fashion in Leipsic, except between the members of different orders. Neither I nor any of the friends above named were ever engaged in a duel. None of us belonged to an Order or a Sectional Association (*Landsmannschaft*); but formed a circle among ourselves. The last summer I spent in Leipsic, some brother members of these societies from the University of Halle, who were on a visit, having become riotous were arrested and imprisoned in the Town House. The Leipsic Orders made arrangements to free them by force, and endeavored one evening to storm the Town House, but were repulsed by the well-armed police, and several of them taken. We Chemnitz students took no part in the matter, and even knew nothing about it, till we heard what had passed, on the following morning. Professor Dindorf, the rector, showed himself a true friend to the students, and brought the matter to a peaceable issue. For this it was resolved to give him a formal *vivat* with torches, which was done, after obtaining permission, on the 7th of September, 1797.

The students were to march, according to their uniforms, in four platoons, and as one of the older students, I was chosen as leader of the third of these. At first I declined the honor, on account of not having four things which were indispensable to a proper equipment, viz. a great three cornered hat, called *Stürmer*, great stiff boots, called *Kanonen*, a back-sword, etc. These, however, were all provided for me, and at last I was obliged to yield. I accordingly undertook the command of the company assigned to me, and led it with honor. This was the only public demonstration in which, while a student, I took part. It came off, however, in good order, and to the credit of the students. The rector Dindorf, at the close of the torch-light procession, gave to the officers a splendid collation, from which I withdrew with my friend Kreyssig in good season; but many who remained later, drank too much of the good wine, and did not get home in as good condition as we.

In the second year of my residence at Leipsic, I fell violently in love with the daughter of a preacher whose acquaintance I made on a tour in vacation. The matter, however, soon passed by, on my learning immediately on my return to Leipsic, that she was already formally betrothed to one of the older students, whom I very well knew, and whom I disliked for his stale jokes. I thought if such a fellow is to her taste, I have lost nothing, and quickly consoled myself. During my whole university life, I maintained a blameless deportment in my intercourse with the other sex. The spectacle of a school-mate at Chemnitz at the point of a horrible death from the effects of debauchery, made a deep and permanent impression upon me, and effectually preserved me against temptation.

In the last half year of my residence at the university, at Michaelmas, 1797, I began with the greatest diligence to make ready for the candidate-examination, which I was to meet at Easter, 1798. Dresden was not properly the place for me to present myself for the candidate-examination, because I was from Schönberg, and consequently was to look to Prince Otto of Schönberg for a settlement in the ministry, and he did not like to have his candidates examined abroad, because Schönberg had a consistory of its own in Glaucha. Notwithstanding this, I had concluded to apply for examination in Dresden with the design of seeking a settlement in the city. But unexpectedly I received, in November, an invitation through my brother-in-law to take charge of the education of the two sons of Baron von Kotzau of Oberwiera, near Waldenberg, and to accompany them at Easter, 1798, to the gymnasium at Altenberg. The

Baron was a near relative of the Prince von Schönberg, and hence I now supposed myself certain of a situation in Schönberg. The proposal to accompany the sons to the gymnasium, appeared to offer to me so good an opportunity for further improvement, that I cheerfully abandoned my Dresden plan and accepted the invitation, quickly packed up my effects, obtained the necessary university testimonials, and left Leipsic, on the 3rd of December, 1797, for Oberwiera.

IV. Candidate Life.

I had the good fortune to fall into a most excellent family. The Baron von Kotzau was a nobleman in every respect. Upright, honest, benevolent, intelligent, he was highly esteemed by all who knew him. Although he was so much older than myself, being already a sexagenarian, he became a true friend to me, and remained so till his death. The character of his wife was equally estimable. Unfortunately she was an invalid and extremely nervous, so that little things greatly annoyed her. Along with great goodness of heart she possessed much genius, had in her early days been something of a poetess, and still read belles-lettres literature with interest.

All my time from Christmas to Easter was spent in my new employment. I had quite as much as I could do to prepare the two sons for confirmation and for entering the gymnasium. I also commenced the study of Italian, and was soon able to read the *Gerusalemme liberata* of Tasso, which greatly pleased me. The French language, on the contrary, I could never like. Its nasal sounds were always odious to me.

After Easter, 1798, I accompanied my pupils to the gymnasium in Altenberg, where we remained three and a half years. I was obliged to prepare them for the recitations, aid them in their studies, and give them instruction in music and Italian. On the other hand, I did not accompany them to the school, and had the hours of recitation at my own disposal. Theological studies I did not at this time prosecute, but read with diligence the German poets, and even wrote myself a number of poetical pieces. This exercise was exceedingly useful to me in cultivating my taste and imparting to me a good German style, and it was in connection with this, that I studied for the first time the then classical works of Adelung upon the German language, orthography and construction. In the vacations I usually preached in Oberwiera, but nowhere else, nor did I devote any time to the special study of homiletics. In the last year of my residence

in Altenburg, I also began with my pupils to take private lessons in English. The course, however, was soon interrupted by the sickness and death of the teacher, and as the language, on account of the irregularity of its pronunciation was by no means attractive, I have always remained a bungler in it. On the other hand, in the last year of my residence here, I again took hold of theology in earnest, purchased Reinhard's Lectures on Doctrinal Theology, which had just been issued, and studied them with such diligence as to make myself entirely master of their contents. At the same time the Hebrew was very diligently prosecuted, because I felt that I had gone back and forgotten not a little.

In Altenburg I attended church with great constancy. With the sermons of the aged and highly respected general superintendent, Loeber, whom I often heard preach, I was pleased, not so much on account of their beauty, as their richness of thought. I was still better pleased with the Diaconus Schuderoff, afterwards superintendent in Ronneburg, who was then the favorite pulpit orator, and whose sermons in matter and manner equally charmed me. There was soon added another distinguished preacher, Demme, who was appointed general superintendent after Loeber's death in 1799. As the two other preachers were also popular, the churches were always well filled, and I rarely failed of being present with my pupils.

My residence in Altenburg also settled the question in respect to my domestic relations. A young candidate from the University of Jena, named Hauschild, with whom I had become acquainted, invited me to witness from his room the funeral procession at the interment of the general superintendent, Loeber, in 1799. There I met his mother, and her daughter Charlotte, the latter of whom had recently returned home to take charge of the household, on account of the protracted ill health of her mother. She was about twenty years of age, and made upon me the deepest impression. On her mother's death, which occurred soon after, she took the whole care of the family, and as I shortly removed my lodgings to the same house, we became intimately acquainted, and our mutual interest in each other increased. To her younger brothers and sisters, she supplied the place of a mother with so much diligence, propriety and intelligence as to command universal esteem, and fully satisfy me that Charlotte would make an excellent mistress of a family. But though I loved her and was resolved to marry no one else, and was also sure that my feelings were reciprocated, I made no avowal of my attachment, because I held it as a fundamental principle that I ought not to engage

myself to a lady till I was in a condition to marry her. It seemed to me wrong for a candidate like myself, whose future lot was all uncertain, to bind a young lady, and thus oblige her to reject, perhaps, some other offer which might be more advantageous. In Charlotte's case I felt this the more strongly because she had no property, and I therefore allowed the issue to turn upon the question whether, if such an offer should occur, she would refuse it on my account. It actually did occur and was declined, although nothing had ever passed between us which exceeded the limits of a cordial friendship.

At Easter, 1802, my pupils entered the University of Leipsic, the elder devoting himself to the study of law, the other to political economy. With the request of their father that I should accompany them, in the capacity of counsellor and friend, I very willingly complied, because a further residence at the university could not fail to be of service to me in the prosecution of my studies. My removal to Leipsic, however, was the occasion of a serious inward struggle in respect to the question, whether I should not abandon theology and avail myself of the opportunity to study law. In favor of the latter course there were two considerations; first, the poor prospect of a settlement in Schönburg, and secondly, the conviction that the orthodox theology of the symbolical books was in several prominent respects untenable.

Prince Otto of Schönburg, to whom I was to look for a settlement, having died, the appointing power, during the minority of his son, rested principally with the Count of Schönburg-Rochsburg, an upright man, but too much under the influence of his secretary. To the latter, the candidates in quest of a settlement made application, and sometimes at least secured their appointments by sending him presents. This was unquestionably conceded from the Count, for he would not have suffered it, had it come to his knowledge. For my own part, I was firmly resolved not to employ such unworthy means. During the half-year from Michaelmas, 1801, to Easter, 1802, which I spent in Oberwiera, a parish having become vacant, I made application for it to the Count at Rochsburg and was quite graciously received. At the close of the interview I went to the public house to dine. I had been in the house but a short time, when Mr. Secretary came in, and remained nearly half an hour, with the evident design, as I thought, of giving me an opportunity to solicit his patronage. There was something, however, so vulgar and disgusting in the appearance of the man, that I determined on the spot neither to come to Rochsburg again, nor to seek for a settlement there. I therefore took no notice of his presence, and when he saw that I would not

speak, he at last withdrew, but not without casting towards me a dark side-look, to which I felt entirely indifferent. Since it was now necessary for me to apply for a settlement to the Upper Consistory in Dresden, I regretted exceedingly that I had not presented myself for examination as candidate four years before. In consequence of not doing so, four whole years were lost, and so great was the number of candidates that I foresaw that probably enough before my turn should come, I might be forty years old.

Notwithstanding, however, the additional difficulty in respect to the church creed, and the facilities I might now have for the study of law, I had not come to a decision, at the time I went to Leipsic, in March, 1802, to engage lodgings for myself and my pupils. There I called on my old teacher Keil, who not only gave me a hearty welcome, but endeavored to remove my apprehensions in respect to the Dresden examination. He assured me that other things beside the age of the candidate were now regarded in Dresden, earnestly advised me to pass the examination, and promised me his influence. This encouraged me. And then, in addition, I found that the lodgings I had engaged happened to be in the house of Tittmann,¹ the professor of theology, which led me to hope to become better acquainted with him, and through him to be introduced to his father, who was counsellor of the Upper Consistory and superintendent in Dresden.

In regard to the theological difficulty, my scruples were removed by reading the observations on assent to creeds in Reinhard's "Christian Ethics," and also by the thought that so many great and estimable theologians, as Keil, Rosenmüller, Henke and many others, varied widely from the church faith, and that in general society and in the learned world the "*enlightened*" theologians (for the term rationalist was not common then) stood in the highest repute and were regarded with universal respect. This state of things I supposed would be permanent, and I could not then have believed that only a single generation would pass before the enlightened theologians would be assailed with such violence, and be spattered with filth as they now are. Had I been able to foresee this, I should certainly have devoted myself to the study of law. As it was, my decision was taken to abide by theology. I went back to Oberwiera and returned with my pupils to the University of Leipsic on the 22nd of May, 1802.

¹ Several of his essays were translated by Dr. Robinson for the American Biblical Repository. His works are distinguished for simplicity, acuteness and judiciousness. He died in 1831, at the age of fifty-eight. The father, Karl Christian Tittmann, died at Dresden in 1828.—Tr.

My first object was to prepare for the Dresden examination, to be held on the Michaelmas following. This I did with all my might, and in the furtherance of my object, took part in a dogmatic examination which Tittmann held, and which proved of great benefit to me. Tittmann spoke very good Latin, and being truly a man of genius, his society was exceedingly valuable. I made application for examination at Leipsic and was directed to present myself on the 11th of October (1802). As I had made a careful preparation, I set out for Dresden without anxiety, and at the proper time appeared before my judges, of whom Reinhard, on account of his acuteness, wit and readiness in disputation, was regarded with special dread by the candidates. I did not fear him, for I was conscious of being thoroughly equipped. The examination was commenced by Tittmann — on what subject I have now forgotten — only I remember that I passed it very well. Next came Reinhard, who examined on the use of the Old Testament in Christian theology. The part which fell to me related to the prophecies in the Old Testament which refer to Christ, in sustaining which I was required to read the Hebrew of about half a dozen passages, and then to translate and explain them. This was the whole. On church history, symbolik and doctrinal theology, in which I had so carefully prepared myself, not a single question was asked. Now Hebrew was not exactly my forte; but I had so often read the whole of the Messianic prophecies in the original, as to be almost able to repeat them from memory. Hence I passed better than I had expected. I particularly remember that one of the passages I was required to translate was in the second chapter of Isaiah. As the text was perfectly familiar to me, I was able without hesitation to emphasize the Hebrew correctly according to its connection, and then rendered the passage into as elegant Latin as I could. This pleased Reinhard, and in a word, the whole examination passed off so well, that I was sorry it did not last longer. I received the highest testimonial, "ready and skilful," which but few obtained, and was exceedingly rejoiced, especially as I might now hope to be provided with a settlement earlier than others. Two days afterwards, I preached the candidate-sermon before Reinhard, who was satisfied with my discourse and exhorted me to go forward. No one left Dresden more happy than I. A decisive step was taken, and well taken.

After my return to Leipsic I was elected, at Keil's instance, into the *Collegium philobiblicum*, where I read and defended an essay on John 1: 1—5. By this investigation I was led to the study of the

apocryphal books of the Old Testament and the Alexandrian philosophy. Having proposed to myself to write something upon the whole doctrine of the Logos, I studied the Apocrypha with the greatest diligence. I purchased Biel's *Thesaurus* upon the Greek Old Testament, with the additions by Schleusner, and began to collect additions of my own, and to make preparations for a work on the Book of Wisdom.

I was much embarrassed, however, by an inflammation of the eyes, which became so serious in the summer of 1803, that I was obliged to consult a physician. He advised me to try the baths at Lauchstädt, which I did in August. Here the physician strongly urged me to wear woollen stockings. I followed his advice, uncomfortable as they were in the heat of summer, and was gradually relieved, but have never since been able to dispense with them.

After having remained in Leipsic a year and a half with my pupils, I felt more and more, that they no longer needed my help. In their studies I could not aid them, and a longer oversight they did not seem to need, as both were now grown to manhood. I considered the matter in all its bearings, and came to the conclusion to leave Leipsic at Easter, 1804. Where to go, did not long remain doubtful. My early friend, Pölitx, who had been for some time Professor Extraordinarius at Leipsic, urged me to settle in Wittenberg as *Privat Docent*, because there were there but few young *Docenten*, and there were also considerable stipendia for young teachers in Wittenberg, while in Leipsic there were none. Tittmann, whom I consulted, seconded this advice. I therefore decided to make Wittenberg my home. Of my patrimony, six or seven hundred thaler (§420—490) still remained, which I hoped would be sufficient to meet the expense of becoming connected with the university and also of supporting me for about two years. What to do after that, was to depend upon my success at the university; for I was still uncertain whether to devote myself finally to a university life, or only to make use of my position there to obtain a better and earlier settlement in the ministry. I knew that Reinhard took pleasure in aiding the young *Docenten*, and therefore felt confident of obtaining a good parish, even if I should not succeed as a teacher.

As soon as my decision was taken, I went actively to work, as I have always done when once resolved upon a thing, to carry it into execution. I wrote to Wittenberg, to inquire what I had to do. First of all, it was necessary to become *Magister* there, which I did in December, 1803. Then I wrote the dissertation I was required to defend in

order to become *Magister legens*, and submitted it to the philosophical faculty for examination. It was approved, and the 14th of March, 1804, was assigned for my public disputation. After buying about a hundred thaler's worth of books, such as would be needful for me in preparing philosophical and theological lectures, I set out for Wittenberg in the early part of the month. My undertaking was not without risk. I had never been in Wittenberg, was not acquainted with a single person there, had no patron nor friend to consult, and did not know how the instructors and students would receive me, or whether I should sustain the public disputation with credit, or make a disgraceful failure.

On arriving at Wittenberg, I first called, as was required, upon the professors and the two young Docenten with whom I was to be associated. The latter were Schundenius (afterwards celebrated under his adopted name Dzondi as Professor of Medicine in Halle) and Lobeck, now Professor of Philosophy in Königsberg, both of whom were to be my opponents in the public disputation. They received me cordially. Of the professors, some gave me a friendly reception; others were cold and indifferent, which was quite natural, since they had no acquaintance with me. The only circumstance in my favor was, that it had become known among the professors and students that I had gained the highest testimonial at the candidate-examination in Dresden. This was an important recommendation. At my call upon Professor Weber, he said to me in his rather coarse and blunt way: "Your undertaking requires a good deal of courage. We have just had a young Docent here, who could not sustain himself, and was finally obliged to be off with himself." I smiled, and said nothing. The case gave me no concern.

On the 10th of March I was *nostrificirt*, that is, entered as a student and enrolled in the album of the university, and on the 14th the public disputation took place. It was to occupy both parts of the day, and I had therefore divided my work into two equal parts, by which I should obtain the right to deliver lectures also on philosophy. My subject was the Book of Wisdom. Eichhorn had endeavored to prove that this book was made up of two different compositions. It was the object of my disputation to show further that the *first part*, also, namely, chap. i—xi, was the work of two different authors, in connection with which I treated of the contents, origin and design of the whole book.

At the breakfast, before the dispute, I ate very sparingly, and drank only a single glass of wine. The way which many have, on such

occasions, of raising their courage by drinking, I regarded as quite absurd, because a beclouded mind can never manage a case so well as one which is clear and calm, as a man needs then, above all things, to be. The disputation went off well. I spoke Latin readily, and hence was never at a loss for an answer. Occasionally, where I supposed I should not succeed so well by being serious, I even made a joke. The audience was large (for the students were not yet absent in the vacation) and appeared well satisfied. The first throw was successful; I had disputed with honor and applause, and the students had formed a good opinion of me, on which much depended. At the close of the disputation I returned to Leipsic, packed up my effects, and in the beginning of the month of May, 1804, if I am not mistaken, took up my residence in Wittenberg as *Privat Dozent*.

V. *Teacher in the University.*

I announced two courses of lectures for the summer semester; first, lectures on logic and metaphysics, four a week, and secondly, explanation of the doctrinal proof-texts of the Old Testament, two a week. The admission fee for the first course I fixed at two thaler (\$1,40); the other I delivered gratuitously. I had not supposed that they would be attended, but at the opening lecture I found more hearers in the lecture-room than I had expected. Sixteen subscribed to attend the philosophical lectures, and twenty-five, the Hebrew course. As the latter were unwilling to withdraw, it was necessary that both courses should be given. With burning zeal I now labored in the preparation of my lectures, especially on philosophy; because with this, I did not feel myself sufficiently familiar. In the apprehension of meeting serious difficulties in metaphysics, I hurried through with the preparation of the lectures on logic, in order to gain time for elaborating those on metaphysics.

And this was very well; for I had not yet pursued a thorough and continuous course of philosophical study, and hence it was nothing less than indiscretion in me to propose to lecture on metaphysics. I had, indeed, read many philosophical works and reviews, and was acquainted with the then dominant Kantian philosophy, but as yet had formed no settled judgment of the whole. The Kantian philosophy I deemed not tenable, and Kant's doctrine, that the senses only give subjective knowledge of the external world, and that the human understanding attaches its ideas of fitness to nature, and does not derive them from it, appeared to me to conflict with experience, that is, with

consciousness. The rejection of all evidence for the Divine existence, together with the resting of faith in God and immortality solely upon the categorical imperative, that is, upon the consciousness of the moral law, *as the only thing certain*, seemed to me amazingly one-sided. On the whole, I favored the Eclecticism of Platner.

On commencing, now, the preparation of my lectures, it was necessary to decide at once between metaphysics and ontology. For three whole weeks I studied night and day to reach a decision, and at last, in order to fix my thoughts, seized my pen and wrote down all the ideas I had. This accomplished the result, and I obtained settled philosophical views of my own, which, at least in the main, have not been changed by my later and more thorough studies. With all the confidence imparted by a well-won and rational conviction, and with a clearness secured by these efforts, I led my hearers along the same way which I myself had travelled, and so finished this course to my own satisfaction and theirs.

On the 21st of June, 1804, I became adjunct of the Philosophical Faculty, on which occasion I wrote and defended a disputation.

With my university life, commenced also my literary activity as a writer. I felt impelled to this, partly from the desire of gaining a reputation in the learned world, and partly from the necessity of earning a livelihood. My first literary plan, which was carried into execution, was a "systematic development of all the ideas which occur in Dogmatic Theology, according to the Symbolical books, together with the more modern literature." The suggestion I received from a small treatise of *Schnansahl*, in my possession, entitled "*Theologia definitiva*," in which the theological definitions were given according to the doctrines of the Wolfian school. I decided to give the definitions in accordance with the Symbolical books, because I knew from my own experience that there was a great deficiency of books adapted to make young students familiar with the theology of the church, and with the literature of Dogmatics. The work was published in November, 1804, by Barth in Leipsic, who gave me four thaler (\$2,80) per sheet. Seven hundred and fifty copies were printed, but being my first production it was very defective. To my surprise, it met with a favorable reception, on account of supplying, however imperfectly, an existing want. In the second edition, I thoroughly revised it, and in the altered form, it had reached in 1841 the fourth edition.

Soon after, in November, 1804, the bookseller Crusius in Leipsic, undertook the printing of the additions which I had made to Biel's

Thesaurus upon the Greek Codex of the Old Testament. These labors, and the lectures which I delivered, fully occupied my first winter in Wittenberg. My next work, on "The Doctrinal Theology of the Old Testament Apocrypha," appeared at Leipsic in 1805. With the firm of Mondtag and Weiss in Ratisbon, I entered into a contract respecting an edition of the Old Testament Apocrypha, with a commentary, of which only the Book of Sirach was ever published. The further prosecution of the undertaking was entirely abandoned, in consequence of the war of 1806.¹

For the purpose of mastering the text-criticism of the Apocrypha, I had commenced, while in Leipsic, the study of Arabic and Syriac. This I prosecuted with so much diligence in Wittenberg, as to be able at length, with the aid of a lexicon, to use the Syro-Arabic translation of the Old Testament. In consequence, however, of having afterwards given up these critical studies, I have in a great measure forgotten what I once knew of these languages. I also established a Disputatorium of twelve students, which was diligently attended, and proposed further to hold an Examinatorium. For this purpose it was first necessary for me to be made Baccalaureate of theology, which I became on the 9th of September, 1805, after a *Colloquium* with the theological faculty. Proposing now to devote myself exclusively to theology, I lectured on the Interpretation of the New Testament, Logic and Doctrinal Theology, in the last of which branches I had thirty-seven hearers, a large audience for a young

¹ From some of the letters of Reinhard to Bretschneider, it would seem that he was not without apprehensions that his young friend was in some danger of becoming superficial. He strongly dissuaded him from his purpose of making a commentary upon Sirach the work of a single winter, enumerating the kinds and amount of labor to be accomplished in collecting variations from different manuscripts, carefully comparing the ancient translations in Walton's Polyglott, searching out and comparing anew the numerous citations of Sirach in the Fathers, becoming familiar with the Septuagint and the apocryphal writings of the New Testament, together with the theology of the whole of antiquity, including that of Solomon, the Greeks, the Rabbins and the Talmud, and even the Arabic, Persian and Nord mythology. "Excuse me," he adds, "for speaking so frankly. It is my settled belief that a young writer cannot go to work too circumspectly and carefully, when he proposes to publish an important treatise." "Let me entreat you," he says in another letter, "in your praiseworthy industry as a writer, not to neglect the business of the teacher. In the appointment to professorships, the first question asked here is, 'whether he is a successful teacher.' This, and with justice as it seems to me, has more influence than the works one has published, because one who fills a professorship ought to be able and willing to teach and thus render himself useful to the university youth." — Tr.

Docent, and I also held a complete Examinatorium on Doctrinal Theology, in the Latin language, after Reinhard's work, four hours each week. As besides this I held two weekly exercises in disputing, I was obliged to speak Latin daily, by means of which I acquired great readiness in using it. The lectures upon the Interpretation of the New Testament, which I delivered gratis, and which were very well attended, were the occasion of my publishing, in the autumn of 1805, "the historical-doctrinal exposition of the New Testament," printed by Barth in Leipsic. I dedicated it to my revered teacher, Keil, whose principles I followed in composing it. In the year 1806 appeared also my commentary upon Sirach, which was the last theological work I prepared in Wittenberg. These literary productions, together with the fees from the students, and one of the "Stipendia" for young Docenten which I had obtained, so well covered my expenses, that I might have remained at the university without anxiety in respect to the future, had it not been for the terrible political tempest which was about to burst on Northern Germany.

[To be continued.]

ARTICLE II.

VESTIGES OF CULTURE IN THE EARLY AGES.

By M. P. Case, M. A., Newburyport, Mass.

If reliable histories could be given us of the great nations and events of the world, prior to the time to which authentic accounts now extend, they would find no lack of interested readers. It is at first view a singular fact, that so little of the first half of the world's history has come down to us; and that over full three thousand years of human events, a sea of oblivion has long rolled its waves. Only here and there arises anything out of that sea, which presents definite outlines. Between the early and later ages, there yawns a wide gulf which Revelation only traverses, and that but at a few points. Profane annals fail us, or give place only to legend and tradition, while yet we are midway on our journey to the primitive time. Far be-

yond stretches away a night of ages whose darkness is relieved only by a few solitary stars.

There can be no doubt that there were, during all those centuries, now silent to us, materials enough from which such histories as we have supposed might be constructed. The undoubted facts of which we are certain, show that, in pre-historic periods, the race flourished and was spread over the earth; that powerful empires arose and held away for their time, and that mighty men of renown lived and left their impress upon the world. Some of the oldest writings assert such facts as these. But the details are unfortunately lost. After all the certainty we can gather, there is still left a wide field for inference and conjecture. As yet the manuscripts and monuments have not been found, which tell us much in detail of those old empires, and of the men who figured in those primitive times; or explain the origin of those systems of philosophy and religion, which were existing in full life in the days of the oldest historians whose writings have come down to us.

We will be thankful, however, for what we do know. And we think, that the great facts which are now fairly within our possession, if rightly combined, will lead us to yet further general knowledge of those earlier ages. If we take all that profane history and other memorials of the past can give us, and add to this what the Bible reveals of the social, political and spiritual condition of those primitive times, we may undoubtedly reach some correct conclusions, respecting their general culture and civilization. We are not aware of any extended research in this particular direction with reference to such an end; and we sincerely suspect that if such research were pushed far enough, it would become a certainty, better ascertained than even now, that the early centuries of the world were very far from being characterized by mental imbecility and barbarism, as some would have us believe they were. Rather would it be found that, in the beginning, man was created perfect in all his powers; that the sun of humanity rose, as it is destined to go down, in glory; and that the truly dark and barbaric period of the world, as of Christendom, was *mediaeval*. What has been said of the individual would be verified in respect to the race — *nemo repente turpissimus*. It would be seen that the clouds of superstition and sin rose gradually; and that it was not till centuries had elapsed after the first disobedience, that the firmament was enveloped in gloom, and man went groping on his way. And this mediaeval period of darkness, into which, here and there, history darts some rays of light, was the grave of primitive

culture, of art, history and spiritual life. The mad spirit of war reigned in those gloomy days where history begins its narrations. Whole nations, with all their treasures of whatever kind, were often exterminated or carried into hopeless captivity. Humanity had almost died from the earth; and in the mid-day of its being, the race seemed to have reached the lowest depth of human degradation. Thus and then it was, in that Night of the Ages, that the earlier world's history was destroyed with the nations themselves, except the few traces which have survived this destruction. May we not hope that more of these traces will yet come to light, when Eastern and Central Asia are better known?

It is not our present purpose to enter upon such a research as has been alluded to. Our design is the much easier task of indicating a few of the evidences of a high culture in the early ages, which come most obviously to view. We should indeed conclude on *à priori* grounds, that God would have made man perfect. We should expect from the hand of such an artificer no incomplete work. We find it hard to believe that he would have made the most wonderful specimen of his skill, which the earth was destined to witness, with wholly undeveloped powers, in short, an innocent savage, whose only excellence, for the time, was the negative quality of sinlessness, which quality he shared with the brutes around him. Reason does not so teach us, and inspiration responds to reason. This is the wondrous revelation: "So God made man in his own image, in the image of God created he him." Was this bearing the image of God consistent with ignorance, intellectual inactivity or barbarism? As we read the brief narrative of the six days' work, we pass rapidly up a scale of stupendous creations and find man at last, on the summit, in the likeness of the great Architect. If we review the series, from the moment when the life-giving Spirit "moved upon the face of the waters," till a beautiful world was made, and man created to dwell upon it, we see each event preparing the way for, and itself becoming mutely prophetic of something yet higher and better. As the light, which first broke upon those realms of "Chaos and old Night," betokened the life of plant and animal which were soon to exist and rejoice in its genial power; so the mystery of this inferior life foreshadowed that higher mystery of a spiritual being who was to be

— "the master work, the end
Of all yet done."

For what end, may it be fitly asked, was there a paradise or a world

of beauty seen by its Maker "very good," and described by the divine philosopher, as *εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ θεοῦ αἰσθητός, μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελειώτατος*,¹ if only an uncultivated barbarian were to look out upon them from an empty soul dead to all their glories? That he was no such being, but possessed rather an expanded intellect with large knowledge, and was seeking with the avidity of all educated souls for yet higher wisdom, is evident from the tempter's very argument, which was addressed, not to the sense, but to the intellect. It appealed to the desire of greater knowledge. Here was the most vulnerable point, else why was here the first assault?

From this summit he fell, alas, how soon! but not at once to total degradation. Both revelation and historical facts show that the descent was gradual. Adam lived many centuries after the fall, and it is not to be supposed that, after he had been driven out from paradise, he wholly forgot what he had known there; or ceased to be, in some measure, the same intellectual and spiritual being he had been before the curse fell upon him. Himself and his posterity had become alienated from the great Father, but not so wholly as in after time. Before the deep and universal sin which brought the deluge may we look for the spiritual era of mankind. The intercourse between God and his human offspring, as the Bible clearly shows, was more direct then, than it has ever been since. Those centuries in which Adam lived as the great patriarch and teacher of men, we may well believe, were the golden age of the world. Why should not the men of those times have been distinguished for intellectual and spiritual culture? Their teacher had once been the very image of God, and, though he had lost this distinction, he could not so easily have forgotten the fact or what the fact implied. The knowledge he had intuitively or otherwise acquired, he would most naturally have communicated, and there would be no presumption even here in supposing that science, as we know it to be true, to some extent, in respect to art, was cultivated in those primal ages. Indeed, everything which the Bible teaches us on the subject, agrees with and tends to establish the theory that the first centuries of the world constitute a truly enlightened period of humanity.

In the second place, tradition leads us back to such a period of primitive excellence. Universal almost in every civilized age and country do we find traditionary belief of this kind. Oriental mythologies tell of a primeval age, when the earth was the scene of peace, longevity and happiness; when its inhabitants lived a thousand years

¹ Timæus of Plato, 92. C.

under the wise rule of a descendant of the sun. There is also a legend of a translation to heaven of a sinless man without the pains of death in that happy time. Accounts are also given in the Buddhist books of a degeneracy from such a primeval state of excellence; of the entrance of falsehood and murder into the world; and the consequent shortening of human life and the loss of happiness at first enjoyed.¹

The golden, silver and brazen ages of Greek mythology refer in like manner to an early state of human excellence and happiness, and a subsequent degeneracy. The curious myth or tradition, whichever it is, of the Atlantic Island in the Timæus and Critias of Plato, may be taken as a type of popular belief in the times when it was written. It represents a people in a very remote age, as living happily and wisely in the possession of great power and wealth; as understanding the arts in a high degree; as having close relations with the Deity; and finally, as losing their happiness and dignity only through the corruption of a mortal nature entering and destroying the divine life within them.² In connection with the story of this race, the old Egyptian priest of Sais is represented as informing Solon of a far higher state of excellence among the Athenians, in an age so remote that they themselves had lost all records of it; an age when the valor and political power of Athens was incomparably greater than at that period.³

Closely allied to such traditions is the general belief in human deterioration. Such degeneracy is a historical fact, in regard to almost every particular nation; and as such has significance in its relation to the primitive condition of mankind. In all time has the sad strain of Horace contained the key-note of the moralist:

Aetas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturas,
Progeniem vitiosiore.⁴

In the third place, an extended, early culture is indicated by actual traces which long survived it. Such are the ruins of very ancient cities and the monuments of old races found in the East, in Egypt and holy Asia;⁵ the yet existing languages of those races, and the

¹ v. Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon. By Edward Upham. London. 1833. Int., p. 17.

² v. Critias, 121. E. ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μὲν μοῖρα ἐξίτηλος ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ τῷ θνητῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἀνακραννύμενη.

³ Timæus, 23. C. seq.

⁴ Lib. 3, Ode 7.

⁵ Aeschylus, Prom. Vinc. 410. ὅπου τ' ἔποιον ἀγῆας Ἀσίας ἔδος νέμονται.

relics of an early and pure faith, both as to doctrine and practice. Though history, as we have said, does not give us the records of the first ages, it does lead us back to periods in which we find unmistakable evidence of an earlier and extinct civilization. It places before us the ruins of Art and of Empire which had existence in a far distant Past. Its light fades away, while yet we stand amid the *debris* of a hoary antiquity, surrounded by the marks of human cultivation, in some directions greater than we know of in more modern times. Babylon had become an ancient city when Herodotus visited it and measured its immense walls. The pyramids were the wonder of an olden time, when Plato travelled into Egypt. He saw the ruins and monuments, and read the inscriptions of a people, who, a thousand years before, had been distinguished for wisdom and political greatness. It was among this people that Moses dwelt; and it was in their literature that he became an accomplished scholar. Those among whom this great lawgiver was reared, and in whose learning and religion he was so thoroughly instructed, were, as their enduring monuments prove to us, illustrious teachers even then, in art or science.

We are not unaware of certain unkindly uses which have been made of the Egyptian monuments, nor of the inferences which have been drawn from them, prejudicial to our commonly received chronology, and the fact of a deluge. That in the time of Moses and even long before, Egypt was a populous and powerful nation, with a class of very learned men, is indeed a well ascertained fact. And we do not, by any means, feel obliged to conclude, therefore, that more time than the eight centuries which separated that epoch from the deluge, was necessary to produce under the circumstances such a state of human advancement, even though we adopt the ancient opinion that the deluge was universal. Those who would force us into a dilemma here, take it for granted that before the deluge, there was but little or no knowledge of art or science in the world; and that what there was, must have been destroyed by such a fearful catastrophe, had it actually occurred. But it may be remembered that one family survived; that this family might have preserved, and probably did preserve, the knowledge of the earliest times—for Noah must have known those who had seen and been instructed by Adam—and that those survivors would most naturally transmit such knowledge to their descendants. Thus the immediately succeeding generations would become possessed of all the wisdom with few of the vices of the antediluvian ages. And as for the insufficiency of

the time for the results, who can affirm this, that remembers what the last two hundred years have done for this continent; or the last fifty even, for scientific discovery? It might be more reasonably concluded that immediately after the flood, men were more virtuous, more industrious, more healthful, and so more prolific than at any previous period since the first centuries. Suffice it that we believe the Bible, and have confidence in the monuments; but doubt the possibility of finding any irreconcilable discrepancy between them when fairly brought together.

These monuments designate a high civilization derived perhaps through Noah from earlier times. This patriarch had lived with the contemporaries of Adam before the deluge. He lived also a long period after that terrific time. As a second first Man, he would naturally care for his widely extending posterity. All that would elevate and truly dignify that posterity we may well suppose he would inculcate; and with the earth purified from its vices and sins, the earlier spiritual age of Adam was for a short season at least, reproduced after the deluge. Then it was that those arts flourished, some of them long since lost,¹ which have been the wonder of all subsequent times; and then, too, perhaps those old philosophies, so sublime and often so true, took form and shape, which, in succeeding centuries, the Greek sages visited the banks of the Nile to study and admire. In the chambers and on the walls of those ancient piles, yet standing there, may be read at this day, not merely Egypt's political history; those old hieroglyphics teach us also that in the time of Moses, philosophy, theology, legislation and other kinds of lore, were in vigorous growth in that part of the world.

The perfect character of some of the oldest known languages is a fact bearing quite directly upon the question of an early culture. A language must bear a certain relation to the intellectual character of those speaking it, or at least of those with whom it originated. It is an index, of necessity, more or less perfect, of the inward life of those who use it. If we apply the Sanskrit here as a test, the old

¹ A late traveller viewing the immense ruins of one of the old palaces at Thebes says: "It is melancholy to sit on the piled stones amidst the wreck of this wonderful edifice, where violence, inconceivable to us, has been used to destroy what art, inconceivable to us, had erected. What a rebuke to the vanity of succeeding ages is here! What have we been about to imagine men in those early times to have been childish or barbarous, — or to suppose science and civilization reserved for us in these later ages, when here are works in whose presence it is a task for the imagination to overtake the eyesight!" — *Eastern Life, Past and Present*, by Miss Martineau, p. 162.

Hindûs who lived between Abraham and Moses must have been a philosophic and highly cultivated people. Those who best know that language, tell us of its exceeding richness and peculiar power as a vehicle of thought; and pronounce it to be, as it is, the *mother* language of the Greek, the Latin and the Gothic dialects of our ancestors; and so the fountain-head of those languages now spoken by the greater portion of the Christian world. And often, as the student has noted the marvellous beauty and fulness of the Greek, has the question arisen, whence came this wonderful language? Even the oldest writings in it, of which we have knowledge, show it to have had its birth and growth among a people who, though unknown to us, must have had the nicest conceptions of beauty in all its forms; and to whom discriminating thought was not an accident but a habit. Could a language, of which with hardly more enthusiasm than truth it has been said, that "it is as universal as the race, as individual as ourselves; of infinite flexibility, of indefatigable strength, to which nothing was vulgar; from which nothing was excluded; speaking to the ear like Italian, speaking to the mind like English, with words like pictures, with words like the gossamer film of the summer;"¹ could such a language have originated with a barbarous or even a semi-civilized race? And what shall we say when the still older Sanskrit is found to be superior even to this?

But it is perhaps in the relics of an early faith scattered world-wide, that we find the most distinct and living evidence of a primitive civilization. We have spoken of the earliest centuries as constituting the golden era, the age of light and spiritual life. We know that men did then hold direct intercourse with the Deity. Did we not know that such was actually the fact, we should reasonably conclude that God would have had intelligent intercourse with his newly created offspring. We should suppose he would communicate to them knowledge corresponding in kind and degree to all their powers. Thus we should expect a revelation; and such there was. This revelation, doubtless, had primary reference to spiritual education — from which we should indeed infer intellectual culture,² as an obvious

¹ H. N. Coleridge's Study of the Greek Classic Poets.

² There is evidence, as we have seen, of more scientific and other knowledge in the world in its earlier periods, than the general belief would lead us to suppose. Certain astronomical doctrines were more nearly correct in the time of Pythagoras, than a thousand years afterwards. There has been, also, much ridicule over the ancient philosophers and their four elements, which a profounder knowledge of their teachings would have gladly spared. And there is

result — and from it the great questions which relate to man's nature, destiny and relations, must have been well understood. In the free and unrestrained communion of man with his spiritual Father, of which the earlier Scripture history contains frequent examples, there must have been a more satisfactory revelation of God's will, his truth and his ways, than any written account of these could become; for the written revelation, from the nature of the case, is liable to be misunderstood, whereas the oral could hardly have been mistaken. In its transmission, however, to others, it might be more liable to perversion than the written; but while the age of oral revelation continued, men must have thoroughly understood the Divine nature and will, and known the pure truth without admixture of error or heresy. And had this state of things remained, no written word would have been requisite. But the apostasy became at length so great, the descent of man from the high elevation he first held so low, and the distance between the human and the divine so wide, that this mode of communication of necessity ceased. The truth became gradually more and more corrupted with error; and thus came the necessity of a written revelation, such as God has given to the world. But what became of those fundamental truths thus early lodged in the heart of humanity, and which fed that spiritual life whose pulsations were so vigorous in those early days? Were they wholly lost amid the idolatry and sin of succeeding times? We cannot so believe. There is an adaptation in those truths to man's nature and wants. They touch a chord in his bosom which vibrates only to them. Hence those primal revelations lived long in the world; some of them live still, buried or smothered though they have been under ever accumulating burdens of delusion. Sometimes we find them standing forth with distinctness of outline, showing much of their native grace or grandeur; sometimes they are so concealed and disfigured that they present only a slight resemblance to the original form; and sometimes, like the rich ore, they may be found running in minute yet traceable veins, among unsightly masses of falsehood and superstition.

somewhat more than a possibility that the great Western continent was inhabited, and well known to the dwellers on the Eastern, even before the building of the pyramids. Stallbaum says well, in regard to the story of the Atlantic Island in the *Timæus*, before referred to: "*Quidquid rei est, illud quidem negari non potest, quæ de situ et regione, de magnitudine, de potentia, denique atque opibus hujus insulæ a Platone narrantur, ea mirifice in Americam convenire; ut si non ex historiae fontibus ducta, certe singulari quadam ac prorsus divina animi præcognitione conficta sint.*" See note *ad locum*.

How much of our own Christian faith may be found among the various forms of paganism is, on many accounts, a deeply interesting question. The aggregate might, indeed, at first view surprise us. A distinct recognition of the great central fact may be wanting in all; and what we do find is more or less distorted by error, thus showing the imperative need of an unmixed revelation, authoritative and Divine. But it is a significant fact, that in general, the oldest systems of human belief approach the nearest—sed proximus magno intervallo—to this Divine revelation. The most ancient doctrine respecting the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being is often surprisingly correct. The Egyptian priests represented him as the most ancient of things and uncreated, as the Unutterable and Eternal One. These and such like lofty truths were carried by the philosophers into Greece. In the sacred books of the Hindûs, much may be found which shows that the present idolatrous system of that people is only a corruption of a highly spiritual religion; and that its grosser forms sprung up and attached themselves to the parent stock only after literature and philosophy had declined from a high original condition. In the Vêdas, written as many suppose not far from the time when Moses received the law on the sacred mountain, the unity and other attributes of God are distinctly asserted. To this effect are such passages as these: “No vision can approach Him; no language can describe Him; no intellectual power can compass or determine Him. He is beyond all that is within the reach of comprehension; and also beyond nature which is beyond conception.” It is added: “*Our ancient SPIRITUAL PARENTS have thus explained Him.*” Here, beyond question, is a tradition coming down from a more spiritual age. Again it is said: “He alone whom no one can conceive by vision, and by whose superintendence every one perceives the objects of vision, is the Supreme Being, *and not any specified thing which men worship.*”¹ The last phrase is often repeated in similar connections in other places. These passages afford a specimen of the proof which might be given that monotheism was the ancient form of religion among the Hindûs; and that the polytheistic character which that religion afterwards assumed, was the product of a less enlightened age. The goodness of the Deity, his Divine and universal providence, extending alike to the least events and the greatest, his unchangeable character,² as every reader of the classics knows, are most fully

¹ See Rammohun Roy's translation from the Upanishad of the Sama Vêda, Calcutta. 1816.

² Republic of Plato, 381. D, where this attribute is beautifully illustrated.

asserted by Plato, Plutarch and Cicero especially, and also less often by many other writers. He is called by Plato, the Best of Causes,¹ and is represented as the impersonation of Beauty, Wisdom and Goodness.² The justice of God, too, is vividly set forth in many places by the tragic poets; and Plato, in the tenth book of the *Laws*, in notable words declares that it will pursue its object in this life and in the next; whether in heaven, earth, or Hades, or regions "still more wild than these," until a fitting penalty is exacted. Connected with this idea of Divine justice is that of a future punishment of the wicked. The extent and clearness with which this doctrine is stated by the ancient heathen moralists, and the great agreement of its earliest forms with the so-called orthodox view of it, must furnish a somewhat perplexing puzzle to those who would set it aside as altogether unjust and unreasonable, or represent the notion as a modern device of priestcraft. In fact, the denial of the doctrine may be designated as the modern phenomenon respecting it.

The belief in a future judgment, in agreement with which this retribution is to be dispensed, is apparently as old as that in the retribution itself. We have the clearest evidence that this was an article in the old Egyptian creed; and the closing pages of the *Gorgias* of Plato show us what that philosopher would teach on this subject. In that celebrated myth, which he makes Socrates utter as simple truth, not only is the fact of a future judgment, impartial in all respects, solemnly stated and dwelt upon; the thoroughly Christian belief is also asserted, that death, being only a separation of the soul and body, works no change in the moral condition; for with the same character it possessed while in the body, will the soul appear before the impartial Judge. And these facts are made the occasion of a solemn appeal to the hearers, to live virtuous lives, "to study not to *appear* good, but to *be* so in truth, both privately and publicly;"³ and thus to become fitted to receive the reward promised to the righteous — a happy life in the islands of the blessed. Consistently with such teachings, and even as their ground, do we find those same writers inculcating the essential evil of sin, and the sad fact of human depravity.

In like manner, the existence of invisible spirits, both good and bad, and their connection with human affairs, is one of the oldest and most general articles of human belief. And, indeed, as our mission-

¹ *Timaeus*, 29. A. ² *Phaedr.* 246. D. τὸ δὲ θειόν, καλόν, σόφον, ἀγαθόν.

³ 527. B. οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι. Cf. *Septem cont. Thebas*, 574. Also *Republic*, 361. A. where it is said to be the greatest injustice to *seem* just, and not to be so.

aries and others who have the means of knowing, assure us, such a belief is, at the present day, as universal as is the idea of a Supreme Being. Plutarch, quoting the opinions of much older writers than himself, says: "Xenocrates thinks that there exist, in the air¹ which surrounds us, great and powerful natures, but at the same time morose and ill-natured, that delight in doing such (i. e. mischievous) things. . . . Hesiod, again, calls the beneficent class holy genii, guardians of mankind, givers of wealth. . . . Plato call this class the interpreting and ministering kind, holding a middle place between gods and men, carrying up the prayers and offerings of the latter to the former, and bringing back prophetic answers and gifts of good things.² Empedocles, also, declares that wicked spirits suffer punishment for their sins and misdemeanors." Their condition, according to this poet, is a peculiarly hard one. He says:

*Αἰθέρῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνος πάντων δὲ διακεί,
Πάντος δ' ἐς χθονὸς οὐδ' ἀπέπτεσε, γαῖα δ' ἐς αὐτὰς
'Ἡελίῳ ἀπιδμαρτος, ὃ δ' αἰθέρος ἐμβαλε δίναις.
'Ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλων δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες."*

We search in vain for so distinct or so universal recognitions of the necessity of a spiritual regeneration. And yet there is something not unlike this, in the dogmas of some religions. The peculiar idea of *caste* among the Hindûs, implies simply and primarily, if we understand it, the separation from the common mass of a more spiritual class and for specific religious ends. They are reckoned and named a body of "twice born" men; and their separation from others is grounded upon the fact of some peculiar fitness for the society of the Divine One, of him who is the Absolute Intelligence, the Essential Light.⁴ The difference between the Brahmin and other men is thus founded on his relation to Brâhma who is Light and Wisdom. Is there not here, somewhat more than a fanciful resemblance to the idea of a Christian church, and the peculiar relations and character of its regenerated members?

Nor do we find the most distinct enunciation of the doctrine of ONE

¹ For this locality of daemons, see also Diog. L. as referred to by Ritter, *Hiss. of An. Philosophy*, Morrison's Trans. Vol. I. p. 407. Cf. also Eph. 6: 12 and 2: 2, where Satan is called τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἵρος.

² Reference is had to a passage in the Symposium here almost quoted.

³ De Is. et Os. Reiske, Tom. VII. pp. 425, 426. In translating we have abridged somewhat.

⁴ See Maurice's Boyle Lectures on the Religions of the World, and their relations to Christianity. Lectures 2nd and 6th. London. 1848.

atonement sacrifice in the heathen religions, either the early or the later. Still we cannot fail to notice in the various observances of those religions, especially the sacrificial observances, such manifest resemblance to the Hebrew ritual, as suggests at once the hypothesis of a common origin. Whence, indeed, came this so general notion, that the Deity can be propitiated only by the suffering of the innocent and unoffending? Or that pardon can come only by the shedding of blood? It can hardly have been a spontaneous idea of reason. The light of nature, so called, certainly would not have suggested it. And yet in remote ages, and among races widely separated, hardly knowing each other's existence, strikingly similar views have prevailed in regard to sacrifice. And over how large a portion of the earth, and for how long a time did the practice of human sacrifice prevail? A custom alike abhorrent to the feelings and repugnant to the reason, yet all but universal in the world, when the great Offering was made and the holy blood shed upon the cross. Whence came such belief and practice, unless it was the assent of the soul, feeling the burden and terrible guilt of sin, to a primarily revealed truth coming with all the authority of sacred ancient tradition, and declaring: "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission."

The bare mention of the soul's immortality brings at once to the remembrance of the classical student, certain pages of the great Roman orator, where that sublime and Christian belief is set forth with a diction and eloquence worthy of it and of him. It will call to mind, too, that most beautiful and touching of Plato's dialogues, the *Phaedo*, in which, whatever we may think of the arguments there adduced to prove it, the soul's immortal life stands out as the central thought. It may suggest, also, a fine passage in that remarkable essay of Plutarch, "*De sera Numinis Vindicta*," as well as similar writings of other moralists. Of much that is found in the moral essays of the last-named philosopher, it is truly difficult to say what most compels our admiration; whether the amazing extent of his knowledge on subjects political, moral, philosophical and historical; or the great wisdom of many of his views and the solid good sense prevailing everywhere; or the conservative and serious tone in which he often discourses; or finally, the wonderful agreement of many of his opinions with those of the most distinguished teachers of the Christian church. He lived, it is true, a little after the apostles; but there is no satisfactory evidence that he knew anything of the Christian faith. On the contrary, his writings furnish conclusive proof, that he derived his belief from other and far older sources. In the essay above

mentioned, many of the doctrines are so just and so much in accordance with our own modes of thinking, that for the moment, we seem to be reading from the Fathers, if not from one of the old English divines, *pour ainsi dire*, done into Greek. So general was his knowledge of his own and previous times, that he perhaps more than any other ancient writer, may be said to have been the compiler of ancient belief. In him we seem to see a deeply religious mind seeking honestly for the truth; and by immense labor, and with great patience and discrimination, culling out the rational teachings of preceding ages; and, after working them over in the laboratory of his own thoughts, presenting them in his own form, to his own and succeeding times. We wonder where he, a heathen as he is often called, obtained those Christian views. And we can find no satisfactory solution of the difficulty, except on some hypothesis such as we have suggested, that in the old philosophies, there were the remains of an early oral revelation.

We are unwilling to leave this brief and imperfect enumeration of doctrines without a passing allusion to the correct views of some of the ancient writers, and of Plato, as perhaps their best representative here, in regard to the general character of all spiritual truth. The grand distinction between the natural and supernatural is everywhere kept in view in his writings. The spheres of sense and of reason are never confounded. Each has its fixed limitations. And as soul is older than body and superior to it, so is the spiritual sphere the higher and the nobler, the realm of necessary truth and being. This important distinction, in its whole breadth, is laid down and illustrated with great clearness and beauty of language in the *Timaeus*,¹ where true being is designated as *τὸ ὄν*, and the phenomenal and only sensible as *τὸ γινόμενον*. The first includes all that is absolute, uncreated and eternal, the latter extends to all that exists under the forms of sense and time, — the truly natural. Elsewhere and often he speaks of the specific forms which fall under these general heads, as *τὰ αἰσθητά*, the sensible, and *τὰ νοητά*, the purely rational; or as *τὸ ὁρατόν*, the seen, and *τὸ αἰδές*, the unseen. These distinctions suggest almost exactly similar ones in the sacred Scriptures, and none more readily perhaps than that in 2 Cor. 4: 18, where in like manner the "seen and the temporal" are put in direct contrast to "the unseen and eternal."

Had it come within our original design in preparing this article, we could have found in the ancient ethical teachings abundant

¹ 27. D.

statements of Christian duty as well as doctrine. Though in matters of practice every mind has the impulsive power of conscience, which, in spite of education, tradition or authority, will guide aright in many things, if carefully obeyed; yet there are some laws which bear upon them the sign manual of Divinity. We see that human wisdom could not have originated them, just as it could not have invented many beautiful arrangements which we find in nature. Such have existed, even where no written revelation ever found its way, unless it was one now lost. We must refer them to an earlier age and revelation. And infidelity, when she points to those sublime laws, as independent of revelation, and as showing its uselessness or annulling its authority, begs her ground entirely, and holds it only at the mercy of history and reason.

The fact of a primitive civilization, we do not forget, has something to do with the question of human progress and various theories often advanced respecting it. If the early condition of mankind was an elevated one, of which we think there is sufficient evidence where we have designated it, then for half the centuries since the creation of man, has his progress been downward; a descent from an eminence of spiritual life, and all its attendant and related good. Art, history, philosophy and spiritual truth were lost wholly or in part; and though in the later centuries, and chiefly in connection with the Christian dispensation, the race has begun to ascend again to its original inheritance of Truth and Light, yet humility in view of what has been lost, rather than pride over what has been gained, might be the more fitting sentiment. And as an intellectual decline evidently followed close upon a spiritual, so may we expect no true or permanent or desirable progress except as it attends upon a spiritual culture. Reformers may learn lessons from the remote past; and this most clearly, that human progress is no inevitable fact or law. We may scatter knowledge everywhere; this alone "puffeth up," generating pride which leads to ruin. We may have telegraphs and steam-ships and railroads; and thus wealth and power may be increased. But wealth and power are apt to result in luxury, and this like pride leads again to ruin. If, with these ministries of nature, there is Charity, Faith and Righteousness, then may we look for rapid progress, and a final return to the high summits of true humanity. But if Pride and Luxury and the lust of Power shall reign, who shall say, that ere that time arrive, the race may not yet again return to the darkness which characterized the middle era of mankind?

ARTICLE III.

PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY ADAPTED TO BE THE RELIGION OF THE WORLD.

By Rev. Charles White, D. D., President of Wabash College, Ia.

THERE are several systems, assuming to be religious, which have striven long and vigorously for universal ascendancy and dominion. Paganism, under numerous and various forms, already asserts supremacy over more than half of mankind. Islamism holds, under an unyielding sway, one hundred and twenty millions of the population of the earth. Papacy, claiming with great effrontery to be the only pure and true religion, is now struggling with vast zeal and unconquerable energy to plant itself over the whole of the habitable world. These schemes of religion are not at all well adapted to the nature and condition of mankind. They are strikingly inefficient, in creating an intelligent faith; in providing for the depressed and poor; in establishing a true and safe freedom; in meeting the great demand for mediation and mercy made by our moral nature; in raising man to the true grandeur of his being; in securing their own universal diffusion. Protestant Christianity seems capable of accomplishing all these grand ends. Well suited is it, therefore, we may safely allege, to be the religion of our race.

I. The first proof of this adaptation may be found in the fact that Christianity presents openly and intelligibly to all men the evidence of its own truth and divinity.

The unlettered and unthinking constitute a large portion of the population of the globe. Neither the Papal, Pagan nor Mohammedan religion has so much as designed or made the least attempt to present to the great masses of ignorance and depression any proofs whatever of its origin and authority. The priests and teachers of all the false systems have assumed arbitrarily to dictate to the faith of the multitude. Claiming to be the sole privileged depositaries and organs of the counsels and communications of superior beings, they have urged peremptorily the unhesitating reception of doctrines and services, on their own bare declaration of antiquity, divinity and authority. Thus under the management of a corrupt and cunning priesthood do these superstitions approach the uninstructed, credulous

multitude with a fore-front of concealment and darkness, and then challenge, on pain of eternal death, an unwavering, implicit assent to a mass of unexamined fables and absurdities. This unconditional submission of religious faith to the craftiness and depravity and tyranny of a fellow-man, humiliates, corrupts, prostrates and crushes most pitiably.

A religion for mankind, for the unlettered as well as for the learned, must bear upon itself visibly, unmistakably the proofs of a supernatural origin and a Divine authority. Christianity, I allege, does this, does actually come with God's own image and superscription, even to the common mind of the race, all marked upon it most distinctly, legibly and luminously. He that runneth may read; the way-farer of the world need not err. The divinity and authority of Christianity rest on this simple and intelligible foundation, the truth of the narrative found in the four evangelic histories. The proof that their account is most accurately true, lies upon the very surface, entirely visible to unlettered men. There is everywhere perceptible to such men, a frankness, a sincerity, a straight-forwardness, a total absence of all appearance of understatement, overstatement and concealment, a disinterestedness, a fulness of knowledge, an honest truthfulness, which almost compel belief. Assured that there is in the sacred record no coloring, embellishing, conjecturing or imagining, but an unvarnished, most veritable relation of supernatural events, heavenly teachings and undeniable miracles, precisely as they occurred, the uneducated readers perceive and acknowledge that Christianity emerges from this scene of Divine power and Divine wisdom, bearing heavenly attestations most clear and satisfying.

Divine revelation presents, both in bold outline and in graphic touches, such accurate, vivid and full pictures of the nature of the heart of man as to convince unstudious and common men, who have carefully turned their attention upon their own character, that the painter must be the Great Searcher of the heart. The Scriptural delineations of man present features which otherwise would never have been discovered, but which, once traced and painted, the mass of uninstructed readers may instantly recognize.

Another evidence of Divinity, clear and open to the same description of persons, is a remarkable agreement between the teachings of Christianity and those of unpervverted conscience. From both they hear the same stern, fearless, authoritative voices on all great moral questions. They perceive that the Gospel presents just the grand, pure objects to love, interests to pursue, treasures to obtain, which

conscience pronounces worthy of a rational, gifted, godlike and immortal being. As it is the Divinity confessedly which teaches in human conscience, they hesitate not a moment at the conclusion, that it is the Divinity which teaches in Christianity.

There is a class of precious Scriptural assurances to good men, which are so invariably fulfilled to the utmost as to leave no doubt on the minds of plain men, that it is God himself in very deed, who in the sacred Word speaketh these encouragements. Every day as they see that, while the righteous have adversity, they have also peace; while they have difficulties, they have also assistances; while they have extremities, they have also glorious deliverances; every day as they see them never forgotten, never forsaken of their Heavenly Father, they have fresh proof that the communications of love, of which these are the accomplishments, were certainly given by the good man's Almighty Friend above.

There is also a morality of inimitable sublimity and beauty everywhere inculcated by Christianity, very appreciable by the common mind as truly Divine. The Saviour's own pure, glorious life and character are a part of it. Throughout, there is to unlettered readers, a calm holiness, an angelic mercy, a frank sincerity, a supernatural wisdom, a rich grace, which cannot be of the earth, earthy. These qualities show the sweet purity of heaven, the pulsations of a Divine life. They evince the same superiority to all other moral lessons, which perfection does to imperfection, which Divinity does to humanity. To unlearned men the morality of Christianity bears a serene, lofty, uncorrupted and incorruptible spirit, which as indubitably indicates its origin to be from heaven, as the hues of sunset show that they come from the glorious orb which has just disappeared.

Some of the descriptions of the Bible have an august magnificence and power, which indicate to the same class of men a pen dipped in the light of heaven. The judgment day, as described in the 25th of *Matthew*, affords an illustration. The great scene opens, unfolds and closes with a simplicity, a graphicness, an apparent truthfulness, an awful grandeur, a hushed solemnity, which assure them it is the draft of a Divine intellect. Other illustrations are the representations of Jehovah, of the New Jerusalem, of the crucifixion, of the resurrection of the dead. They all bear a reality and consistency and simple majesty and serene divinity, which are evidently above all finite intellectual power. Unlettered readers doubt not that these delineations must have come down out of heaven. Were the apocalyptic angel, standing in the sun, to portray to us that luminary, there

would be evinced a clearness of view, a confidence of statement, an undisguised naturalness, a sublime simplicity, which would leave no doubt that the description was given by an eye-witness. So do these Scriptural delineations show the pen of the most near and present of all observers, the Omniscient himself.

These are some of the proofs of Divinity which lie on the face of Christianity, capable of being seen and read of all men. While it is matter of gratitude that history and philosophy and science have rendered faith in Christianity on the part of the learned totally and forever impregnable, it is a matter of far higher interest and value that God has made the Gospel its own witness, has written its heavenly origin palpably on the revelation itself, so that the great mass of mankind must unhesitatingly confess, as they read and mark and meditate, that Divinity shines out everywhere, that the traces of God's hand are no less clear and full and readable upon Christianity, than upon the great scene of nature where all have beheld them. Undoubtedly this is the religion for man; it is fit that we congratulate the race that it is presented in Christianity with a system which condemns not its votary to have the intellect and conscience bound and bridled. The New Testament, so far from enjoining such an intellectual humiliation; from wishing the consent of any human being to be so duped and degraded and wronged; from contributing in any way to reduce the high spirit of humanity to such an ignominious submission, does specially and earnestly summon every subject of God, as a self-responsible man in the use of his own independent powers, to scrutinize its credentials, sift its proofs, weigh its claims, unhesitatingly and fearlessly to the uttermost. It does, in addition, counsel him to construct his opinion and settle his duty according as his own clear reason and unperverted conscience shall dictate, irrespective of priest, precedent or authority. It is only on the condition, that its revelations are incontestibly Divine, that the Gospel expects man to bow with reverence to its great truths; only on condition, that its instructions are undoubtedly emanations from the Deity, that it expects him to walk in its light. Christianity thus bearing upon itself, to common minds as well as to others, a most visible Divinity, and asking credence and obedience only on its evident possession of that Divinity, is very eminently adapted to be the religion of all mankind.

II. Kindred to this intelligibleness of proofs, another feature of Christianity, adapting it to be the religion of the world, is its special sympathy and provision in behalf of the poor.

Its diffusion through all the lower walks of life is one great distinction of the Christian religion. Our Saviour assures us, that he had been anointed to preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives. This deep and active interest for all the destitute and depressed of the world, is but a continuation of the spirit of the Old Testament manifested by much kind and protective legislation. The great business of Christianity being to uplift the entire human family; if the vast mass of the depressed and poor, the great majority of the whole, were not reached and elevated, its mission on earth would be almost a failure. They are to be reached and elevated! The regenerations and blessings of the Gospel are fitted for the lower spheres of human society no less than for the higher. Narrow circumstances and external degradation are no discouragements to the warm, abounding charities and services of Christianity. It regards man as a creature possessing noble constitutional susceptibilities, rich inherent elements, of which no pressures, lapses, misfortunes, do ever despoil him. Upon all his precious, improvable and permanent qualities, though partially smothered and concealed underneath rubbish, rudeness and deformity, religion gathers an earnest and unextinguishable interest. It cares little about the earthly tabernacle lodged in it; it cares infinitely about the capabilities of the spirit which occupies it. Perceiving in the deep interior of the slave and serf no inferiority of original elements, it approaches them with the same sympathy and charity that it does the master and the monarch who hold them. If that being, clothed in rags and wretchedness, be but a man, with a man's immortal powers, with a man's immortal destinies, Christianity asks no more. It opens to him at once all its blessed ministries, its education and discipline, its gifts and graces, its holy motives and inspirations, its prospective glory and happiness, its heavenly crown and throne. Even more than this is true. Not merely an equal sympathy and care for men in humble condition, is manifested by the religion of the New Testament; it seems to bear a deeper kindness toward them and to proffer larger benefits, because they are in greater suffering and need. Fully aware that the homelier and poorer a population, the lower it is in most parts of the world in vice and ignorance, the Christian religion carries to its families illumination and disenthralment with greater assiduity and more unextinguishable zeal. Aware, also, that the lower orders are oftenest injured and forsaken, Christianity looks after them with a specially tender and earnest assistance. Mark where among the poor and low, unmitigated, unsolaced woes and

wants have most accumulated, where amid pains and sicknesses, human ministrations of soothing and relief are most rare — thither does religion repair to employ her highest vigilance, to offer her warmest sympathies, to unbosom her richest benefactions, to pour in the oil of her best consolations. It is another proof and illustration of a happy adaptation on the part of Christianity to visit the destitute and degraded, that its communications are to that class of mankind specially acceptable. When the scribes and doctors and rulers rejected Christ, the common people heard him gladly. Persons who roll in wealth and fare sumptuously every day, who receive the flatteries and deference of a constant crowd of admirers, who gather around themselves all the tasteful arrangements, all the conveniences and beautiful embellishments which their own hearts in their largest desires ask for — these gratified ones, dwelling and reposing in an earthly paradise, will not willingly and cordially listen to inculcations of humility and self-denial, of detachment from the world, of selling their goods to feed the poor, of looking and longing for a better country, even an heavenly. But the poor of this world, with no abiding place, with slender means of subsistence, painfully dependent, subject to exhausting labor, liable to injury and fraud and oppression — these homeless, destitute, disregarded, injured ones, are all ripe to hear the gracious words of eternal life. They that have no earthly spot which they can call their own, how will they exult in the offer of a title clear to an inheritance in the land of the blessed! They who have found that the world has promised only to disappoint, flattered only to deceive, how heartily will they welcome assurances from Heaven of joys substantial and sincere! They who have found little pity among men, how will they catch all joyously the full proposals of mercy from the throne of heavenly grace! Then there is a natural sympathy of all the oppressed and abused of the world with a religion which has also itself been “always subject to scoffs and vilifications.” Quickly and sensitively are such persons moved, when a Saviour comes to them, “not like Mohammed, a splendid conqueror,” but like themselves, poor, despised, not having where to lay his head. It is a confirmation of this adaptation to all the poor of the world, that Christ, according to the Gospel, tasted death for every man, low as well as high, subject as well as sovereign, despised as well as honored. No human being shall be found so insignificant, “so much a cipher in the vast sum of human existence,” as to be counted unworthy to hear the most earnest voice of mercy, to be presented with the richest blessings and hopes of religion here, and to be raised and welcomed into the purest glories

of Heaven. Always, as when personally on earth, Jesus will visit the poor and bereaved at Bethany, and weep with the afflicted; will stop the funeral procession to comfort and support the widow of Nain in her desolation; will show mercy to the blind sitting by the wayside and asking alms; will make whole the lame man at the pool of Bethesda, who has none to help him; will choose an apostle to the Gentiles from the craft of the tent-makers; will select his immediate disciples and witnesses from among the fishermen of the Lake of Galilee; will go to be guest with publicans and sinners and eat with them. "Blessed," will always be the voice of Christianity in the world, "blessed are the poor for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven. Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he has promised to them that love him!" The Gospel, with its instruction and love, its purification and pardon, its inheritance and honor, provided not specially and exclusively for "magistrates and counsellors and judges and lords and kings and scholars," but most freely for all the obscure and neglected and ignorant and degraded, is remarkably adapted certainly for a general diffusion among the nations. As the overspreading cloud that raineth upon all fields barren or fertile, is fitted for universal nature; and the sun, that shineth as warmly and brightly into abodes of poverty as abodes of wealth, for all the families of the earth; so is Christianity, with its blessings, even more undistinguishing and unlimited, singularly suited to all the world.

III. Christianity is fitted to be the religion of the world on account of its large and generous spirit of liberty.

True freedom is the privilege of feeling, projecting, enjoying and doing everything that is right, together with exemption from every source, form and action of wrong. What condition of human society will secure all this? What must be the government and what the governed? Nothing is plainer than that every man must possess what is his own; must have set up around him an irremovable, impassable barrier against all encroachments and all injustice. In other words, every man must be made just to every other man. Then, all around the rights of every individual, will be drawn a clear line of demarcation. Over that no intruder passes; within that, he, the sole occupant and possessor, has perfect freedom. None may interrupt him, none say, what doest thou! This unmarred liberty, civil government may do much to secure, if founded and administered on the pure principles of immutable righteousness. Far more may the community do voluntarily, by each citizen becoming a self-governor on

the same principles of immutable righteousness ; by every citizen, of his own will, conceding to every other citizen carefully all his rights. As under law and magistracy, we can expect to realize this true idea of freedom only partially, we turn with special satisfaction to that which may be hoped for under a vivid sense of justice on the part of the people. When, through the dictations of a sensitive, instructed, clear, unperverted conscience, and the impulses of a pure love of all equity, citizens and families are all ready and prompt most punctiliously to keep within the boundary which includes their own possessions and rights, and out of the boundaries which enclose what belongs to all others, what unfearing, unrestrained liberty will reign ! There will be no encroachments to be resisted, no civil injuries to be punished, and, therefore, no arrests, coercions, imprisonments or confiscations. Interfered with by none, interfering with none, every citizen becomes a wheel in a perfect machinery. He is free, unobstructed perfectly, because he keeps in place and fulfils his own proper functions. The moment he should leap out of his gudgeons and fall into some other portion of the appended mechanism, he would find himself caught, confined, torn and destroyed. Christianity is the grand producer of this conscientiousness and sense of justice, which keep each man in his own legitimate sphere, which constitute subjects true and just self-governors, which make their public officers peace and their exactors righteousness. The liberty of a State, therefore, depends not so much upon the form of its government, as upon the character of its government, as upon the extent to which it is permeated with the purity and rectitude of Christianity. Yet not so much upon its government, however excellent, as upon the right heart and right conscience of its general society. The celebrated ancient States, republican and free in name, were tyrannies in fact, swaying immense masses of crushed humanity, of menial servitude, of satisfied degradation, in consequence of the destitution, on the part of the rulers and the ruled, of that spirit of righteousness which pervades the New Testament.

Christianity has another influence in creating pure liberty, by teaching a doctrine of equality which is the very spirit and genius of republicanism. I refer to an equality of obligations and an equality of rights. The Gospel by no means authorizes agrarianism. It teaches no equality of condition. It makes no proposals to prostrate the high and impoverish the rich so as to level society. It recognizes inequality of talent, learning, wealth and happiness. But equality of obligations and of rights it solemnly sanctions. Under a government

which is free upon Christian principles, therefore, no man can be debarred from privileges which another is permitted to enjoy, or from claims which another is permitted to make. Office is accessible to all; influence to all; wealth to all; education to all; honor to all. Rank, form, color, occupation, constitute no distinction of obligations and rights in this system. The Author of Christianity permits every human being to claim the same relation to himself. To all he offers the same bounties, felicities and elevations. Not for a moment does it sanction the notion, that one part of mankind are born to govern, the other to be governed. It recognizes no kings, princes, nobles, save when the whole people whom they are to govern, have by a free consent admitted them to their places and titles. Assumption of them without this authority, it regards imposition, oppression and wrong. By the people and for the people, does Christianity ordain the powers that be. Governments and magistracies are a temporary, popular creation. When thus created they are divinely recognized and sanctioned, as wisely fitted to secure protection to individual life, liberty, conscience, property and happiness. The Christian religion, therefore, if allowed its own legitimate action and power, must overturn every despotism on earth. It must uncrown every king. It must prostrate every throne or make that throne the faithful, paternal guardian and dispenser of all human rights, of all the blessings of freedom and equality which are within its gift and influence.

There is another principle in the Christian religion which is a large source of the true freedom of communities and of governments; I mean its spirit of reciprocity. It is embodied in these words: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." With this, Christianity is permeated throughout. This is its essential life. An uncompelled obedience to a warm inner flow and overflow of fellow-feeling, will work most effectively to keep out those obstructions and injuries and collisions which are the destroyers of liberty. Fountains of mutual kindness and large philanthropy, welling up in all the hearts of a population, must be better to produce positive and careful respect to all personal rights and consequently to secure a large and general freedom, than the wisest possible lessons in jurisprudence and moral science, than any conceivable appliances of prescriptive and protective legislation.

The Christian religion secures true freedom to a community by its special sanctions of law. If the regulation of human society and maintenance of personal liberty by the principle of fellow-feeling just referred to, fails, as it will, in respect to the hardened and corrupt,

then Christianity falls back decidedly upon the stern authority and strong arm of legislative and executive authority. It sanctions political society as a Divine institution; it declares civil government an ordination of Heaven; it invests earthly rulers with the high character of God's own ministers, designated to speak terror to them that do evil, and praise to them that do well. So far as in communities depravity and vice still produce encroachment and overbearing and wicked violence, in defiance of all justice and humanity, the Christian system points most resolutely to this magistracy commissioned of Heaven; insists peremptorily on unconditional submission; utters loud condemnation in the ear of all despisers of law; raises the voice of retribution and denounces upon them the heaviest penalties, human and Divine. As such a law-establishing, law-enforcing power, Christianity is in a high degree the author of that observance of human rights and that consequent social order which are the essential elements of true liberty.

The adaptation of Christianity, as the bearer of this large, righteous and intelligent liberty, to be the religion of the world, cannot fail to be instantly admitted and appreciated. Mark the noble forms and privileges which that liberty introduces into the interior of human society. It reaches and advances man's physical condition. This it does by furnishing him two grand incentives and assistances to worldly thrift; first the privilege of employing his labor, secondly of appropriating its avails, entirely in the sphere and in the manner of his own independent choice. On these two immunities industry and prosperity will luxuriantly grow up and rejoice. Christian liberty disintralls the intellectual powers. It makes them all the individual's own. So he do not injure others, he may cultivate them when, where, by what means, to what extent he pleases. He may traverse for intellectual treasures any field of knowledge in any portion of the universe. He may study the heavens or the earth, man or God; he may discover or invent, imagine or demonstrate according to his own sovereign choice, responsible to Heaven alone.

The freedom introduced by Christianity includes a full emancipation of the conscience. With the single limitation just stated, that men inflict no injury on society, Christian freedom permits none but God to dictate in any respect their religious opinions, religious character, or religious rules of life. To him invested with that liberty with which Christ maketh free, rulers, ecclesiastical or civil, have nothing to prescribe or to forbid. He may think, speak, write, publish, or do neither, as his own uncontrolled sense of right and duty

shall prompt; he may worship God, as his conscience bids, in silence or in audible ascription; in the open air or in a desolate cave; in a humble cabin or in a splendid edifice; in written forms or in impromptu offerings, and no earthly power may question, hinder or rebuke. Such an unrestrained conscience is the most dear and sacred of all our privileges.

Such is the liberty of Christianity. It comprehends all the immunities contained in the largest conceivable bill of human rights, in the grand "Magna Charta" of universal humanity; it is the parent of the noblest virtues, the highest activities and the surest progress of the race. Introduced to its undimmed light, its free, healthful air, its unincumbered privileges; communities spring up as from underneath the deep night and suffocating slumber of ages. In the presence of true liberty, vitality becomes fresh and vigorous at the heart of the body politic; animation and hope and enterprise and accomplishment are upon the face of society. Everything awakens; everything thrives; everything rejoices; everything advances! The universal establishment of an intelligent and virtuous freedom on the principles of Christianity, would almost transform the face of the world. We love to follow its pathway abroad over the nations. The population of our globe is composed of one thousand millions of despots — the Gospel absent — tyrannized over and tyrannizing, every one! We see, wherever Christianity passes with its spirit and lessons of liberty, the burden uplifted from the crushed, the door opened to the pallid prisoner, the chains fall from the enslaved. We see the haughty official become a man, and the neglected serf a ruler of the people. We see general humanity emerge from disabilities and abuses and obscurities and contempts, like a luminous orb from the bosom of darkness. We see the great heart of piety escape the prescriptions and formalities of authority, mount in joyous freedom to the mercy-seat, throb and respond, without dictation, to the heart of the great infinite Father. We see humanity, unoppressed by humanity, become divinity. Christianity, thus bringing physical, intellectual and religious freedom, and a rich revenue of blessings along with it, is greatly adapted to be the religion of the world.

IV. Another element, which beyond every other adapts Christianity to be the religion of all mankind, is its great Divine method of mercy.

This is a scheme of salvation, which possesses a value, commensurate with the religious character, hopes and happiness of the whole family of man. So familiar is the subject, however, it is proposed

here to make only a brief reference to its general aspect and relation to our sinning race.

The moral constitution of man is such, that in no stage of civilization, in no degree of ignorance, is he long without a sense of ill-desert, a feeling of self-condemnation and fear, on account of many conscious delinquencies and sins. Fallen men may become so lamentably darkened and perverted, as often to call good evil and evil good. But God hath still in every human being remnant voices which have not bowed the knee to Baal; moral utterances which will sometimes arouse and terrify the soul by a declaration of its guilt and its liability to a dreadful doom. Such officious troublers does every man carry within. Under the convictions and solitudes which they create, the disquieted spirit of every human being inquires with deep earnestness: Can iniquity be forgiven? Can the offended Ruler be appeased? Can the Sovereign Governor make a public offer of pardon, without giving up his authority, without removing the barriers around virtue and permitting wickedness undiscouraged and unchecked to pour its tides of desolation and death, wave after wave, over the face of the community? These are the questions which anxious nature asks; but anxious nature itself makes no reply—from all the lessons of human wisdom hears no reply. On this question, from our original constitution, from the book of Providence, there is no voice, no teaching. A world has a deep and infinite concern in this matter, but without the Bible all is silent as the house of death. The New Testament revelation on this point is all that is known in the universe. This is clear, ample and satisfactory. The Gospel of Christ proposes a scheme of mercy, by which all the ends of punishment may be obtained without punishment. The grand element of this arrangement, is the mission of the Son of God, of the august and holy Divinity himself, into our world to teach, to suffer, to die, to rise from the dead, to ascend to heaven. By this, the express intention was to make Divine government just, without being inexorable, to uphold Divine law, without (in cases of penitence and faith) the enforcement of its penalty. It is not necessary to the value of this great interposition of Heaven, that men understand perfectly wherefore a proposal to remove away from contrite and believing transgressors their transgressions, and to cover as by a thick cloud their sins, should not be demoralizing by making the depraved more fearless and determined in courses of iniquity. As, however, in and through the Divine atoning sacrifice, government and grace, righteousness and mercy, justice and pardon, have evidently met and

kissed each other; and as the great Ruler and Judge of the universe hath proclaimed that, by means of that sacrifice, Heaven can be just and the justifier of him that believeth, the most thinking, convicted and solicitous, may banish disquietude and sit down in gratitude and joy.

This, therefore, is the great and satisfactory revelation; Christianity, in the mission of Jesus with the attending incidents, presents a Divine mediation and substitution, which the Almighty himself regards sufficient to hush the thunder of the law; to clothe the just God with infinite benignity and inexhaustible grace; to lay a grand platform of mercy broad enough for the reliance and hope of all the contrite and believing sinners of the world. Man constitutionally possesses a religious nature. He desires to stand in a favorable religious relation to some supposed or real Divinity. He is strongly preinclined, not to a pure spiritual worship, but to some form of Divine service. He desires to know how the Deity he tries to worship regards him; to what end, under his Providence, tends his present course, and what realities are reserved for him beyond, in the endless future. He loves to be assured that the supreme Deity, whoever, wherever he may be, will hear his addresses, accept his offerings, admit him to communion, attend upon his pathway, interpose aid in disaster and death. How satisfactorily, soothingly, perfectly, does the presentation by Christianity — of God through Christ reconciled and propitious; of man through contrition, emerged into the blessedness of forgiveness and heavenly favor — offer relief to his religious difficulties, remove his apprehensions, meet his desire for the Divine complacency and beneficence! That which makes so ample and needed a provision for the moral wants of all mankind, is certainly singularly adapted to be a universal religion. In respect to this interposition of Heaven in behalf of a guilty race, Christianity stands in perfect contrast to every other system of faith which has been proposed. The Koran has not one suggestion of an atonement by a vicarious sacrifice. Jesus it acknowledges a prophet, Moses a prophet, but declares Mohammed superior to both. The revelation made through the latter, it is insisted, rivals, eclipses and supersedes all that Moses and Jesus taught. Mohammed denies the crucifixion of Christ, affirming that God secretly took him up to heaven, and that another wearing his appearance was slain. Moslems, he teaches, after suffering all they deserve, will be received into paradise, not through the prevalent mercy of Jesus, but through the intercession of the Prophet Mohammed. Although a great portion of the Koran is drawn from the

Scriptures, yet of the great scheme of redemption no trace or feature or resemblance is to be discovered. Islamism in robbing the Bible found this central truth, this essential life and soul and power and crowning distinction and high glory of it all, too pure, too instructive, too illustrative of God, of heaven, of sin, of retribution, for its purposes of secular conquest and power.

In the Roman Catholic church, the doctrine of forgiveness through the merits and death of Jesus is not formally discarded, but the spirit and value and power of this sublime, momentous truth are greatly obscured, almost extinguished. The transgressor, in coming to the popish confessional, does not feel himself bowing at the cross of the crucified and glorious One. He is occupied with the maledictions which the priest may pour upon him, the severe penance he may impose. In all his worship, he is impressed with things external and visible, with the crucifix, the picture of Jesus, the holy water, the consecrated wafer, the image of the virgin, the pompous ceremonials. So absorbed and occupied is the worshipper with all these attractive and imposing things, that Christ crucified, Christ risen from the dead, Christ offering mercy to all the guilty, is overlooked and unappreciated. Romanism is a system of salvation by the priest and church. The church, it teaches, is the depositary of a grand treasury of reserved righteousness procured by Christ and sufficient to cancel all the sins consequent on the fall of man. The priests are the sole dispensers of this fund to whomsoever they will; they always to be paid in cash for making the drafts. Grace and pardon through the great mediatorial sacrifice of Jesus, to papacy is almost as if it had never been announced to the world, except as it affords relics and rites and fasts and holy days. The great High Priest of our profession, the Author of eternal salvation to all that obey him, entered into the heavens, only Intercessor before the throne, has far less prominence and power in the Roman church than has his holiness, the Pope.

Heathenism, also, has nothing of the Divine scheme of mercy, and, what is more, no plausible substitute for it. The whole pagan idea of mediation is simply an intercourse, conducted by beings intermediate between humanity and Divinity, termed demons. Simply an intercourse it is, which conveys the addresses of men to the gods, and the benefits of the gods to men. There is here, it will be perceived, no conception of a Divine mediatorial sacrifice. So far as substitution for crime is concerned, when concerned at all, it is in the opinion of a pagan, his own self-torture, his own self-mortification, his own mendicant life, his own pilgrimage to the Ganges, or to the shrine of some

deity, which prevails and appeases. What, in the whole system of heathenism, is there to satisfy the anxieties of the human mind, when awaked to its own character and responsibilities, when writhing under the lashes of a guilty conscience? There is nothing sufficient for man, nothing adapted to him but Christ and him crucified, as presented to him in pure Protestantism. All else is utterly futile, painfully unsatisfactory to the moral fears and wants of our nature. This great sacrifice, this heavenly expedient is so fitting, comprehensive, munificent and effective, as to leave nothing to be desired.

Let us contemplate Christianity with its provisions and tidings of mercy on its way to a world lying in wickedness. To its prostrated millions, covered with thick clouds and darkness, there comes a message out of heaven: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." All warm and urgent does this announcement sound in upon the ear of every family and every man, from the great infinite heart of love, out of whose fulness the universe is blest. What a lightening of oppressing anxiety and fear will succeed! What inquiry, aspiration, hope and struggle for deliverance! What commotion and thrill and awaking through the earth's great valleys of death! Let us enter a scene where, responsive to the tidings of Christ's salvation, men stir and rise up to meet and to welcome the proffers of heavenly grace. They gather to the mercy-seat, they repair to the fountain of life. They are forgiven; they hope; they are bursting away the bonds of iniquity; they are receiving likeness of character to the infinite Father; they are received into God's own family; they are walking the way to heaven. At home shall they arrive at length in perfect peace, in perfect holiness, in perfect glory. Let us imagine this scene of Divine interposition, of deliverance, of moral purification, of heavenly hope, extended even as far as sin has spread its ravages and its ruin. Let us mark the surprising changes everywhere the same — virtue for corruption, confidence for fear, hope for despair, life for death. Let us imagine all the world waking to the proclamations of grace from the throne of the Eternal, throwing off the gloom of ages and walking joyously in the favor of Heaven. This scene of universal redemption, that we have imagined, it is the great purpose and work of Christianity to accomplish. What can be more adapted to become the religion of the race! A bright bow of promise and of hope it spanneth over a perished world!

V. Christianity is adapted to be a universal religion, in consequence of its great power over the character of man.

Both intellectually and morally, man reaches his highest practicable

development and noblest structure under the favoring influence of the Christian religion. This system of truth is an important educator of the intellectual powers, in the first place by laying the axe at the root of intellectual pride and self-sufficiency. It begets the humility and modesty of true science. Whoever is inflated with his own present wisdom, is shut up against improvement. Nothing is or can be more adapted to sink one's lofty conceptions of himself, and to teach him his own ignorance and mental imbecility, than the studies to which Christianity calls him. This opens to him fields for survey which are without boundaries, and oceans for exploration which are without shores. Each step he takes in his religious inquiries, gives a fresh conviction of measureless tracts stretching on beyond him. Each new discovery actually introduces him to wide, unvisited realms of investigation. How will he feel himself, with all his attainments, actual and hoped for, but as the explorer and observer of only a pebble or an ant-hill of a whole universe; but as the intellectual occupant of only a single point, of all the glorious regions of thought. Pride of intellect must be crushed. In the midst of these vast and endless inquiries, the religious student can but shrink into a most humble and inquisitive docility.

Christianity has another happy influence in behalf of mental progress and eminence, by preventing waste of intellect. It directs investigation, keeping in view the limit of human ability, only to the intelligible and attainable. More energies of mind have been wasted in fruitless speculation, than have been employed in successful ones. Researches into the inexplicable, graspings after the incomprehensible, soundings for the unfathomable, struggles toward the inaccessible, have not been confined to Alchemy or the philosophy of the schools. This is the folly to some extent of nearly all minds, cultivated and uncultivated. The result is useless discussion without end; constant fluctuation and uncertainty of human opinions; the successive proposal and explosion of innumerable theories. The incomprehensible and unsearchable, Christianity teaches by authority and not by exposition. It utters not one word to induce speculation where speculation is hopeless; into undissolvable darkness, it opens not one step to allure the daring and curious. It discourages adventure where there are no guiding way-marks; exhausting search, where there are no practicable discoveries; laborious mining, where there is no obtainable ore, in order that the mental faculties may hold in reserve time undivided, and their powers unexhausted for study, acquisition and growth, in fields of truth which are open, clear, fertile and rewarding.

Christianity has no little influence on intellectual development and power, by its mode of teaching, in the way of great comprehensive truths. A man may spend half his life in filling his mind with items and isolations; he may be most successful too, and yet remain in a great degree intellectually uncultivated and imbecile. The Christian religion teaches its pupils to seize fundamental, wide-sweeping principles, under which may be included volumes of instructions, whole large classes of human rights, duties and interests. As instances of such principles, there may be a revealed fact, a Divine precept, a rule of government, a method of Providence. Jesus suffered, the just for the unjust, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, fear God, he that believeth shall be saved, these light afflictions shall work out a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. These are specimens of this favorite mode in which the spirit and lessons of Christianity are embodied and presented. The allegation is, that this manner of teaching gives the religious student an enlarged and scientific character of mind; withdraws his mental powers from elements to compounds, from what is simple to what is complex, from the small business of conversing with single, unconnected objects, one by one, to the grand process of classification, to the settlement and contemplation of great generic truths. The mind thus accustomed to radical, broad-reaching principles, to comprehensive generalizations, is healthily disciplined, is made discriminating, philosophic, far-seeing and wide-grasping.

Christianity also promotes the vigor and enlargement of the mind by proposing high and laborious intellectual employments. The intellect attains power much in proportion as it exercises power. This is evinced by the striking correspondence observed to exist generally between its energies in possession and its energies in requisition. If the mind be occupied with lifting the leaf, tossing the pebble and weaving the reed, these infantile efforts will be fair representatives of its ability. If it be accustomed to carry a weaver's beam, to bear off the gates of Gaza upon its shoulders, to pull down a tower by the muscles of its arm, it will be wrought into massive proportions and giant power. There are no mental labors conceivable, more fitted to put upon exertion and to aggrandize the intellectual faculties, than those which Christianity assigns to man. The sum of them is the acquisition, exposition and inculcation of all the religious truths and lessons, written and treasured in creation, Providence and the Bible. In them will be involved a discussion of the Divinity and mercy of the scheme of human redemption; the settlement of all religious opinions and all high questions of conscience; the declaration of those

principles which, infused into society, raise it to its noblest structure, largest usefulness and fullest happiness; the prostration of Satan's kingdom, and the establishment and maintenance of the government of the Almighty. Christianity assigns to them the solemn business of rescuing fellow-citizens from all the horrors of the second death, and also to the high duty of securing to them an inheritance in the heavens, devised in the last testament of Jesus, inalienable, immeasurable and infinite. These are truly august occupations. Both as incitements to the acquisition of appropriate and commensurate abilities, and as severe and protracted exertions, they must largely educate and augment the intellectual powers. If susceptible of being aroused at all, they must in these superior duties be wrought up to their highest enthusiasm; if capable of invigoration at all, they must be carried forward towards their greatest might; if ever able to learn how to sway other minds, they must attain their most commanding eloquence. As steam, by the laying of heavy pressures upon it, grows into a great and efficient force, so the mind, under the burdening services of Christianity, gains a power and energy never before attained.

Christianity gives strength and expansion to the human mind by means of the magnitude and grandeur of the objects which it presents for contemplation.

Religion having first produced a full faith in itself, next acts to enlarge the believing mind to the dimensions of the great Divine things offered to its attention. Unlike the telescope which narrows the field to its own capacity, the human intellect expands itself towards the amplest circumference which may be presented. In order to spread itself abroad to the comprehension of the mighty, eternal truths of Christianity, it must transcend all ordinary boundaries. Mark the grand transition effected by the Gospel, when it carries its pupil out of the petty affairs of the present state and beyond the bounds of space, and then plants him in the new heavens and new earth of prophetic revelation, even in the immeasurable regions of eternity. How have his powers swelled to the immensities which surround him! Christianity has opened to its disciple instead of one, two worlds to traverse; instead of the fitting moments of time, the ever evolving ages of an unbounded futurity. His mind struggles to fill out the vast range of thought, to move away from the limited and finite, and push and stretch on into the endless and infinite. Imagine him attracted specially to the great Eternal One. His mind turned upon Him, is turned upon the universe, for He filleth it; in walking with Him, he ascends into heaven, for God is there; takes the wings

of the morning and dwells in the uttermost parts of the sea, for He also is there; visits the darkness and the light, for they are both alike to God.

Such converse with the immense themes of Christianity, such intellectual attendance upon omniscience and omnipotence over the great fields of their exhibition, cannot fail to elevate and expand the mental powers into a sublime sphere, to accustom them to exalted conceptions, to inspire them with august designs, to train them to incalculable power.

Christianity acts upon the intellect by means of the fervors of spirit which it creates. The immaterial spirit of man being, as testified by consciousness, one and indivisible, the action or state of one portion of its susceptibilities must essentially affect every other. Mind is operated on by even extraneous senseless matter. Doubtless the sensibilities powerfully influence the intellections, both being associated conditions of the same inseparable essence. Warmth and wealth of heart are to the intellectual abilities, what genial sunbeams are to vegetation. A fire in the sensibilities will inevitably radiate brilliantly into the understanding above. True, the heart may be wrought into such a violence of passion, as to obstruct rather than assist the action of the intellectual powers, just as excessive combustion may embarrass rather than facilitate associated movements; just as sun-heat, so vivifying in ordinary degrees, may in augmented measures produce parched and stunted vegetation. But all strong excitement of the emotions, not extravagant, gives a more bold, more masculine, more vivacious character to the intellectual operations. It is in happy hours of rich enthusiasm and fervor, that the lofty conceptions and grand discoveries of the human mind have always been produced. The great passages of Milton, Homer, Shakspeare, so true to nature, that nature will never cease instinctively to recognize them as her own genuine inspirations, so surpassingly eloquent that one and the same hearty welcome and acknowledgments will be heard from every generation — these were lights from glowing fires underneath. The luminous intellects of the world are fed from warm hearts. Christianity, being itself the great nourisher of a calm, strong, ever-acting, vivid sensibility of the soul, must be the great awakener and inspirer of the intellectual powers.

The adaptation of Christianity to act favorably on the sensibilities of man, so as to elevate him to his highest possible moral position, may be more easily shown. This is its preëminent design. This is its own special, peculiar labor. This which Christianity has come to

effect, the interior renovation of man, it is precisely and wonderfully fitted to accomplish. Of no system of false religion can this be asserted. They are all sensual, corrupt and debasing. Mohammed pretended to a special communication from heaven, authorizing his unlimited licentiousness. In heathen worship, the grossest impurities are not only unforbidden, but constitute an authorized and required portion of sacred rites, an essential part of service due to the gods.

In delightful contrast to all other systems stands Christianity in respect to the purity of its heart and the consequent purity of its influence. It acts on human character, in the first place, by means of the high moral standard which it sets up. Christianity proposes to every man that he be spiritually perfect. It professes to have come from a perfect Being. It claims that it is itself as perfect as its great Author. It deems it derogatory to its asserted excellence to propose to man a character inferior to its own. It makes no compromise on this subject. It requires the heart to be clean every whit. It enjoins that its desires, aspirations and affections be all noble, all uncontaminated. All character beneath this, it pronounces essentially defective, seriously corrupt. This elevated standard will have the effect of a powerful upward attraction. It will produce a constant struggle for the more excellent, for the purer pulsations of an inner life hid with Christ in God, for an ascending progress into the holier and more heavenly. The eagle in its spiral, concentric circles, sweeping up into the clear heavens, is an image of the ascent of the soul under the influence of Christianity from glory to glory, ever towering higher, until it enters the sphere of the infinitely perfect.

Christianity effects a moral elevation by the purity of the objects which it presents to the affections. Heaven is one of these, Heaven with its people and its occupations. The Elysium of the Greeks and Romans, the Paradise of the Mohammedans, the Valhalla of the Scandinavians, the blissful spirit-abodes of the Hindûs, Chinese and Persians, are all essentially physical and sensual and impure. Corrupt deities and corrupt worshippers constitute the society; low, gross indulgences the employments and happiness, supposed to be provided in these regions of the departed. Oh it is most gratifying to turn from these to the blessed Heaven of the New Testament! This is, indeed, the Heaven of heavens! Imagery is all exhausted to describe the unmingled purity, the unspeakable happiness, the Divine exaltation of its inhabitants. It is a city whose walls are jasper and whose streets are gold. It has the river of life, on whose banks are trees bearing twelve manner of fruits, also leaves for the healing of the

nations. And it hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, for God is the light of it. Heaven of Christianity! Nothing that defileth shall ever enter there! Every word, thought, feeling, act, wish and prayer is perfectly pure! Our Saviour on earth was a perfect representation of what every character is in heaven. Every heart there is but the heart of Jesus transcribed. Hence is every principle and impulse and affection of that world in consenting harmony with eternal rectitude and purity. Hence are its meetings of friends, its transports of joy, its rapturous psalmody, its grand anthems of gratulation, all holy! No one revealed object of Christianity can exert a more bland and attractive influence to raise man to the highest moral nobility of his being, than this of a pure heaven! Imagine him by faith and hope habitually to dwell in this sanctuary of transcendent holiness, to walk in the light of it, to sing its seraphic jubilee, to kindle and commune with its just men made perfect. He has become a being more angelic than human!

Christianity has another purifying action by means of the Deity which it reveals. The Jehovah of the Scriptures, as an object of thought and adoration, is the highest moral power in the universe. There is opened to men from him, the purest and mightiest influence conceivable or possible. His character is a grand assemblage of infinite excellencies. It is one great, clear splendor. The several Divine attributes pour in their several pencils of glory to constitute it. He is the Infinite Father of the universe, possessed of unbounded, undivided and unrivalled moral perfection. He is a pure, embodied, universal and eternal intelligence. He is the source of all knowledge, all holiness, all sustenance, all mercy and all hope to the entire universe. Let this sublime conception of the Almighty dwell in men, let them feel themselves ever in his dread and glorious presence, and they are placed under the action of an infinite and sanctifying power. There will be first an influence to restrain depravity, to hush impiety; then to awe into reverence, to impel to obedience, to kindle into holy love, to uplift to heavenly halleluiahs.

It is almost an instinct of our moral as well as our intellectual nature, to receive an impress of that which is impressively presented to our hearts, to kindle at the exhibition of ardor, to sadden at the sight of gloom, to aspire to goodness in the presence of the pure in heart, to throb with noble charities in contact with large and liberal souls. This, which is so instinctive and natural between man and man, may exist in a higher degree between man and superior beings. The society of angels would tend to change men into the

likeness of angels. The larger the luminary above, the larger the imaged luminary in the waters below. The intensity of the light and heat, placed at one of the foci of opposite parabolic mirrors, will have an answering luminousness and warmth at the other. It is after this philosophy, that men can receive impressions even from the great, infinite God. With his high, perfect qualities, the human heart can commune, and have the same all luminously retraced upon itself. Very readily and deeply does the worshipper receive upon his character a warm, fresh reprint of the Deity, whom he trusts, adores, obeys and loves. Christianity, then, in revealing Jehovah to men, has opened in spiritual being an infinite fountain of purity. That spiritual being must in consequence hold and beam forth a rich holiness, as a planet shines brilliantly that drinks light out of the sun.

Another power of sanctification connected with Christianity, whose efficiency none will question, is that of the Divine Spirit. This agent adds to religious truth, published in its simplicity and fulness, a moral efficiency as great as human nature requires for its complete restoration. Let no one indulge doubts, that wherever there is a pure Christianity, there will be the influence of the Spirit of God, and a purification of the character of man. Every particle even of dull matter is moved and looked after by Omnipotence. For six thousand years, what action or result has there been in this whole outward universe and the Lord has not done it? What seed has germinated, what plant or tree has grown, what pearl has been wrought in unfathomed cave, what ephemeron passed its transient life, what planet swept its orbit, without the aid and presence of Divine Power? And has the great scene of intelligent spirits, the immense field of human character, no present Deity? Here are to be wrought labors involving moral changes, moral duties, moral destinies, of infinitely higher consequence and interest, than what pertains to the physical universe. And has the Almighty no concern with it? He has every conceivable concern with it! His own infinite wisdom and power, He makes to attend Christianity as it moves abroad for the regeneration of man. Before a transformer thus Divinely attended, how will moral defilement disappear and heavenly purity be superinduced upon the human character! What if the obstacles be formidable, the opposition violent, the corruption deep, the blindness total, the aggregate moral ruin radical, inveterate, complete and hopeless! The Gospel, instinct with the Spirit of the Lord, has power commensurate with the whole needed restoration and cleansing. Most grati-

fying it is to those who love the redemption of man, that there are no prostrations of our moral nature so low, that this divinely-fraught agency cannot raise them all up again ; no plague-spots so malignant and deep, that it cannot cleanse them all away ; no wanderers so far gone from God, that it cannot bring them to his very throne, even to close and holy communion with his perfect purity.

The exertion of such renovating and exalting influences on our moral susceptibilities, is the highest practical achievement of the religion of the New Testament. This, added to its action before adverted to on the intellectual faculties, is able to raise man to the highest grandeur of his being. Decided results have already been produced upon the race. The most gifted intellects and the most august images of virtue, as a matter of history, have been found among the believers of a pure Gospel.

VI. Christianity is adapted to be the religion of all mankind by means of its elements of diffusion.

One of these, is the rare power of actually subjugating human passion. There is a large mass of propensities and tempers which are solid obstacles to the power and progress of the Gospel. A grand prerequisite labor, therefore, is to tame, exhaust and remove them. This, other religions effect but in the slightest degrees. They leave the moral spirit essentially uncleansed and unimproved ; the bad passions still rankling, festering, corrupting and controlling chiefly as before. Christianity, valuing mere external ameliorations but little, goes down into the fountain of iniquity, the human heart, to assauge, to subdue. Its operation here shows a singular wisdom and success. As an illustration, mark how it prostrates the love of power and of rule. Every man, it has been already suggested, is born a despot. He loves his own superior aggrandizement. He would have nothing above himself. He would instruct and not be instructed, lead and not be led, govern and not be governed. He would maintain a lordly independence of all being. He revolts decidedly from subjection of any description whatsoever, of bowing the head to any power, Divine or human. Christianity cannot proceed at all, until this spirit is extirpated. Whatever the tide of its success and the ardor of its movements, it stops short, astounded and grieved, the moment it meets this personal exaltation. No, it does not stop ; it is just the point of the present remark, that Christianity, instead of stopping, sweeps down this lofty vaunter against its injunctions, turns this assertor of irresponsible independence into a personification of humility and submission. This is its own peculiar work. Herein is the

greatness and the secret of its power. The process is not the surmounting a barrier, so much as the entire removal of it.

All the sensual passions are equally in opposition to the New Testament teaching. These must be placed under firm control, or Christianity can neither advance nor reign. There must be a repression of all the corrupt and evil affections. No compromise can be made with any of them; nor is incorporation of them into the body politic practicable. The ground is not gained while they continue to occupy it. Should their claims or their power be in any degree hushed or diminished temporarily, if they are not prostrated, thoroughly paralyzed, there is no real conquest. Precisely this is the legitimate accomplishment of the Christian religion. It casts down all the evil passions which oppose themselves, and thereby makes for itself a clear way for the whole tide of its blessings.

There is another feature in the conquests of Christianity, which largely facilitates its propagation. It makes all its subdued ones cordial and true friends. It leaves in the wake of its advances no murmuring discontent, no smothered revenge. It leaves no population behind, which, being overawed but not conquered, passive but not fraternized, is all ready to assume the offensive and rush to conflict on the slightest pretexts, on the first recurrence of opportunity. Its subjugations are of another character. The foes of Christianity are not simply discomfited, they are won; enmity is subdued; deep, pure friendship planted. The Gospel has united its conquered ones to itself in hearty and indissoluble bonds. The soldiers of Satan, in addition to laying down their arms, have put on a new panoply. It is not enough that Saul has given up his commission to Damascus and ceased to breathe out threatenings and slaughter. The religion of Christ has not done with him, until he is an ordained apostle of the Gentiles, with a new commission from the church at Jerusalem, and a sacred commendation to the grace of God; until, as a noble exemplification and powerful advocate of the Gospel, cities, governors and kings sit trembling, convinced and subdued under his announcements of Christ crucified. Christianity has no wish to effect a subjugation merely and alone. It would uprear on the same premises. It ploughs and roots up in order to plant. It breaks off the wild olive to insert the true; prunes away the thistle to graft in the fig; the bramble, to put in the vine. This mode of conquest on the part of Christianity, which makes its vanquished ones not captives but friends, not the materials of a triumph, but its own true supporters and advocates, secures to itself, as it passes forth to men, a grand

augmentation of homogeneous power, and an irresistible advancement.

Christianity adds to its power of diffusion, by its care and sanctification of the domestic relations. The New Testament descends from its high revelations of Jehovah, of the impressive scenes of the eternal world, of the sacred mysteries of Divine mercy, of the precepts and sanctions of God's great moral law, and consents to attend and instruct us in our humble domestic duties, in our private responsibilities. Honored and consecrated are the names of husband, wife, parent and child, in the lessons of Christianity. Home, save heaven, the richest, sweetest word in our language, comprehends all these relations, and gives issue to all their blessed influences. It is under Christianity only, that the family fireside becomes emphatically a home; it is only then that it includes all its capable endearments, privileges and holy power. The benign and sanctifying influence, which the Christian religion loves to plant in the homes of society, can never be confined, however, to these nurseries. Morning and evening incense there, will, as a sure result, set up public altars, temples, churches, worship and ordinances. The graces of the Gospel living and growing there, will create external beneficence, civil virtues, general piety and social order. Christian sowing, engrafting and pruning there, will plant the trees of righteousness over wide communities. Let Christianity open its Christian homes to embosom and bless each generation as it enters upon the great scene of life, and the conquest of the world is well-nigh achieved.

Christian families are hiding places of power, which awake no suspicion, which alarm no fears, which systematize no opposition. We know not whether the missionary of the cross accomplishes more in a heathen land by his public ministrations of the Gospel of Christ, than by presenting a fair and beautiful illustration of that Gospel by means of a well-ordered, exemplary little community, his home. Christian families are pure lights in the depths of settled darkness. They are the diamonds that sparkle here and there on the deserts of this world. They are the blessed enclosures where the fetters of sin fall off, from whence the people of God take their departure to the land over Jordan. No one can measure their religious power on mankind. To create these holy sanctuaries on every territory of the earth, and then seat herself in them and issue forth her power and her blessings, is the favorite object and influence of the Christian religion. Herein is a large diffusive power.

The most important element of diffusion possessed by Christianity

is its benevolence. One character of this benevolence, important for the purposes of propagation, is an active sympathy with all humanity. This attribute is radical and characteristic. Without it, Christianity is Christianity destitute of life. In every heart which it wins to itself, the religion of Christ plants a warm, deep, unselfish interest in all the worth and good of which humanity is capable. Every heart which it wins, is made a congeries of human sympathies, a focus always radiating beams of kindness, a fountain always outpouring benedictions. To him, thoroughly imbued with the true fellow-feeling enjoined by our Saviour, all other men are but parts of himself. He is a possessor in their acquisitions; he is a rejoicer in their bliss; he is a laborer in their toils; he is crushed in their oppressions; he is emancipated in their disinthalments; he exults in their hopes. This benevolent sympathy of Christianity will set forward its converts unhesitatingly with messages of truth, duty and mercy to all within the boundary of a possible influence. Its perseverance in carrying its lessons and blessings abroad is the more certain from the fact, that it lies within, in the hearts of its friends. Christianity is not like Juggernaut, dragged with ropes by muscular force, liable to be fatigued, exhausted and remitted. It is pushed by the undying impulsions of the deep spirit of man, impulsions which grow in intensity and power the more and oftener they are called into action. There can be no remissions, therefore, no cessation at all. The warm, gushing heart of benevolence, which the Gospel carries within, hesitates at no difficulty, at no extraordinary labor. It pushes over mountains and deserts; pierces through rocky defiles and cavernous gorges; plants itself on inhospitable shores. It goes everywhere, it dares everything. Our Saviour's religion does not sit and wait in dignified repose, like our great luminary, for every portion of the earth to be rolled up underneath its beams. It pushes its journey abroad to every mass of darkness hanging over the people. Neither like our luminary, does it leave one half of the world in night, while it illumines the other. In penetrating new regions, it withholds not a ray from old ones. It has a kind of assiduous omnipresence. It settles its blessing, alike and at the same time, on both sides of the world. Christianity wastes not itself in sighs, idle aspirations, ideal schemes, but actively bears light and love and healing to those who need them; gives time and trouble to the work of beneficence; truly proffers education to the ignorant; lays spiritual food on the table of the hungry; bears God's proposal of regeneration and pardon to transgression and despair; not simply

conceives holy purposes, but carries holy purposes into execution. The Christian system is instinct with true, all-accomplishing and all-embracing benevolence. We have in nature many universal agents, which are appropriate images of its spirit of large-hearted love and universality. The dews of night distil on all the land. The juices of the earth find their way into every root, bulb and fibre below the surface, into every green and growing thing above, into all living nature. The clouds are universal carriers, bearing their watery freights all around the world to every needy field. They produce themselves the very currents by which they are swept on their way. The atmosphere invests the entire globe, supplying vital breath to all organic existence. The principles of heat, electricity and attraction pervade all material things. These are illustrations of the genius of Christianity. This bears the same grand comprehensiveness. This breathes a beneficence, which knows no boundary but the vast circumference of all human existence, all human interests, and which, in order to carry religious blessings abroad, will compass more land and seas than avarice for gold, than sensuality for pleasure, than ambition for glory.

Certainly the Christian religion possesses diffusive elements of immense efficiency. It has no attribute more remarkable than this interior constitution, through which it is able to bear its sacred influences, against all opposition, to every human family. We bow with reverence and gratitude before a system, which, besides being fraught with blessings enough for a world, has diffusive energies enough to distribute them to every human being.

The distinguished attributes of Christianity, which have now been referred to, sufficiently mark the design of its Author to make it the religion of the world. It carries upon its face its own intelligible proofs of Divinity; it preaches to the poor; it is the text-book of sound republican liberty; it raises man to the highest grandeur of his being; it proposes a method of Divine mercy to the entire race; it possesses all the needed powers of a universal propagation. These are truly illustrious attributes.

The Christian religion, fitted for the world, able to conquer the world, is in our hands as a grand instrumentality. Wherefore should we not stand up and use it with all its legitimate power. Let an earthly soldiery, which distrusts its ordnance, its fire-arms, its wet gunpowder, its ill-tempered swords and battle-axes, lie quiet and prostrate behind a good palisade. But the friends of Christianity, equipped and provided with the whole armor of God, girded about

with truth, having on the breastplate of righteousness, shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, bearing the shield of faith, defended with the helmet of salvation, furnished with the sword of the Spirit — let not these seek a covert, lie down behind a wall, loiter in luxurious quarters. We expect to see them abjure sloth, apathy and fear. We expect to see them close up to the great Captain of their salvation, charging on the kingdom of sin, entering strong-holds, scaling city walls, silencing opposition, taking possession of provinces and continents, going forth conquering and to conquer. As I live, saith the Lord, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord; and voices in heaven were heard saying, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. Here is set out the grand work to be done; to do it all expeditiously the Christian world is responsible.

Consider this magnificent enterprise of making a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness, of recovering and joining to God's family the population of this entire world. Take observation of Christianity as it proceeds on its mission to all the families of the earth. Imagine her work accomplished. Africa, at the voice of the heralds of salvation, has been waked and disenthralled. She has stretched out her hand unto God. There is not a slave-ship on her coast, or a slave-buyer on her soil. Over all her realms of death, reign spiritual life, religious activities, exalted virtues and a pure worship. Africa shines with orators, poets, philosophers and divines. Asia has become a land of schools and colleges and Bibles and Sabbaths. It has not one social desolation, not one pagan idol, altar, priest or worshipper. Indolence is turned into industry, superstition into true devotion, pagodas into holy sanctuaries. A grand regeneration has visited and redeemed her millions. Europe, enlightened, civilized Europe, has experienced changes scarcely less marked and impressive. Her false and dark philosophies have emerged into the daylight of the practical and the useful. Her subtle infidelity is turned into unsophisticated religious faith. Her cold formalities into the fervors and inspirations of a deep spiritual life. Her learning, her arts, her refinements, have been all joined in close and beautiful alliance with religion pure and undefiled before God. Europe presents the grand conjunction of the embellishments of life with the duties of life, of philosophy with purity, of intelligence with religion; a conjunction constituting the greatest known power below Omnipotence. Europe, with her exalted intellect, with her great, noble heart, stands consecrated, illustrious and mighty. America, North and South, cradled between two vast

oceans, has made the grand experiment of free institutions and solved the problem of ages — liberty without licentiousness, and self-government without misrule. The whole territory is occupied with a great brotherhood of republics. Religion, breathing here the healthful and invigorating air of freedom, shows her largest and freest soul; projects her sublimest enterprises; employs her grandest activities. The Western Continent has become the great moral standard for the world. The nations turn to reverence her example, to drink in her light. She opens her hand and her heart to them all.

The world has been saved. All the chains that bound its hundreds of millions are broken. All the darkness which has covered the nations is dispelled. Tyranny and war are no more. The Sabbath is a day of rest and worship all around the world. Every man, as he bows before Jehovah's throne, knows that a thousand millions are bowing with him. As the incense rises from his own humble altar, he sees it commingling with an immeasurable cloud, which, from all the families of the earth, is ascending up to the eternal One! Oh, a world redeemed! Heaven, never corrupted and lost, is not so inspiring a scene!

But stop, this has not yet come to pass! Heathenism has not ceased to bow down to wood and stone. The intellect of the world is not all unshrouded, all aroused, all honorably and sacredly employed. The heart of the world is not all holy and consecrated. Thrift, social order, civil government, competence and happiness have not all advanced to their best condition and their highest modifications. No! the world is a vast ruin. Seven-eighths of its intellect lies in deep sleep. A proportion no less of all its moral sensibility is perverted, palsied and corrupted. The blessed scene of light and life and holiness and peace just now described, it is the mission of evangelical philanthropy to create upon the whole face of the earth. During the present age all human rule ought to be made paternal; all armies be disbanded; all navies be dismantled; all the heart and intellect of the globe be warmed, enlivened, invigorated and expanded; the voice of them that bring glad tidings, that publish peace, be poured into the ear of the world; the names of the earth's whole population — ten hundred millions of brother spirits — be written in the book of life. And will the friends of truth and righteousness sleep! Sleep! when solemnly committed to this illustrious enterprise, in union with the power and sympathy of the whole heavenly world! Never! No, never! At such apathy the stones would cry out, the whole earth give signs of woe, the skies clothe them-

selves with sackcloth, wonder and silence spread through heaven itself.

Distrustful, disheartened and fearful are any? Courage, Christian Philanthropist! Almost can be seen now the incipient openings of that broad light, that shall beam in upon every family of the earth. The bright heralding star is already up; night is waning; the morning, the morning breaketh! Illustrious day! Let all the slumberers of the world awake to welcome thee!

ARTICLE IV.

ISLAMISM.¹

By Rev. James M. Hoppin, Salem, Mass.

SEVEN centuries ago there existed between Christianity and Islamism an antagonism of temporal power, in which perhaps the preponderance of authority, and certainly the higher tone of outer refinement and elevation, belonged to the latter cause; now, the visible opposition has nearly passed away, and the moral antagonism remains. But this, though it may be as strong as ever, presents a far more favorable position of things in a religious view; for while absolute interdiction still closes the mind of the Mohammedan, he has nevertheless the opportunity of reflection, and therefore for a long time past he has manifested evident signs of intellectual curiosity, of looks directed toward a higher civilization, and even of moral and religious antipathies being softened by closer and quicker contact with Christian faith and intelligence. There are indications, also, of Christian attention being directed toward the Moslem world. The rapidly and ruthlessly encroaching vastness of adjacent European powers, the dangerous condition of the Mohammedan empire, held together chiefly

¹ Islamism is an older name than Mohammedanism. "Islam" signifies primarily entire devotion to another's will, especially that of God, and thereby the attainment of peace. Its relation to the Hebrew word "salem" is evident. It stands in a secondary sense for all the tenets, doctrinal and practical, of the Mohammedan religion. From it are derived the terms "Moslem" and "Mussulman."

by the pressure of outside forces, its compelled and unwilling admixture with European questions, its awkward attempts to meet the progress of the age in civil and social reform, the frequency of travel in Mohammedan lands, and the unavoidable encounter of Christian missionaries with Moslem mind, have in these latter days brought the Mohammedan prominently before us. His claims, we think, upon our religious sympathies, are great.¹

In casting a glance back to the origin of Islamism, we see, in its very birth-place, the best explanation of its character and history. From the bosom of the still desert it sprung, which is the native place of religious enthusiasm, whether false or true. The Pentateuch shows very strongly the desert in it, not only in the solemn monotony of its imagery, and the profoundness of its conceptions of God, but in the intensity of its religious enthusiasm. It exhibits a faith not in *essence* but in feature, rather of an oriental or more strictly Arabian, than universal type; which, nourished in awe, quietude and contemplation, is usually passive, but when it acts, acts with terrible energy. More than once it has been observed that oriental religious thought nursed in the still, burning desert, and unguided by Divine inspiration, has issued forth in the most fierce and destructive fanaticism. The young camel-driver of the desert, Mohammed, of a priestly stock and claiming descent from Abraham himself, was without doubt of a highly religiously emotive, or at least imaginative temperament.² We do not suppose, at the present day, that original, strong disgust at the idolatry of his nation and desire to introduce a better faith, is denied to Mohammed. His countrymen were partly of the elder Arabian or Sabaeen, and partly of the Magian idolatries, with, however, dim recollections still haunting them of an ancient Abrahamic patriarchal faith, pervading, indeed, all the false religions of the East, even those of India and China, thereby proving a streaming forth of primitive mind East and West, from about the region of Mesopotamia.³ To restore this ancient Arabian Abrahamic faith in one God, was always Mohammed's profession. He seems early to have been drawn to such contemplations, as in his camel-drivings

¹ Even an occasional discourse, such as our missionary, Rev. Mr. Hamlin, recently preached in Constantinople, on the Oriental Churches and Mohammedanism, shows that the encountering relation of the latter with Christianity, and their pressure on the missionary responsibility, are beginning to be felt.

² The Koreish tribe from which Mohammed sprung, had a mixture of Jewish blood direct, it is said, from Ishmael.

³ Abraham stood with divining arrows in his hand as a stone idol in the ante-Mohammedan Caaba of Mecca. Bib. Sac. Vol. IX. No. 34. p. 257.

over the desert, and visits as a factor to Syrian and Egyptian towns, he eagerly sought out the traditions of older times, and sacred localities, and informed himself at least of the outside views and practices of Judaism and Christianity, receiving, there is good reason to believe, much attention and many hints from Christians, and especially from a monk named Sergius, whom he met in Syria, and who afterwards resided in Mecca.¹ Indeed, Arabia at that time contained as resident citizens, large numbers of Christians, chiefly schismatics, as well as multitudes of Jews. The Nestorian instructors of Mohammed, particularly opposed to Greek and Latin superstitions and virtual idolatry, strengthened his bias to a simple Abrahamic belief in one spiritual God.

The mind of Mohammed revolved this thought until he was forty years old, when he proclaimed it as an inspiration from heaven. We should not be entirely unwilling to suppose that Mohammed, up to this time, was laboring under a mental enthusiasm, arising from the conception of so great an idea, which amounted perhaps to a belief in a species of inspiration. But the bold impiety which thus early, as a ground-creed, ever linked with the sublime and pure truth of "one God," the corollary that "Mohammed was the prophet of God," militates against this view. And when opportunity came to Mohammed, developing, according to an oriental proverb, the love of power which is latent like a closed flower-bud in every man's breast, the zeal of a spiritual reformer gave way. He hesitated not to grasp the sword when fortuitously extended to him. And this is somewhat a key to his character, which was an impulsive one, following rather than compelling circumstances; now strongly guided to higher objects, and now, when the temptation came, seizing it for selfish ends. When tempted to sensuality, his luxuriousness was a hard struggle with his sanctity, and it required all his prophetic casuistry to cover the breaches made in his sacred character. So his Bedouin predatory disposition, impossible to be resisted, called for hot-spiced sanctions from heaven, bringing in the timely god to help him out of his dilemmas.

We regard Mohammed, about whom there have been so many opinions, as a man of extraordinary genius, decidedly the most so of his rather mediocre age; a genius, humanly speaking, equal to the vast

¹ Carlyle says: "I know not what to make of that 'Sergius, the Nestorian monk;' probably enough of it is greatly exaggerated, this of the Nestorian monk." There is no need of making much of "Sergius;" this was already the seventh century of the Christian religion.

effects which have sprung from its energetic character. He who leads out his nation from gross idolatry to the knowledge of one spiritual God, deserves the praise of it; and here he was great, showing lofty intelligence, and a sublime religious appreciation. Had he not proved false to that God whom he taught to idolaters; nor made a great truth which his penetration has fastened upon the instrument of unhallowed ends; had he not deliberately assumed the awful crown of a prophet with its involved consequences; had he not shown that he possessed no true conception of the moral and spiritual character of God, all his conduct, life and name would have been perfumed with the odor of goodness and greatness. Much that was good and great clung to him to the end of life. His nature from the hand of God was probably generous and large, and his mind acute, imaginative and suggestive; his gentleness, love to children, eloquence, and personal dignity, are dwelt upon with ecstasy by his Arabian biographers; light, they say, beamed from his forehead, fragrance wafted from his body, his form cast no shadow, and a grateful cloud overhung his desert steps.¹ Politically, he manifested sagacity and force, laboring for national union, and stamping, with the powerful tread of his sandal, the thousand discordant tribes of Arabia into one. But the dark sides of his nature are equally strong, and his own book, the Koran, is a standing witness against him, and would be in itself fatal to his sacred pretensions. One of the chapters is expressly to reveal the indulgence of heaven to its favorite prophet, for an act of incest, according to Arabian law. That there were great and elemental strifes in his soul between good and bad, we doubt not; for with extreme cunning he was still a fanatic, or perhaps better, an enthusiast; a lustful, blood-stained man, a genuine Arab, he was nevertheless one of lofty native power, and of the precise type of oriental greatness; an unscrupulous zealot, he was yet no imbecile, and must have possessed some splendid traits of character to have excited the love and veneration with which he has been regarded by millions for twelve centuries.² To one visiting the East, the vast influence of Mohammed, throwing its colossal shadow upon eternity, cannot but be felt; and a desire will be inevitably excited in any philosophic or religious mind, to inquire into the sources of this power; and while doing this, there is no fear of disturbing truth, unless, indeed, truth be wantonly disregarded.³

¹ Merrick's shee'ah traditions of the Hyât-Ul-Kuloob.

² Ryan.

³ The modern French writers, in speaking of Mohammedanism, seem to lay aside Christian discrimination and conscience. Indeed, to read a sentence like

Doubtless the chief reason of the rapid primitive success of Mohammed's faith, was the sword, sanctioned by all the authority of heaven. But no moral cause of the success of Islamism purely as a religion, was perhaps more operative, than the opportunity of a corrupt Christianity. About the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, A. D., the gate of Zion was fairly flung open for the wild boar of the forest, or the lion of the desert, to enter. The great split of the Eastern and Western churches had occurred (the house was already divided against itself), and at the West the form of the Man of Sin had begun to take fearful distinctness in the temple of God. In the East, especially in Syria, Arabia and Persia, the old Manichaean flame still glowed, the tremendous Arian controversy was not yet stilled, the Nestorians offered a determined front to the main church, the Monosophytes, or since called Jacobites, were in bitter schismatic opposition, and still continue so, in Syria and Mesopotamia, even Tritheism flourished, and, according to Origen, in Egypt and Arabia, the joining of the Virgin to the Godhead had adherents. Ever since the Council at Nice, there had been continual religious contention, reaching its acme at this period; imperial and political disputes were fused with ecclesiastical; "Christianity was taken from the spirit and made sense; there was no progressive inward union to the kingdom of God by faith, but outward mediation by signs and forms."¹ At the same time learning breathed but feebly in the cell and cloister, the Latin tongue had ceased from Italy, and philosophy was banished from the world, Aristotle being alone retained as a kind of dialectic master in controversy. Mohammed, at this crisis, ostensibly proclaimed a faith incapable of heresies,²

the following, we lose every boundary of truth, and embark on a sea of all irreverence and unbelief: "la mission de Mahomet, revelation féconde qui illumine la mecque au contact de Jerusalem et du Sinai." — M. Barrault.

Carlyle's conception of Mohammed, as far as we may judge, appears to have done in the main, some rough justice to his personal character, and to have thrown a truer glance into the genuine Arab, than writers generally have done. But Carlyle has, in his down-handed strokes, wounded truth severely in continuing to call a mingling of human sagacity religious emotiveness, truth, falsehood, cunning and passion, by the sacred name of prophet, a prophet being alone one who is inspired by the Holy Ghost. "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

It would seem sufficient to Mr. Carlyle, for one to have a brave insight into the "great Deep of Nature," or, in a word, to be a man of preëminent, swaying genius, to be a prophet.

¹ Neander. History of the Christian Religion, Vol. III.

² Spinoza. .

indivisible into sects, the simple faith of Noah and Abraham and primitive man, though in fact a pure Deism, which, even if philosophically true, is not, as a modern author has pregnantly remarked, and never was, true religion. Christian schismatics, especially the Nestorians, actively oppressed by the Greek and Catholic churches, were willing to advance far in union, even with an enemy, against a common foe;¹ and the simplicity of Mohammed's faith without doubt contrasted favorably with the miserable and incredible superstitions of the Christian church, and this also had its influence. But we have met with no reason to believe, as many have supposed, that Mohammed himself, whatever his followers did *afterwards*, knew aught truly of the doctrine of the Trinity, or had a further view than the assailing of Pagan polytheisms, and the sagacious turning to his own account of the debased, superstitious, tumultuary aspect with which Christianity presented itself at that time, especially in the eyes of the Eastern world; yet we have no difficulty in believing, with a species of Islamic predestination itself, that Mohammed was raised up at this time especially, and for the reasons of the peculiar and wounding controversies of the age, to be a rod to the corrupt and abandoned church of God.

No cause, however, of the permanence of Islamism, and its wide and thorough conquest of the oriental world, even to the present moment, do we regard so important as the fact of its singular affiliation to the oriental character. This will require a rapid glance at one of the prominent characteristics of the East, which will in itself explain much more. Though it is universally known and believed that philosophy, religion, in fine all things intellectual and spiritual, have had their birth in the East, yet they have not had their fullest and final developments there; though the germs of all things were, and are still, in the East, yet they have not there come to their maturity. The philosopher Cousin has hinted at this, in the idea, that in the very oriental mind, there seems to be a singular infancy of human nature; and in childhood there is unity, or little feeling of the need of spiritual progress, development and culture; the elements of things are satisfying, there being a predominance of nature over culture, of imagination over reason, and of sense over science. The orientals have been, and are still, as children, undisciplined, fanciful, seeking sensual contentment rather than hard and heavenly virtue, loving the marvellous even more than the true, delighting in story more than

¹ The opening chapters of Evagrius's Ecclesiastical History give a most vivid impression of the deadly bitterness of religious strife in this age.

argument; if not too far effeminated by luxury, rejoicing also in war as do children, with minds suggestive of all things divine and true, without the will to follow the suggestion, with extreme religious susceptibilities, but in spiritual things rising to the highest possible elevation, in mere visual speculation, or contemplative tranquillity, rather than in profound, vigorous, philosophical, or more than that, practical and life-regenerative faith. To such a nature Islamism was offered, and it was received like native food and kindred air. Its one simple religious element was enough to satisfy the spiritual susceptibility and feed the religious feeling, thought and meditation, while it seemed to touch every other point of oriental character, and also of its peculiar depravity. It flattered the untamed pride and temper of exclusiveness, confirmed the love of war and conquest, strengthened the immemorial negative morality of the East, and gave latitude to its luxurious spirit. A union of devotion and indulgence, religious profession and easy life, profound form and inner tranquillity, precisely suited the oriental mind; the cup was mixed so rarely with heaven and earth, that they could not refuse it. We see sometimes this style of mind and character in Christian lands, where the sublimities of spiritual speculation are joined with earthly tempers and lusts, where devotion and life seem to be strangely divorced, and a religious profession or philosophy exists, without having in it a spark of soul-life, or spiritual salvation. Nothing but the power of God, we must believe, exerted through his Word, by his Spirit, will ever remove the oriental mind from the embrace of such a faith.

We could not be just in giving the chief causes of the success and permanence of Islamism, without dwelling upon one other, simply the mixture of true with false. And this leads us to speak of Islamism more particularly as a religion, under which its true as well as false features, will briefly be noticed. Strictly as a faith, it may be regarded historically, doctrinally and practically. Its source and moulding shape, whatever influences may have flowed in upon it afterwards, was unquestionably Mohammed himself. His own spirit, life, acts and sayings, and especially the book which he left, the Koran, form the head-spring of this mighty fanaticism. In these the prime dogma, the essential faith, was given: "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Mohammed's own personal existence furnishes the tangible, visible nucleus of religious affection, and the perpetual living religious model. Of the Koran, it can be said in a word, that it might have been written in the design of God, to show the abysmal chasm between a genuine and a spurious inspiration. It has been .

called "a counterfeit of the Pentateuch and a plagiary of the Gospels," though much of its author is still discernible in its subtlety of thought, sagacious obscurity, and sometimes poetry. Written in the ancient Cufic, it settled the Arabic language as entirely, as did Luther's Bible the German language. Beyond the Christian idea of Scriptural inspiration or reverence, a superstitious regard or worship is attached to the letter of the Koran, as the embodiment of Divinity, or God really existing in the word. From the Koran, a theology and polity have been gradually drawn by commentary and practical application, which form Islamism as it now stands, and in many respects such as its founder never dreamed of. The polemic opposition which Islamism met from Christian writers of the Greek and Latin churches, would in itself compose a curious ecclesiastical history. The Greeks were especially severe, and as their swords failed, their pens grew sharp. A body of Greek apologies, hurled against Islam before 1200 A. D., bore the title of "*Βασιλεια*," or the name of the emperor Joannis Cantacuzeni. In a later age, among other writers, the reformers Savanarola and Luther were conspicuous; the last in his rough German-Latin dealing most sturdy blows, although one shrewdly suspects he is ever chastising the Pope over Mohammed's back.¹ Augustine, and generally speaking, the Roman church, in these assaults, treated Islamism as a Christian heresy, classing it particularly with the Noctian and Sabellian heresies. At the Council of Vienna, the Koran was forbidden to be read or opened by Latin Christians. It may be sufficient to remark here historically, that Islamism of the present day has lost its fanaticism, and therefore its chief religious energy; rather existing as a social and political principle, and ground-

¹ Hard names abound in these Greek and Latin treatises. Thus a running commentary upon the Koran proceeds for many pages, almost simply thus :

"Idiota! —
 Homo diabolicus! —
 Primogenitus Satanae! —
 Stulta, vana, et impia!" — etc.

One of Luther's characteristic sentences speaks of the especial doctrines of the Gospel as "robustissima arma. Haec sunt tonitrua, quae destruunt non modo Mahometum, etiam portas inferi. Mahometus enim negat Christum esse filium Dei. Negat ipsum mortuum pro nostris peccatis. Negat ipsum resurrexisse ad vitam nostram. Negat fide in illum remitti peccatos et nos justificari. Negat ipsum judicem venturum super vivos et mortuos, licet resurrectionem mortuorum et diem judicii credat. Negat spiritum sanctum. Negat ejus dona." It has been said that the contentions of Christian and Mohammedan writers on the doctrines of freewill and predestination led the way to Pelagianism and to the Pelagian controversy.

ing itself really more in oriental nature than belief. Doctrinally considered, it has but one essential dogma, the unity of God; to this, however, the false is immediately joined, of the prophetic nature of Mohammed. Thus this conjunction of the false with the true runs through the whole system, engrafting upon a few of the truths of Christianity the death and corruption of superstition, like a living body tied to a corpse. If Mohammedans believe in a judgment, it is Mohammed who is to be judge of quick and dead; and the terms of judgment are changed from the solemn standard of God's Word and Spirit, to children's play-terms. If heaven and hell are truths of belief, they are so wholly unsphered that "the powers of the world to come" have little more of spiritual energy than the apprehension of an earthly gaol, or the prospect of a kiosk amid the rushing streams and apricot-gardens of Damascus. As to the sensual character of the Mahomedan paradise, which some are disposed to deny, the truth as far as we may judge, is, that Mohammed himself intended the material view, that his immediate followers sincerely received it thus, and that while spiritualizing commentators have here and there sprung up and still form a class, the great body of Moslems, or the orthodox, have ever held and still most firmly hold the literal interpretation of the Koran, confirming this by their lives, for as the heaven of a faith is, so will the earthly lives of its believers be. If, likewise, there is even a deep belief in the decrees of God, it is so generally deficient even in the Hebrew element of Divine complacency with good and separation from evil, that God is made the author and tempter of evil, and thus, of course, the moral sense receives a stunning blow as if from the hand of God himself. Not only is Islamic predestination a dark necessity, discovering nought of the intelligence of God and of adaptation to a Divine and infinite design, but it effectually prostrates the pillar of man's freedom, which even the inexorable Greek "*εἰμασμένη*" was saved from by the instinctive pride of human dignity, and it discerns no gleam of a Christian faith in the harmonious determinations of God with the moral nature of man; so that while God reigns supreme, his moral creatures are as free as if he did not reign at all, thus throwing them on the unspeakable gift and glory of self-activity.¹ Even in the Moslem's belief in God, it is, without the Gospel manifestation of God, almost entirely a distant and awful abstraction, having its only human power in this

¹ Moslem fatalism opposed to human consciousness, will yet become indirectly a moral lever to help upheave this system. Even quarantine was a great progress.

principle of predestination, or Asiatic resignation. There is no coming down of God to man in love, and no rising upward of man to God in faith. The infinite need of an incarnate, redeeming God, touching, meeting, regenerating sinful humanity by his descended Word and Spirit shed abroad, leaves the system a cold Deism, a philosophical creed, but not a religion. There is, therefore, no spiritual and Divine life in the Mohammedan, although he believes in a God, and in future accountability.¹ This is strikingly shown in the practical workings of the system.

¹ The Pythagorean, Gnostic and speculative elements of oriental mind and history, have entered also into Mohammedan theology, and we have in its bulky interpretations, glosses, systems and catechisms, the results of meditation upon many of the deeps of metaphysical and religious thought, as the being of God, freewill, election, virtue, faith, etc., and it becomes interesting to follow the human mind even in such contrasted circumstances on these incessant problems of nature. The following are two or three extracts, taken here and there, from the "Catechism of Omer Neesefy":

"ART. 2. The attributes of God do not constitute his essence; the word is in God's eternal essence.

"ART. 19. Faith consists in the admission and profession of all which has been announced from God.

"ART. 20. The acts of believers are susceptible of more or less; belief ought to be absolute.

"ART. 21. Belief does not differ from resignation.

"ART. 22. Believers and unbelievers are able to lose and recover faith; but the faith of the elect is not shaken by this, because the future is unchangeable in the Divine essence." — *L'empire Ottoman*, Chauvin Baillard.

Faith in God; from the Mohammedan Catechism:

"Faith in God consists in knowing truly with the heart and confessing openly with the mouth, that the most high God exists; that He is true, permanent and very essence; that He is eternal in relation to the past, having never begun, and eternal also in relation to the future, since He is without the necessity of an end; that there appertaineth to Him neither place, time, figure, nor any outward form whatever — no motion, change, transposition, separation, division, fraction or fatigue; that He is without equal and without parallel; that He is perfectly pure, one, everlasting, and living; that He is omniscient, omnipotent and sovereign; that He hears, sees, speaks, acts, creates, sustains; that He produces intelligently; that He causes to live, and causes to die; that He gives beginning to all, and makes all to return to their original state, whenever he pleases; that He judges, decrees, directs, commands, prohibits; that He conducts in the right way and leads into error; and that to Him belong retribution, reward, punishment, favor and victory. It is necessary further to believe, that all these eternal attributes are embraced in his essential Being, and subsist in Him from everlasting to everlasting, without division or variation, yet so that it can neither be said that these attributes are Himself, nor that they are essentially different from Himself, since each of them is conjoined with another, as, for example, life with knowledge, and knowledge with power. Such are the great and inestimable perfections of the most high God, under which He is known

As a system of good works and purely formal, even the Catholic faith in its strictest days has hardly surpassed it in scrupulosity; but then it lodges in the stiff branches of prescriptive formula and objective duty, without influence to produce that inwrought holiness, or even pure morality, which faith in Christ necessitates from its very nature. The four great prescriptive duties of Islamism are prayer, fasting, alms, and pilgrimage to Mecca; and by these rounds of works the Mohammedan climbs to his paradise. The Mohammedan prayer is something more than picturesque; it is impressive to behold the Mohammedan at his devotions, his simple, manly, unabashed prostration before God, in the field or the town, whenever the Muezzin calls from his minaret, or whenever the sun comes forth, touches the meridian, and sinks beneath the horizon, without regard to place, occupation or company. But what are his prayers? Are they a spiritual communion with God? are they confessions of sin? are they the breathings of penitence? are they the pleadings for pardon? are they purifyings of the heart, or even expressions of holy, devotional desire? This can hardly be claimed. The brief Mohammedan creed, repeated and repeated, with a few variations in general ascriptions of praise, constitute the prayer itself, while physical prostrations and attitudes make up the rest. It is, in fact, chiefly a bodily exercise, and allies itself, with certainly a high degree of outward dignity and propriety, to all physical methods of worship, of which we see an instance among ourselves, in the Shaker communities. The Mohammedan rises from his prayer to the life of sense which he led before;¹ and the same remark will apply to the religious fast of the Ramaran. The Mohammedan generally observes this fast with rigor, even the

and adored by the faithful. Whoever dares to deny them or to call them in question, whether in whole or in part, truly he is an infidel. O God! preserve Thou us from infidelity!" — Southgate's Travels in Persia, etc.

¹ In riding from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, the writer was accompanied by a noble looking, middle-aged Arab sheikh, who was a renowned "santon" or saint. Five times in the course of the ride, whenever we came to sweet running water, the chief dismounted, washed his face, hands and feet, spread the carpet, which formed his saddle-cloth, upon the ground, stuck his long lance upright at one of its corners, and turning his face towards Mecca, went through his devotions, touching his forehead in the dust in token of humiliation; yet at the close of the day, the same man attempted to practise upon me a fraud. But this need not give a whole impression of Moslem piety, for in that species of devotion which springs from the emotions and sentiments merely, as we have said, the orientals are eminent, and we believe that under the teachings of a true religion they would not only have the feeling, the sentiment, the poetry, the ecstasy of devotion, but the calm faith, intelligent principle and reasonable hope.

solitary Bedouin on the desert, according to the exact Burckhardt, confining himself to half a pound of black bread in the twenty-four hours ; but the manner in which all, from the sultan on the throne to the poorest "fellah" at the water-wheel, rush back again to their old vices, at the moment the cannon booms to announce the close of the fast, shows how little of a spiritual or chastening character it has, and how purely it is a matter of Stoic endurance. So the matter of alms, is chiefly a form, regulated by a species of poll-tax ; and the pilgrimage to Mecca, if it ever had a religious character, has long since become a sad business of mingled money-making, vagabondism and immorality ; a "hadji," or pilgrim, being almost synonymous with a worthless fellow. No longer does the magnificence of mighty caravans issuing from the arched gateways of Bagdad and Damascus, lend solemnity and pomp to these pilgrimages, and cover up their inutility, puerile superstition and vices.

The civil morality of Islamism, drawn from the religious, has no higher character. The law of revenge, or the talio, is directly enforced from the Koran. Slavery has also in the Koran express sanction, and by Mohammedan theocratic statute, absolute power is given to the master, and all civil or judicial protection removed from the slave. Polygamy, connected with pliant divorce and slave concubinage, opens the door to sensuality, only limited by the wealth and power of the individual. It is true, that earth and heaven, according to Islamism, are made for man, and woman has at best an uncertain, and always a degraded place, in either. The names of the crimes themselves, under the Mohammedan civil law, exhibit the mournful condition of the public morals, and in the administration of justice the grossest bribery universally prevails. At the present day even some of the old prescriptive Mohammedan virtues are vanishing, and intemperance itself is rushing upon the oriental world, the traveller's boat up the river Nile being lighted by night with the fires of distilleries. The attempted reforms of the father of the present sultan, have only precipitated the grave Ottoman into the more shameless profligacy of the French school of vice, and by the testimony of intelligent travellers, throughout Persia and the more interior Mohammedan countries, the most profound and awful sensuality reigns. Yet strange to say, the Mohammedan makes his boast of the morality of his religion, and shameful as the truth is, in many respects, in general integrity, solidity and dignity of character, he rises superior to the nominal Christian with whom he daily comes in contact. He has recently shown a noble example of the ancient Moslem virtue

of hospitality in his treatment of the Hungarian exiles, against whose ancestors his own once so fiercely contended, the candelabras which now light the mosque of St. Sophia having been plundered from Hungarian temples. And the Mohammedan is exceedingly affected by the example of a high morality wherever it appears, giving a hope of the speedier triumph of pure Christianity among the Mohammedans whenever it shall begin to move upon them. Let us, in conclusion, say a few words as to the present condition of Islamism, especially in its relations to Christianity.

We have not pretended in the foregoing rapid sketch of Islamism and the causes of its success and permanence, to impart any new truth, but would only desire to draw more thought to this great field which is sooner or later to be possessed by Christ, comprising an eighth portion of the souls of the world. We have not concealed a certain respect for this religion, which, so mingled with false as to be wholly falsified, is yet so superior to the thousand fetisch superstitions that shine not with one ray of spiritual or even philosophic light. It is, in truth, rather a Christian, or at least Judaic heresy, than a simple heathenism, being at the time of its rise, a rude and fierce reaffirmation of the truth respecting God, when idolatry was fast destroying the purity of true religion. Of course the great obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Mohammedans is the law respecting apostasy. This is the mighty crime of the Mohammedan, and if not retracted after the third time, is punishable with death; and the homicide of the apostate is counted no crime. But this law will evidently not long resist the progress of Providence, for already Islamism, in a hundred instances, has receded from its own standards, and permitted unheard of innovations. It has become a tolerant system, every religion throughout the sultan's dominion being now protected by law, whereas the successor of the prophet is bound to wage exterminating war against all unbelief, and to offer the sword's edge or the creed "Namaz" to every man, and all the world. The sword itself of the Moslem is broken, and the faith, therefore, has lost its great propagandist, and it consequently no longer grows. The religious zeal of Islam has also become cooled, its own piety has grown dull, rationalistic disputes have arisen, and absolute scepticism has crept extensively over the Mohammedan mind.¹ When thought is aroused, the inconsistencies and falsities of

¹ Even the first child of Islamism, the Beduoin of the desert, is heard to say jestingly, according to Niebuhr: "the religion of Mohammed could not be made for us. We have no water for ablution on the desert; we have no money for

their faith appear glaring, and it is alone the profound principle of predestination, or stirless obedience to the system of things or laws under which they find themselves, which prevents oriental minds from outbreking into open denial or higher truth. Islamism being itself essentially a politico-religious system, the polity being drawn from the faith, the civil and religious power are of course indissolubly united; they stand or fall together; for without the Mohammedan State there is no Mohammedan church, the visible "Imani" or representative of the Prophet being the sultan himself, who, like the Pope, constitutes not only the head, but the very principle of the religion. The present hollow vastness, therefore, of the Islamic empire, portends, we believe, the hollow weakness of Islamism, the religion having no distinctive, separate principle of life. All it has of good belongs to Christianity, and all its evil is inwoven with its secular decaying policy. God seems always to have wrought with a peculiarity of providence in the East; He has wrought at long intervals, and then suddenly. Continual progress, as at the West, does not seem to be the law of oriental existence. The inhabitants of the East are a wonderfully fixed quantity; the customs and opinions which sway the enlightened world do not seem to reach them; the revolutions which like magnetic storms sweep over Europe, reverberate faintly, and die away on their unsympathetic shores; there the people stand, like their own mysterious temples of the past, hardly touched by cycles, themselves the most impressive antiquities; the Samaritans were Samaritans until they were extinct; the Jews are still Jews; the Ishmaelites are still Ishmaelites; a Mohammedan once, an Eastern proverb is, a Mohammedan forever. Whenever a change occurs in the East, it seems to be by the fiat of Omnipotence. The Exodus of the Hebrews, the rise of Christianity, the springing up of Islamism, all were sudden and miraculous movements, in which the hand of God was awfully visible. It seems as if a more direct Divine interposition, more regardless of means, wrought in the East; and now that Mohammedanism has answered its predestined end, may not God, by one of those sudden and omnipotent decrees, cause the Mohammedan religion to go down and disappear, as quickly and startingly as it rose? This may sound visionary, but looking at the peculiar nature of the system, its linked destiny with the secular power, its abstract, indistinctive, unvital character as a faith, and its past relation in the providence of God, we cannot believe that, unas-

alms; we already fast the year round; and God is everywhere, therefore why go to Mecca."

sailable as it now appears, it is to be vanquished by Christianity by slow steps, rood after rood, region after region, but that it is destined to fall rapidly under the unseen hand of God. Yet any theory like this, should not blind the eyes, or deter the effort, in present missionary responsibility toward the Mohammedan. The missionary world should not neglect in its action, and certainly in its prayers, him, who has already so much of common ground with the Christian. If direct action cannot yet be made for his spiritual welfare, much can be done indirectly, as a preparation for the time when the civil obstacles shall cease before the pressing force of political necessity; for religious freedom to the Moslem, is the next step which naturally follows the religious freedom to Christians and other religionists, already secured by the firm intervention of England in Turkey, and lately in Persia.

All religious writers on the East agree, that the power of a pure Christian example will be a great means of turning the eyes of the Mohammedan to Christ, and this example will be furnished, it is hoped, in the fast-increasing body of missionaries and their converts in the East. Already the Turks have begun to discriminate between the oriental Christian and the Protestant; and their admiration for the higher purity, elevation, truth and spirituality of the latter, has often exhibited itself unmistakably. But we look to a still mightier agent in the silent leavening and preparation of the Mohammedan mind and heart for a thorough moral transformation — *the power of the word of God*. Mohammedans acknowledge the Divine inspiration of the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, and of late, especially in the city of Constantinople, they have begun to read the Gospel, with more than a feeling of curiosity. There is a call for a Turkish translation, especially of the New Testament, and the discovery is beginning to dawn upon many a darkened Moslem mind, that all the good which their own faith boasts, is here found in its pure head-springs; and when the word of Christ finds entrance, his faith follows. Often the heart is reached through the door of the mind, and the oriental possesses a mind of original powers, as history has now and then shown, which, even under the pressure of centuries of fatalistic inaction, has yet preserved a manly living instinct for the good and true. A vein of conviction sometimes struggles upward to the light through the mountains of Islamic ignorance and sensualism, from the central gold of Divine thought in the human mind — an aspiration which seeks for something more of God, than the bare knowledge of his existence and power. God manifest in the flesh, the *love of God in Christ to man*, has, it is said, started even the apathetic Turk into

strange emotion and reflection. This alone, the Gospel salvation, can arouse the Mohammedan from the profound sleep, the terrible entombment of spiritual life, in which he is buried. This alone can infuse animation through those lethargic kingdoms, those hundred millions of souls stretched in

"the sleepy drench
Of that forgetful lake"

of strong delusion. The Gospel of Christ can alone even bring the infancy of the East to the full manhood of conscience, reason and action. The temporal as well as the eternal salvation of the fast sinking East, can only come through true Christianity awakening the sense of moral responsibility and freewill, and thereby invigorating the oriental mind. That mind, through whose medium the Bible came to men, feeling again the impulse of Divine inspiration pouring through it the tide of life and hope, may throw off its bands, and in the first home of the human race, the garden of the world, the birth-place of our heavenly religion, the freest and largest developments of that religion may yet be seen. The latent devotion of the Eastern nature awoke to its present and grandest energy by the Spirit of God, may produce, as far as they may be reproduced in uninspired men, Peters and Johns and Pauls, not as types, but as classes. Woman in the East, giving the contradiction to the cruel faith of Islam, wherever she has heard the name of Christ and His spiritual life, faith and kingdom, shall hail with joy the coming of a pure religion, appealing to a quick conscience, and a noble self-activity. The free Christian home and altar shall then be erected on the ruins of polygamy and slavery. All classes, united by the common faith and love of Christ, and regulated by Christian equal laws, shall take the place of the personal despotism of individuals and the sunken degradation of the masses which is the immemorial type of Eastern and Mohammedan society. Above all, the cold, gloomy, vast void between God and man, inducing a still and frozen religion, shall be filled by the Divine humanity of Christ's religion, awakening to love, human fellowship, mental and spiritual activity, freedom, development, progress and life. The East shall feel the touch of Christ and shall arise, and not before. Should we not give to it the Word of Life, even where we may not yet send the preacher?

ARTICLE V.

THE CHARACTER OF INFANTS.

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THERE is scarcely a question in the whole range of Christian Theology, more difficult of solution than that respecting the character of infants. There is scarcely one which has given rise to a greater variety of speculation. And judging from the prominence accorded to it by Ecclesiastical Councils and Ministerial Associations, there is hardly one of greater importance. For whatever else these venerable bodies may choose to pass over in their examination of candidates for the ministry, they almost invariably bring in the subject of infant character. "What is your opinion as to the character of infants?" This question is about as sure to be asked, as an examination in theology is to take place.

Nor do we complain at all of this. The question is not only a proper one, but it is one of very considerable importance, both in itself, and in its relations. Besides; it is, on more accounts than one, a test question; a test of the candidate's opinions on certain connected points; a test also of his ability to unravel theological difficulties, and untie hard knots.

In what follows, it is proposed carefully to consider this question; to examine some of the theories which have been proposed respecting it; and to set forth what is conceived to be the truth of the case.

The theories of infant character now before the public naturally divide themselves into two classes; the one regarding the infant as *innocent*, the other holding him to be a *sinner*. We know not that any Christians have said that infants, at the first, were positively *holy*. Pelagius himself would not have said as much as this. But there are those who hold that they are negatively *innocent*, they have no sin; and this because they are not moral agents, and have no moral character at all.

Of those who take this ground, there are two distinct classes; the *Pelagian* and the *Evangelical*. The Pelagian tells us that the infant has inherited no corruption from Adam, of any kind; that he is born as he would have been, if Adam had not sinned. He may have *no* moral character at the first; but when moral agency commences, and

he begins to have a character, it is as likely to be good as bad. If he is rightly instructed, and a proper example is set before him, it is even more likely to be holy than sinful. And, as this individual advances in life, his character will be a mixed one, in which sin or holiness will be likely to predominate, according as the influences with which he is surrounded are bad or good.

We hardly need stop to refute this theory of infant character, as no evangelical Christian can possibly adopt it. It is inconsistent with all those Scriptures which speak of the entire sinfulness of the natural man. It is inconsistent with the doctrine of regeneration. There can be no regeneration, on this ground. Reformation, improvement, may be desirable, but *regeneration*, in the proper sense of the term, is both unnecessary and impossible. This view of human nature and character is, moreover, inconsistent with the distinction, so constantly made in the Bible, between the righteous and the wicked. On this ground, there is no such distinction. There is no room for any. The wicked are of a mixed character, partly holy and partly sinful, and the righteous are no more than this; so that all ground of distinction between the two classes is removed. Finally, this theory of human nature and character is contradicted in the experience of all spiritually enlightened Christians. It is contradicted by universal observation and history. It is inconsistent with any scheme of evangelical religion, and, as we said, can be embraced by no evangelical Christian. We drop it, therefore, without further remark, and pass to another theory of infant character.

There are those who believe that the infant is not a moral agent, and consequently has no sin, who still believe that he has inherited a degree of *depravation* or mental *derangement* from a fallen father. He is not in the state he would have been, if Adam had not sinned. He is in *such* a state, that as soon as moral agency commences, and he begins to do anything of a moral nature, he begins to sin; and from this time forward, all his moral acts are sinful, unless he is renewed by sovereign grace.

It will be seen that, although this theory agrees with the last, in regarding the infant as yet without sin, it differs from it in other important respects, and should not be confounded with it. The former doctrine is un-evangelical; this is not necessarily so. It is held by some excellent ministers and Christians. Still, it is open to very serious objections.

In the first place, this sinless infant, who is not yet a moral agent, is either a human being — a member of the great family of man —

or he is not. If he is not yet a human being, then he is a mere animal; and why not regard and treat him as an animal? Why baptize him, or pray for him, or have a funeral for him in case of death, more than for any other little animal? And why indulge any fond hopes, should he be taken away, in respect to his immortality?

But it will be conceded by those with whom we now reason, that the infant *is* of the same race with us, is a human being. And if so, then he possesses all that pertains to a human being. He has a human soul, as well as body; a soul in possession of all the human faculties; and these faculties, it should seem, must be in an active state. How can they be otherwise? What are we to think of a healthy, human soul, in possession of all the faculties of a soul, existing for weeks, months and (as some say) years, in a state of inactivity, thinking, feeling, doing nothing, and being (so far as concerns any conscious, active existence) as though it had not been?

Besides; we know that the soul of the infant is *not* inactive. It is in full activity very early, and probably from the first. It begins to receive ideas from the outer world the first moment it enters it; which shows that the *intellect* is not inactive. It has *feeling* too, and commonly expresses it, almost with its first breath; which shows that the *sensibilities* are active. The *will* is also active, moving the different members of the body, from the first.

But it will be said, although there may be action, there is no moral action, and consequently no moral character. But if the actions of the infant are not moral actions, then they are mere animal actions, and we are thrown back upon the absurd hypothesis of a mere animal existence. Besides; if moral agency does not commence at the first, when does it commence? When does the child cease to be a mere animal, and begin to be an intelligent and moral being? Whenever this change takes place, it is obviously a great change, and ought to be a perceptible one. It should seem there could be no difficulty in determining the time. Who, then, ever has determined it? Who can?

But we have not yet done with the difficulties and absurdities of this hypothesis. The infant, it is said, has not yet any moral character, good or evil. Is it, then, an *accountable* being? Is it morally responsible? Responsible for what? If called into judgment (as we are assured that all human beings must be) what has it to account for? It has no moral character, has done nothing either good or evil; and for what shall it give an account?

But further; is this infant, without any character, an *immortal*

being? Most people believe that deceased infants do live hereafter; but on the theory we are considering, *where* do they live? Not in heaven; for they have done nothing good. They are not holy. Not in hell; for they have no sin, and consequently deserve no punishment. In what compartment or region of the future world, then, are they to be placed?

Such are some of the difficulties which beset the theory that the infant, at the first, has no moral character, either sinful or holy. They lie equally against the Pelagian theory, and the more plausible evangelical theory.

There is another objection to both these theories, of more weight than anything which has been advanced. It is a position, in fact, which *contradicts* them both; viz. that infants *have a character*, and a *sinful* character. It need not be inquired here, on what *grounds* infants are to be regarded as sinners. This question will be taken up in its proper place. But the *fact* of their sinfulness we hold to be susceptible of the most ample proof. And every argument in support of it is, of course, an argument against both of the theories which have been considered. That infants are, on some ground, sinners, we urge,

1. From the fact, that they are *the descendants of Adam*, the father of us all. The Scriptures assure us, that all the descendants of Adam, without an exception, are sinners. "Through the offence of one" (Adam) "the many *are dead*," spiritually dead. "By one man's disobedience, the many were made *sinners*." "By the offence of one, judgment came upon *all men* to condemnation." (See Rom. 5: 15—19). There is no evading the force of these passages. They represent the children of Adam, universally, as somehow sinners, dead in sin, and under condemnation, in consequence of his first offence. We have only to ask, then, are infants among the descendants of Adam? Are they his children?

2. We put this argument in a somewhat different shape, and urge the sinful character of infants, from the fact that they are *human beings*, and belong to the *human race*. The sinfulness of the entire human race, without an exception, is taught, in the plainest terms, in the Bible. "*Man's heart is evil from his youth*." Not this man, that, or the other; but *man in the general, every man*. (Gen. 8: 21). Again; "the heart of the *sons of men* is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live." (Ecc. 9: 3). This, too, is spoken of the sons of men generally, universally. Paul says: "We have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are *all under sin*."

As it is written : There is none righteous, no, not one. There is none that understandeth ; there is none that seeketh after God ; they are all gone out of the way ; they are together become unprofitable ; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." (Rom. 3: 9—12). These passages teach, as plainly as words can teach anything, that *mankind, universally, are sinners*. Not only is no exception made, but all exception is, by the very terms, excluded. "There is none that doeth good, *no, not one*." We have only to ask, then, as before, are infants included among mankind ? Do they belong to the human species ? If so, they are, by the testimony of their Creator, sinners.

3. There are many other Scriptures which teach the same doctrine. The following passages may be cited as examples : "That which is born of the flesh, is *flesh* ; and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit." (John 3: 6). Parallel passages leave no room for doubt as to the meaning of these remarkable words. Our Saviour here says to Nicodemus, and sets it forth as a ground of the necessity of regeneration, that all "which is born of the flesh, is *flesh* ;" i. e. *fleshly, carnal, sensual, sinful* ; as all "that is born of the Spirit, is spirit," or *spiritual*. It is as certain, then, that infant children are *sinful*, as it is that they are born of the flesh.

David says : "The wicked are estranged from the womb ; they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies." (Ps. 58: 3). The last clause of this verse has been thought by some to qualify the preceding part, and to spoil it, as a proof-text, on this subject. But we do not so understand the passage. The question is, Which part of the verse is to be understood to the letter, and which in a somewhat modified sense ? Does the Psalmist mean to say, that the wicked are not estranged from God, until they have learned to speak, and begin literally to tell lies ? Or is this the sense : "The wicked are estranged from the womb ; they go astray as soon as they be born ; having from the first an evil, deceitful, lying spirit ?" In our own mind, there can be no question here. The latter is clearly the sense of the passage ; and thus interpreted, it is decisive to our present purpose. We have a parallel passage in Isaiah. "I knew that thou wouldest deal very treacherously, and wast called a *transgressor from the womb*." (Is. 48: 8).

Paul, speaking of himself and his Christian brethren, says : "And were *by nature* the children of wrath, even as others." (Eph. 2: 3). To be a child of wrath is, unquestionably, to be a sinner ; and such Paul represents himself, his Christian brethren, and all others, to have been *by nature*. Whatever else may be the import of this

phrase, *by nature*, it must mean, we think, as much as this, that all men are sinners *e natu*, from their birth; since whatever belongs to us *by nature* must be from birth.

We quote but another passage in proof of the point in question. "We thus judge," says Paul, "that if one died for all, then were *all dead*." (2 Cor. 5: 14). The word *dead* here obviously means *dead in sin*; and in this death the Apostle represents all men as involved, all those for whom Christ died. Did Christ, then, die for infants? Have they any interest at all in his death? If so, then they are sinners, dead in sin.

4. That infants are in some way sinners, is evident from their title to *circumcision and baptism*. No one doubts that infants, under the old dispensation, were required to be circumcised; and no Pedobaptist doubts that they are now to be baptized. But what is the spiritual import of these religious rites? What do they signify? We understand both as signifying much the same; the former, the circumcision of the heart, or regeneration; the latter, the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost. But why should religious rites be applied to infants, denoting the cleansing, the purifying of the heart, if the heart is not impure, if it needs no cleansing, in other words, if it is not sinful? This argument was constantly urged by Augustine against the Pelagians: "Why baptize infants, if they have no sin?" And the argument, as it seems to us, is perfectly conclusive.

5. We argue from the *sufferings* of infants, that they are sinners. That infants suffer early, and in some instances severely, there can be no doubt. And there are but three ways in which it is possible to account for their sufferings, in consistency with the goodness or the justice of God. They must either suffer as mere animals, and on the same ground as animals; or they must suffer as our Saviour did, by their own consent; or they must suffer as sinners, and for their sins. The first supposition reduces infants to the condition of mere animals, which few persons will consent to do. The second, no one will claim to support. We are shut up, therefore, to the last. The infant suffers as a *sinner*, and for *his sins*.

Perhaps it will be said, that the infant suffers for the sin of Adam. But those who say this will also say, that he is a *partaker* of the sin of Adam, and *guilty of it*; so that after all, he suffers for his own sin. We know not that any theologian has pretended that infants suffer for the sin of Adam, while they have no sin of their own. And should such a pretence ever be urged, it would conflict with all our ideas of justice.

6. That infants are sinners may be further proved from their *death*. We might infer as much as this from the mere fact of their dying (unless we will consent to regard them as brute animals), even if we had no light from the Scriptures on the subject. But the Scriptures do afford us light. They assure us, in the plainest terms, that, to all the sons and daughters of Adam, *death is a fruit of sin*. "By one man sin entered into the world, and *death by sin*; and so death hath passed upon all men, for that *all have sinned*." (Rom. 5: 12). It is as certain from this and the parallel passages, that infants are sinners, as it is that they are subject to death. For to all the human species, the posterity of Adam, death is a fruit and a proof of sin. We only add,

7. The sinfulness of infants is proved from the fact of their *salvation*. Many persons are unwilling to admit the sinful character of infants, from a fear that it will endanger their salvation. If they are really sinners, they may not be saved. But to this we reply, if infants are not sinners, *they cannot be saved*. Saved from what, if they have no sin? They cannot be saved from the punishment of sin, for they have done nothing to deserve punishment. They cannot be saved from the curse of the law, for they have never broken the law, or fallen under its condemning power. They cannot be saved from sin itself, for they have none. In short, there is nothing, on this ground, for the infant to be saved from, and his salvation, from the nature of the case, is impossible.

We do not say that the infant, without sin, may not possibly go to heaven; but we do say that he can never go there *through the salvation of the Gospel*. He can never go there, through the washing of regeneration, and sprinkling of the blood of Christ; for this mode of getting to heaven necessarily implies *sin*; a sinful heart to be renewed, and sin to be forgiven; neither of which, according to the supposition, can be said of the infant child.

Most Christians hope and believe, that those who die in mere infancy are saved. Such, certainly, is our own belief. But if we did not regard the infant as a sinner, we could not indulge such a belief a moment. For, as we just said, if the infant is not a sinner, he has nothing to be saved from; he needs no salvation; he has nothing of which salvation can be predicated; and salvation, in his case, is impossible.

We have now proved, as we think conclusively, and that, too, from several sources of evidence, that infants are sinners. They have a moral character, and this is sinful. It is now time to press the

inquiry further, and ask : *How* are they sinful? On what grounds? In what way?

On these questions, those who agree as to the fact of infant sinfulness are divided into three classes. 1. Those who hold that we all existed and sinned in a previous life, and brought a sinful character into the world with us. 2. Those who teach that the infant has a *sinful nature*, but no actual sin. 3. Those who hold that it has active moral affections from the first, and that these are selfish and sinful.

Let us examine each of these theories, or suppositions, in their order; and, first, that of an active, moral and sinful existence, in a previous state. This idea has its advocates in Germany, and is held by some in our own country. The supposition is that, at the time of the original revolt in heaven, a vast multitude of angels, of different orders, were drawn into it, and apostatized together. Of these, the great leaders, the more knowing and guilty ones, were driven at once from heaven, and sent down to hell. But towards the multitude, who were less guilty, God was pleased to entertain thoughts of mercy. He kindly stayed the stroke of justice, and reserved them for another probation, a probation of *grace*, in the present world. Being sent one after another into human bodies, these constitute the present race of men, and such is the probation which is enacting here.

My first objection to this theory is, that it is a mere assumption, without one particle of proof. It has no proof, that we can discover, from Scripture. It has none from human consciousness or memory. No one can remember that previous life, or knows anything about it. It helps to remove no theological difficulties, nor is it implied, so far as we can see, in any connected theological truths. In short, it is a mere assumption, without proof, and has no claim to be admitted, even if nothing could be urged against it. But the testimony of Scripture is against it.

1. The Scriptures make a wide distinction between fallen angels and men. They belong to different species. They constitute different orders of beings. The angels are represented as much older than ourselves, and as possessing higher intelligence and power. Man was "made a little *lower* than the angels." (Ps. 8: 5.) But the theory under consideration quite confounds this distinction. According to this view, we are all fallen angels. We belong to the same class with them. We apostatized together. Some of our partners in that dire transaction may be more guilty than we, and on that account may be denied a probation in the flesh. Still, they are

the same kind of creature, and belong to the same species as ourselves.

2. The Scriptures teach us that *all* the sinning angels, and not a part of them, were thrust down to hell. "God spared not the angels that sinned," so far as appears, not one of them, "but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment." (2 Pet. 2: 4.) Again, "The angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." (Jude 6.) Such is the account given us in Scripture of the destiny of the fallen angels. The sentence of the law was at once executed upon them, and they were all sent down to hell. But according to the view we are considering, only a *part* of the sinning angels were thus disposed of. Vast multitudes of them, myriads upon myriads, were not sent to hell at all, but reserved for another probation on the earth.

3. The Scriptures further teach us, that the spirit of man *is created*, when it enters the body, and not that it comes from a preëxistent, sinful state. So it was with the first man. God did not take an old devil, and put it into Adam's new-made body, but "he breathed into him the breath of life, and *he became a living soul*;" or as Paul expresses it, he "*was made a living soul*." (1 Cor. 15: 45.) So it was with the first man; and so it has been, there is reason to believe, with men ever since. Accordingly, God is said by one of the prophets, not only to "stretch forth the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth," but to "*form the spirit of man within him*." (Zech. 12: 1.)

4. The Scriptures clearly teach us, that the primeval state of man on the earth was a *holy state*. "God made man upright." (Ecc. 7: 29.) He made him in his own image and likeness, and blessed the new-made pair; and "God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was *very good*." (Gen. 1: 27—31.) The whole intercourse between God and our first parents previous to their eating the forbidden fruit, and his fearfully altered mode of treating them immediately afterwards, show that this was their first offence, and that up to the time of their committing it they had been holy.

But on the theory we oppose, our first parents were as entirely corrupt before they ate the forbidden fruit, as afterwards. They were old transgressors from another world, who had been put into bodies here, in order that they might have a new probation. How, then, could God bless them, and pronounce them *very good*, and hold such affectionate intercourse with them, up to the time of their first

recorded transgression? Let those who deny the primeval innocence of our first parents answer this question, if they can.

5. The theory we are considering ascribes too much *intelligence* to the new-born infant. The more common view, we think, ascribes too little. But this goes quite to the other extreme; so much so, as not to agree at all with facts. According to this view, the infant is not a new-made soul, just entering into life, just opening its powers to receive impressions, and form a character for itself; but it is an old devil, who has lived, we know not how long, in some previous state, biding its time to enter on a new probation. We insist that such a doctrine agrees not at all with the obvious condition of the infant mind, or with the small degree of intelligence and power with which it commences its career on the earth.

6. But further; the Scriptures expressly connect our state of sin and death with *the fall of Adam*, and not with a previous state of sin in some other world. "In Adam, all die." "By the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation." "By one man's disobedience, the many were made sinners." We have before quoted these and the like passages to prove the sinfulness of all the descendants of Adam. We now quote them to show, that our sinfulness has not come with us from a preëxistent sinful state, but is in some way connected with the first offence of Adam.

7. We add but another objection to the theory before us, which is this: The Scriptures represent us as to be called into judgment only for the deeds *done here in the body*. (2 Cor. 5: 10.) Whereas, on the view we are considering, our deeds in a previous life should all come into judgment. They are forgotten now, but they will be seen and remembered in the final day, and may be expected to constitute a great part, perhaps by far the greater part, of the deeds for which we shall then be called to answer.

With these objections, we dismiss the first theory of infant sinfulness, and proceed to a consideration of the second, viz. that of an inherited *sinful nature*.

And here we are prompted to inquire, first of all, what is intended by a sinful nature. If it means nothing more than *internal sinful affections*, which are *natural* to us, we will not object, except to the terms. But if it means something in the very state and constitution of the soul, something back of, and distinct from, sinful affections, and out of which such affections grow; in this sense of the words in question, we cannot account for the sin of infants, by supposing them to possess a sinful nature. A nature, in this sense, cannot, as it seems

to us, be sinful. It is not a thing of which sin or holiness can be predicated.

This is not the place to go into a prolonged discussion of the vexed question as to the nature of sin. Suffice it to say, that the advocates of a sinful nature, in the sense explained, present us with *two entirely different kinds of sin*; original and actual, the sin of nature and of practice. Whereas the Bible speaks of only one kind of sin. "Sin," says the Apostle John, "is the *transgression* of the law." And as though this alone were not enough, he adds: "Whosoever *committeth* sin, transgresseth also the law." (1 John 3: 4.)

Again; the advocates of a sinful nature, in the sense explained, present us with a kind of sin, which can with no propriety be made the subject of *prohibition*. Why prohibit that which belongs to our very nature, and of which we cannot rid ourselves, if we would?

Still again; we have here a kind of sin (if sin it be) of which God alone is the responsible *author*. Who is the author of it, if he is not? Certainly, we have had no concern in originating it, more than in originating any other part of our nature, or our very souls.

Further; we have here a kind of sin (if it be sin) for which we are not to be called to an account in the day of judgment. God will bring every *work* into judgment. Men will be rewarded or punished in the other world, not for their natures, but for their deeds.

In short, this supposed form of sin, which attaches to our natures, and not to our exercises, of which we are not the *actors*, but the *passive subjects*, is properly no sin at all. It is an abuse of the term to call it sin. The Bible presents us with no such form of sin as this.

We reject, then, the second theory as to the sin of infants, and are brought to a consideration of the third, viz. that the infant has active moral affections from the first, and that these are selfish and sinful.

And what objection is there to this supposition? If the infant is a human being, then it has a human soul, an intelligent, immortal soul, a soul possessed of all the faculties requisite to moral agency; and the presumption is, that these faculties are *active*. It is not too much to say, indeed, that we *know* they are active.

According to the most approved metaphysicians, the three great departments of the human mind are the *intellect*, *sensibilities* and *will*; and we know that the infant possesses all these, and that they are *active*, from the first. As before remarked, the infant begins to receive ideas from the outer world, the moment it enters it; which shows that the *intellect* is active. These ideas or impressions awaken feeling, which is almost immediately manifested, in one way or another.

This shows that the *sensibilities* are active. Very shortly, too, the muscles, the limbs begin to move, not as, *ante partum*, from the life of the mother, but from the child's own *separate, individual life*; which shows that the *will* is active. Here now is a human soul, having all the faculties, the susceptibilities of a soul, and each of them in an active state. What objection, then, to the supposition, that this soul has internal exercises and affections, and that these may be sinful?

Our belief is, that in the conceptions ordinarily entertained as to the capacities of infant children, we do them great injustice. They have not, indeed, sufficient knowledge to warrant the supposition that they are preëxistent spirits from some other world. But their capacities are much more vigorous and active than we are wont to imagine. It cannot be doubted, that the child of ordinary capacity receives more new ideas, during the first year of his life, than in any subsequent year. It becomes familiar with all surrounding objects. It acquires, among a thousand other things, the elements of a language. If it cannot speak (as many can) its mother tongue, it can *understand* it, in all its simpler and more common uses. And yet it has been made a question, whether little children have souls, whether they have any intelligence at all, whether they are capable of knowing anything. We would as soon doubt whether the man who raises such a question, has a soul, as whether the child has of whom he speaks.

But it will be said that sin is the transgression of a known law; and, as the infant has no knowledge of God or his law, therefore, it is incapable of sinning. "Sin," according to the Scriptures, "is the transgression of the law," not of a *known* law; though in a qualified sense, it may be admitted that the latter is true. But how much is meant, when it is said that sin is a transgression of a *known* law? Must the child, before it can sin, be old enough to be instructed as to the existence and government of God, and the claims of his law? Then many adult persons cannot sin. On this ground, the whole class of uneducated deaf-mutes would be incapable of sinning; and the same may be said of a large proportion of the heathen. These have never been instructed as to God or his law, and have no proper conceptions of either. It will not be pretended, therefore, that sin is the transgression of known law, in such a sense as this.

Every human being may be supposed to have, in the language of Paul, "the law of God written on the heart" (Rom. 2: 15). In other words, every human being has the capacity of moral perception, and

has *some degree* of such perception, *some* knowledge of the right, in distinction from the wrong. This the heathen have. This also has the deaf-mute. This the child has very early, and *may have*, for aught we know to the contrary, from the first. Why may it not as easily and as early perceive the difference between right and wrong, as that between different colors, or sounds? Of this law written on the heart of every human being, sin is a transgression; and if infants are human beings, they are capable of it. Yea, more than this, they are *chargeable with it*; for we have before proved that they are sinners.

Selfishness, in a human being, is always sin. This proposition is indubitable. And of this hateful affection, children are as capable in infancy, as they ever are. Indeed, they begin to manifest their selfishness, and various other forms of sin, as soon as they exhibit anything, almost as soon as they are born. How long do children ordinarily live, before they begin to manifest peevishness, fretfulness, impatience, or stubborn will, resistance to parental authority, and other like forms of wickedness?

But we read of some in the Bible, it is said, who "had no knowledge between good and evil." Such persons, surely, could not sin. Moses does indeed say, in a single instance: "Your children which, in that day, had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall inherit the land, and unto them will I give it." (Deut. 1: 39.) But does Moses mean to represent these children as without the faculties of moral agents; without any character, good or bad; as having little more than an animal existence? We do not so understand the passage. Moses here adopts a very common description of little children, whose knowledge is limited, and who have had no positive instruction respecting God or his law. Of such children it may be said, in a qualified sense, that they "have no knowledge between good and evil," comparatively none; while yet they may "have the law written on the heart," and may habitually transgress it. Does any one doubt, that the children, in that congregation which came out of Egypt, were selfish beings; or that selfishness, in a human heart, is always sin?

We have now shown that infant children have a moral and sinful character, and on what grounds they are to be regarded as possessing such a character; not that they come into the world sinners from some preëxistent state; nor that they have a sinful nature, but no actual sin. They are sinners, because they are selfish creatures. They have the germs, the buddings, the beginnings of selfishness from the first; and all selfishness is sin.

And now if any one ask us, how such infants are to be saved, we answer: In much the same manner as adults. The adult has a sinful, selfish heart, which must be changed by the Holy Spirit, if he is ever saved; and so has the infant. The adult must be forgiven through the atonement of Christ; and so must the infant. Both are saved, if saved at all, through the washing of regeneration, and the sprinkling of atoning blood.

Those who regard the infant mind as *disordered* on account of the fall, but not sinful, believe that the Holy Spirit comes into it, and corrects its disorders, and they call this correction regeneration. But it is no regeneration, in the Gospel sense. Regeneration is a change of *heart*, of the *moral affections*, from sin to holiness. But the infant, according to the supposition, has no moral affections to be changed. It has no sinful heart to be renewed. It is as incapable of regeneration, in the proper sense of the term, as a brute. And as to its indebtedness to Christ for the forgiveness of sins, this too is impossible; because it has no sins to be forgiven.

Those who hold to the sin of nature, without actual sin, believe that the blood of atonement is in some way applied for the cleansing of this nature, after which the subject is prepared for heaven. But we see no adaptedness in the atonement to effect such a result, nor is it likely that it was ever effected. What is the atonement? Not the payment of a debt, or the washing away of sin, *volens volens*. The atonement is simply a *foundation*, on which sin, when forsaken, can be forgiven. Of itself, the atonement saves nobody. The blood of atonement washes away no sin, whether original or actual, whether in the adult or the infant, until that sin, through the grace of the Spirit, is repented of and put away.

But it will be asked: If the infant is capable of sinning, is it capable also of repenting of his sins, so that they may be washed away? To this we reply: If the infant has moral affections at all, then these may be changed, from selfishness to benevolence, from sin to holiness; in which case it will have the *element* of repentance, though not, perhaps, the precise form of it. It has that which *will be* repentance, the moment it comes to a sight and sense of its sins. In this respect, the case of the infant resembles that of a pious heathen. We can conceive of a heathen, who may be saved by Christ, though he has never heard of him, and, of course, has never exercised that form of holiness which we call *faith*. But if he is truly pious, he has the *element* of faith, though not the form. He has that which *will be* faith, the moment he comes where his Saviour is. And so of

the renewed infant. Its affections being changed from sin to holiness, he has now the element of *all* holiness. And his holiness will assume the different forms of repentance, faith, submission, love, whenever the appropriate objects of these several graces are presented to its mind.

It is a recommendation of the view here taken as to the character and prospects of infants, that it places them among the human race, and makes the ground of their salvation the same as that of the rest of mankind. If they are saved at all, as we hope and trust they are, they are saved, like other sinners, on the ground of the Gospel. They are renewed, pardoned, adopted into the family of God, and become his children. And when they are taken up to heaven, they will stand there, not on the ground of their own merits, neither as beings whose disorders have been corrected, but who have nought to be forgiven. They will stand up in the midst of the ransomed throng, and unite with them in singing: "Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast *redeemed us to God by thy blood*, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation."

There is yet another advantage of the view we have taken. It removes all embarrassment as to the *time* when infant children begin to act for themselves, and holds out the strongest inducements to parental fidelity. The question is frequently asked: When do children begin to be moral agents, to act for themselves, and to be guilty of actual sin? On the theories we reject, these are impracticable questions. They never have been answered, and never can be. But on the theory we propose, there is no difficulty. The child begins to be a moral agent, to act for himself, and to commit sin, from the first. It receives its soul, as Adam did his, with the first breath of life, and sets up for itself, a moral agent, as soon as it is born. Its capacities are indeed feeble, its exercises feeble, and its sin of small account, compared with what it will be, if persisted in, in future years; still, it is selfishness, it is sin, it is of the same hateful nature as other sin, and, if left unrestrained and unbroken, will soon branch forth into the most frightful forms of wickedness.

And now if it be asked: How long may this little one's salvation be hoped for, *as an infant*, in case it is removed by death,—we answer: its salvation is not to be looked for at all, except as it is renewed by the Holy Spirit, and washed in the atoning blood of Christ. So long as the infant is *incapable* of parental instruction, it may be hoped that the Spirit will do for it, *without* such instruction, what,

later in life, it could only be expected to do with it. And as soon as the period of instruction arrives, and arrive it will very soon, if parents are faithful to the souls of their children, they have abundant reason to hope that, living or dying, God will bless them with his salvation.

Let them, then, commence early, and pursue assiduously, the work which God has given them to do. From the first, their children should be the objects of earnest prayer. From the first, they should be consecrated and devoted to the Lord. And as the infant mind begins to open, to receive impressions from parental lips, let their "doctrine drop as the rain, and distil as the dew; as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." For although, as we said, so long as the child is incapable of parental instruction, the Spirit may be relied upon to bestow his blessing without it; yet the Holy Spirit will never wink at parental unfaithfulness. He will not tolerate it, or connive at it. He will not make himself, in this way, the minister of sin. Parents who carelessly neglect their duties to their children, and trust to the Spirit for their conversion, will probably be disappointed. It will be no more than justice, if they should be.

It will be seen, then, how closely this subject urges upon all parents to be faithful. Let them do *their* work, and the Spirit will do his. But let them neglect their appropriate work, as parents, and trifle with their obligations, and there is little hope either for their children or themselves.

ARTICLE VI.

THE ALLEGED DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN PAUL AND JAMES.

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It is not because we believe that the mass of Protestant readers find serious difficulty in reconciling the language of James respecting justification with that of Paul, that we devote an article to the subject of the alleged discrepancies between these two inspired writers.

On the contrary, it has ever been to us a weighty argument for their substantial harmony, that plain, unsophisticated men, who take the whole Scriptures for their rule of faith and practice, feel no real contradiction between the teachings of Paul and James. For this case falls under the common principles of interpretation, by which every man of good sense, though he may never have stated them to himself in a scientific form, or have heard them so stated by others, is, nevertheless, constantly guided in ascertaining the true import of an author's words. When men write, as did Paul and James, for the common mind, the meaning which the common mind naturally gathers from their language, may be lawfully received as the true meaning. An exception may be, indeed, allowed in the case where allusions to ancient customs, institutions, or modes of thought, require the light of learned research to place the modern in the exact position of the ancient reader. But the present is not such a case. On the subject of justification the New Testament is its own interpreter, and needs not for its illustration the light of archaeological lore. Justly, then, may we adduce the fact that the great body of readers have never found serious difficulty in bringing the doctrines of Paul and James into harmony with each other, in evidence of their substantial agreement.

We think, nevertheless, that an investigation of the alleged disagreement between these two writers will be profitable, as furnishing an occasion for illustrating some important principles of interpretation; and, we would add, for showing how learned critics may dwell upon differences in the mode of apprehending, exhibiting or applying the self-same truth, until these differences grow, in their view, into irreconcilable contradictions of doctrine.

We begin with a statement of the points on which it is conceded that there is no contradiction between the views of James and Paul.

1. *Both teach that true faith is essentially connected with good works, so that an alleged faith that is without good works, is vain, and cannot avail to justification before God.*

This idea of faith without works James illustrates by two similitudes. The first is that of a man who shall say to the hungry and naked: "Depart in peace: be ye warmed and filled," but shall refuse to give "those things which are needful to the body." Here it is manifest that he means to exhibit an *empty* and *unreal* faith. For the love with which he compares it, being unaccompanied by deeds of mercy, is an empty and unreal love — a love which consists in word and in tongue only, not in deed and in truth.

The other similitude is drawn from the faith of devils. "Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble." In this he exhibits a *theoretical* faith unconnected with love and obedience. The faith of devils does, indeed, differ from the dead faith set forth by the first similitude. It is, in a certain sense, real, for it produces trembling. But, since it is not connected with love and good works, it agrees with the former kind of faith in the main point of being a *false*, and not a *true* faith.

These two comparisons, taken together, show that, in the mind of James "faith without works" is a spurious faith, and not that which the Gospel demands.

It would be wasting words to show that to such a spurious faith the Apostle Paul would deny, with as much vehemence as James, all saving efficacy. His view of faith makes it necessarily operative in good works; and of those who, professing to hold the doctrine of the cross, continue in the practice of sin, he affirms peremptorily that they "shall not inherit the kingdom of God." (1 Cor. 9: 10.)

2. *Both teach that they who do righteousness shall be justified and saved.*

A proud, self-righteous dependence upon works, as the meritorious ground of justification, the Apostle Paul does indeed combat with all the vehemence of Scriptural argumentation. Works performed in such a spirit have, with him, only the outward form of righteousness without its substance; nay more, they are positively sinful and abominable in God's sight. To be truly good, they must be done in the spirit of love, and in humble, believing dependence upon God's mercy. And here there is an entire agreement between him and James. The Epistle of the latter is throughout thoroughly opposed to the spirit of self-righteousness. He is not contending *for* works without faith, into which pride must of necessity enter as an essential element, but *against* faith without works. With him, not less than with the Apostle of the Gentiles, the life of a Christian is cast in the mould of constant prayerful dependence upon God. In proof of this let us look for a moment at a single passage of his Epistle. "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed. For let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord. A double-minded man" — divided between faith and unbelief — "is unstable in all his ways." (1: 5—8.)

The *subject-matter* of the prayer here recommended is "wisdom," which implies in the petitioner a humble, self-distrustful spirit. The *form* is that of unwavering faith in God's goodness and liberality; and this, again, carries, by necessary implication, the idea that the petitioner renounces all claim to the gift on the ground of his own merit. The expression, "and upbraideth not," presupposes, on the part of him who offers the prayer, a deep consciousness of his many infirmities and short-comings, and of the just ground which God has to withhold his gifts, or to accompany them with merited reproaches. The closing remark, "a double-minded man is unstable in all his ways" (which implies the constancy of the man of single-minded faith), brings to view the influence of such a humble, dependent, prayerful spirit, or of its opposite, upon the life. Here, then, we have that life of faith upon which the Apostle Paul insists, though not in a form so definite and perfectly developed.

Besides the above, and other similar passages, where faith is expressly recognized as the principle of the Christian life, it is to be further observed that the writer, through the whole progress of the Epistle, is continually dealing out heavy blows against that spirit of worldliness and pride which constitutes the very essence of Phariseism, as it was encountered by the Apostle Paul. This is admirably exhibited by Neander in his brief Commentary on the Epistle to James, in which he shows the entire unity of spirit and aim between the two writers. To this work we refer the reader, contenting ourselves with a single extract from it.

"The Pauline view of faith presupposes the strongly marked distinction between Law and Gospel, a doctrinal position opposed to legal righteousness, to the merit of one's own works. Opposition to the Jewish tendency to externals was the precise ground on which it planted itself; and where that tendency prevailed, a perverted form of this view could as little gain admission as the view itself.

"But to resume our question: may not this particular error, — the false idea of faith and over-estimation of mere faith, — which James opposes, be also traced back to the same radical tendency? Let us only compare what precedes and what follows the discussion of this topic in the second chapter. It is preceded (chap. i.) by a rebuke of those who founded an imaginary claim on the mere hearing of the word, on the mere knowledge of it, without holding themselves bound to practise it; to which is added the rebuke of a mere fancied and seeming service of God. What now is this but that very same spirit of reliance on the external, which manifests itself in a mere adherence to certain articles of faith, — faith in the one true God, the Messiah, — and on this ground alone claims to be righteous, without recognizing the

demands of this faith upon the life? As knowledge and practice are at war with each other, so are faith and life. A merely theoretical faith corresponds exactly to a merely theoretical knowledge. The same man, who satisfies himself with being able to discourse much of the law without obeying it, is also the one who makes a boast of his faith, without holding himself bound to the practice of that which faith requires. The same man who finds the essence of religion in certain external works, and claims to be a true worshipper of God merely on the ground of professing the true religion, is the one also who claims to be accounted righteous through a faith which produces no works. If we turn now to what follows (chap. iii.), we find that James is here rebuking those who were ever ready to exalt themselves into teachers of others; but who, by teaching what they did not practise, made themselves the more liable to condemnation. What then is this but that same radical tendency over again? And on what ground should we be justified in rendering the intermediate passage from its connection, and making it refer to something else, the explanation of which must be sought elsewhere than in this one radical tendency?

"It is true, that in the manner of meeting these errors, which we will now further consider, James is distinguished in a peculiar way from Paul. It is the more practical man in contrast with the more systematic; the man to whose wholly Jewish development, faith in Christ was superadded as the crown and completion,—in contrast with him, whose faith in Christ took the form of direct opposition to his earlier Jewish views, as the centre of a wholly new creation. Hence with James, opposition to error takes more the form of single propositions and exhortations; with Paul, it is a connected view, in which all proceeds from one central point. With James, the reference to Christ appears only as one particular among others, a peculiarity especially objected to this Epistle, as if Christ were not to be found in it; while with Paul, on the contrary, the chief object is to exalt Christ, who is everywhere placed foremost, and is everywhere represented as the centre of the whole life, from whom all is derived, to whom all is referred. But yet, in these single propositions and admonitions of James, we are able to trace the higher unity lying at the basis; and can show that all have reference to Christ as the living centre, even though he is not expressly named. There may be a form of moral development, which receives its true light and its true significance through reference to Him as its centre and source, although he is not expressly recognized by name; and his name may be often on the lips, while yet the whole inward character has formed itself without reference to Him. In this light we must now endeavor to understand the controversial and admonitory passages of this Epistle."

James does not, then, any more than Paul, ascribe saving efficacy to works without faith. The good works on which he insists flow from the spirit of love, faith and humility. They constitute, therefore, *true personal righteousness*, and not the false righteousness.

ness upon which the Jewish legalists rested their claim to God's favor.

Now the Scriptures uniformly represent that they who do righteousness — the true righteousness which we have been considering — shall be justified and saved. This they sometimes do in formal connection with the doctrine of faith, faith being regarded as the fountain, and good works as the stream issuing from this fountain (which is the most fundamental view of the subject); and sometimes in a simple and direct way; but always with the assumption that men live under an economy of grace which offers pardon to the penitent, and accepts sincere obedience, though it be alloyed with many imperfections.

In accordance with this principle, our Saviour often points out to his hearers *obedience to God's will* as the way of salvation. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. 7: 21.) To the young man who proposed to him the question: "Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" he gave a true answer: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Some, we are aware, have maintained that our Lord's object in this reply was to prepare the way for an exposition of the Divine law in its true character, in order that the young man might thus be convinced of the impossibility of salvation through the works of the law, and be shut up to the necessity of faith in himself. But this does not accord with either the simplicity and directness of our Lord's teachings, or with the general tenor of his instructions. Beyond all contradiction Jesus meant, by "keeping the commandments," keeping them in the spirit, and not in the letter only; and true spiritual obedience has, everywhere in God's word, the promise of eternal life. The first aim of the Saviour was, as it would seem, to turn away the inquirer's mind from self-imposed works of piety to the commandments of God. But when he betrayed his ignorance of the deep spiritual character of God's law, our Lord proposed a duty which put to the test the inmost affections of his bosom, and thus brought out distinctly to view the unwelcome truth that he was wholly under the control of a worldly spirit, and, by necessary consequence, destitute of all true obedience to God.

To the same purport are the words of Peter, uttered in view of Cornelius's account of the heavenly vision with which God had favored him: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh right-

eousness, is accepted with him." (Acts 10: 34, 35.) The reference of Peter is to the *past* life of Cornelius, while he was yet ignorant of the character and offices of Christ. He was "a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always." (Acts 10: 2.) These services, being performed in a humble, believing spirit, were acceptable to God, and he had manifested his approbation of them by instructing Cornelius in a vision how he might learn the way of salvation through Christ. The words of Peter, in his rehearsal of the matter at Jerusalem: "Who shall tell thee words, whereby thou and all thy house shall be saved" (Acts 11: 14), ought not to be so interpreted as to bring into the narrative an absurd and unscriptural idea — that of an impenitent man rendering to God acceptable service. The salvation which had come to Cornelius's house, before the preaching of Peter, existed, so to speak, in a rudimentary form. Its full development and completion was to be through faith in Christ crucified.

We now proceed to show that Paul also, not less directly than Christ and the Apostle of the circumcision, teaches that they who do righteousness, in the true, spiritual sense of the words, shall be justified and saved. Declarations to this effect will not of course occur in his arguments against Jewish legalists. But if we can find a passage where the question is not: *What is the meritorious ground of forgiveness of sin?* but: *What course of moral conduct will render a man acceptable to God?* there we may reasonably look for them. Now such a passage occurs in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where he is contending against precisely the same error which James attacks — a vain reliance on speculative notions and outward relations and privileges, unaccompanied by the substantial fruits of righteousness — and there we find, not that James has copied Paul, as De Wette and others groundlessly assume, but that the two writers, attacking the same error, naturally fall into the same method of argumentation.

Addressing the Jew who, glorying in his relations to Abraham, condemned the Gentiles for the sins which he himself committed, he says: "Who [God] will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor and peace, to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and

also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God." (Rom. 2: 6—11.)

Can any one show why the Apostle Paul is not, in this passage, as much of a "legalist" as James in the second chapter of his Epistle? Paul affirms that it is not hearing and understanding the law, but *doing* it, that brings salvation to the soul; James, that it is not hearing the Gospel and professing to believe it — "though a man *say* he hath faith" — but *doing* it. Can there be a parallelism more complete?

De Wette, who denies the possibility of reconciling the views of Paul and James respecting justification, admits that both writers are agreed in the position that a disciple of Christ is not justified by faith alone without works; but adds, that Paul "would never have said with James that one is justified by works."¹ But we here see that Paul does say this very thing. For if God renders "glory, honor and peace to every man that worketh good," does he not do it in view of his working good? And if "not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified," shall they not be justified because they have done the law? Would it not be well, then, before asserting the irreconcilable nature of the difference between Paul and James on the doctrine of justification, to inquire first how Paul's doctrine in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Romans can be reconciled with his doctrine in the third chapter? "Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only" (James 2: 24); "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law" (Rom. 3: 28); these two texts have often been arrayed, like hostile combatants, against each other. But is there between them any more discrepancy than between the two following of Paul: "Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified;" "A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law?" In the latter case the commentators justly reconcile these different, and apparently contradictory statements, by a consideration of the different objects which the Apostle had in view. Like every other writer of good sense, he adapts, they tell us, his language to the case in hand. If he is discussing the question of the *meritorious ground* of forgiveness and justification, he tells us that "a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law." But if the question is: *What course of moral conduct* is acceptable to God? he affirms that "not the

¹ Niemals würde er mit Jak. gesagt haben, dass man durch werke gerechtfertigt werde. — *Excursus ad locum.*

hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." A good and sufficient explanation this. Now let the same just canon of interpretation be applied to the language of James as compared with that of Paul, and the alleged discrepancy vanishes.

Here, then, we might rest the argument. If the error which James attacks Paul also condemns, and if the position which James assumes Paul also defends, why talk any longer of irreconcilable disagreement? But since some writers of no mean standing, as, for example, Hug, have strenuously maintained that there is in the Epistle of James express reference to the Pauline doctrine of justification, and that he aims, if not to refute the doctrine itself, at least to oppose a one-sided and erroneous view of it, which was likely to become the prevalent view, a further discussion of the question seems to be necessary.

And here the question respecting the *date* of the Epistle immediately forces itself upon our attention. Hug, who maintains that it was "written of set purpose against Paul, against the doctrine that faith procures man justification and the Divine favor," assumes for its origin a time not long after the Epistle to the Hebrews had reached Palestine, that is, about the beginning of the tenth year of Nero; and it has been the fashion of the critics generally, with some notable exceptions however, to assign to the Epistle a post-Pauline origin. But the weight of evidence seems to us to preponderate very decidedly on the other side.

And, *first*, the hypothesis of its earlier composition best explains the fact that it is addressed exclusively to *Jewish believers*. That it is limited to these we assume as an indisputable fact. We are aware, indeed, that the expression used in the salutation, ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς, "to the twelve tribes," has been compared with the words of Paul, τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the Israel of God," that is, the *true church of God*. But the exactly equivalent expression, τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν, "our twelve tribes" (Acts 26: 7), denotes the *literal* Israel, and this is certainly the natural and obvious sense of the words in the salutation of James, especially when taken in connection with the words that follow, ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, "who are in the dispersion." We ought not to assume for the expression a metaphorical sense, without obvious necessity. But here no such necessity can be alleged; for there is not, throughout the whole Epistle, so much as a trace of the existence of Gentile converts in the churches addressed. The sins rebuked by the writer, such as a vain reliance on knowledge and speculative notions without obedience, anxiety to usurp the office of teaching, a contentious and slanderous spirit,

"wars and fightings," contempt and oppression of the poor, and presumptuous devotion to the pursuit of worldly gain; are all thoroughly Jewish in their character. No man, who is not under the influence of a previously adopted theory, can, we think, peruse the Epistle without the conviction that it is addressed, as its salutation implies, to churches which are exclusively Jewish, or in which, at least, the Gentile element is not so considerable as to deserve separate notice.

Now it is conceded that "if the Epistle was not written," to use the words of Davidson, "till after the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, and if it was addressed to churches of Jewish Christians only, it is difficult to find such communities."¹ But, as the same writer shows, nothing militates against the supposition of the existence of many such churches at an earlier date. In the beginning of Christianity the spread of the Gospel among the Jews was exceedingly rapid. Very early in its history, after the lapse of only a few weeks at the farthest, we are told that, in Jerusalem, "the number of the men was about five thousand" (Acts 4: 4); and, after this, that "believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women" (5: 14). After the murder of Stephen, there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judaea and Samaria, except the apostles" (Acts 8: 1). These converts, we are told, "went everywhere, preaching the word" (v. 4). Again we read that "they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word unto none but unto Jews only (Acts 11: 19); until, at Antioch, some of them "spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord" (vs. 20, 21).

It would be absurd to suppose that the above is a full record of the labors performed by these Jewish converts out of Palestine. The history contained in the Acts of the Apostles is confessedly fragmentary, covering only detached portions of the whole great field of Christian activity. The present seems to be given simply as a *particular case* which the writer wishes to connect with the important event of Paul's coming from Tarsus to Antioch. We have reason to believe that the primitive Jewish converts spread themselves throughout all the regions bordering on Palestine, and abounding with Jews; and that everywhere they observed, at least for a considerable period

¹ Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. III. p. 322.

of time, the rule of "preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only." Nothing forbids us to suppose that, under their labors, were founded numerous Jewish churches, such as those which the writer of this Epistle manifestly addresses. The visit of Barnabas to Tarsus to seek Paul (which was in close connection with the first preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles), is generally placed in A. D. 43. This allows ample time for the wide diffusion of Christianity among the Jews who lived out of Palestine.

Secondly, the hypothesis of the early composition of the Epistle explains the circumstance that it contains no allusion to any controversy respecting the obligation of Gentile converts to observe circumcision and the law of Moses. This acknowledged characteristic of the Epistle, De Wette uses as an argument for the *post-apostolic* date of its composition. The controversy respecting justification (in which he represents James as taking towards Paul an antagonistic position) hinges no longer, he tells us, as in Acts xv, Gal. iii, etc., on the observance of the Mosaic law; the author is through in respect to that question; he knows only the "law of liberty."

A far more natural explanation of this fact is furnished by the supposition that the Epistle was written *before the origin* of the controversy respecting the obligation of the Gentiles to keep the law of Moses. Of this controversy the history is given in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts; and from this we learn that it first arose, as it was natural it should, in immediate connection with the very successful labors of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles. Up to that period there had been no occasion for any serious discussion of the question; since the great body of converts consisted of Jews, who, while they received Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah promised to their fathers, yet persevered as before in the observance of the Mosaic ceremonies. An Epistle written, as we assume this to have been, some time before the convocation of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem recorded in Acts xv, would, as a matter of course, be silent respecting a controversy which had as yet no existence.

If, now, we suppose the Epistle to have been written soon after the death of James the brother of John,¹ which event took place A. D. 44, and before the origin of the controversy between the Jews and Gentiles respecting the observance of the law of Moses; while

¹ We intentionally omit all discussion of the vexed question respecting the person of James, assuming that, whether he was or was not identical with James the son of Alphaeus, he was the man who, according to the uniform testimony of antiquity, presided for many years over the church in Jerusalem.

as yet Christianity was regarded not as a new form of religion, but rather as the old form of Judaism exalted to its most perfect condition; while the number of the Gentile converts was comparatively few, and even these were considered rather as accessions to the Jewish religion, in its most perfect form, than as a portion of the Christian church exempted from obligation to the Mosaic ritual (an idea which was certainly not apprehended by the churches before the labors of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles) — if we assume this hypothesis, then, so far as concerns the persons addressed and the method of reasoning, everything appears natural and in place. This cannot, we think, be affirmed of any other hypothesis.¹

The above view is substantially that maintained by Schneckenburger, Neander, Davidson, and others. It is also adopted by Alford, as is manifest from a remark in his Commentary upon the Gospel of Matthew, 24: 12, where he calls this Epistle of James “the earliest Apostolic Epistle.”

But against the above view of the early origin of this Epistle various arguments have been urged, the principal of which will now be considered.

1. It is difficult to believe that the abuses censured in the Epistle could, at so early a period, have taken such deep root. This objection De Wette presses in proof of the *post-apostolic* origin of the Epistle.² With more show of reason might it be urged in favor of the date assigned by Hug and others, viz. about A. D. 62; for the corruptions which it portrays correspond well with the predictions of our Saviour and his Apostles respecting “the last days” (Matt. 24: 12. Acts 20: 29, 30. 2 Tim. 3: 1—5). Yet, without denying altogether its force as an argument for the later *apostolic* composition of the Epistle, we think that a careful consideration of the history of the Corinthian church will show that it is far from being conclusive. Five years had scarcely elapsed since the formation of that church, when it became necessary that Paul should rebuke its members for vices and irregularities of a very gross character. Nor ought this to be to any a matter of surprise. The idea that the primitive churches

¹ Other arguments for an early date which appear to us of doubtful validity, such as that drawn from the use of the word *συναγωγή*, we have omitted. And we shall, in like manner, pay no regard to sundry frivolous objections, such as that no adequate reason can be assigned why James should have addressed a general letter to all Christians; and that the external conveniences enjoyed by the Christian assemblies (2: 2, 3), betray a later period.

² Introduction to his Commentary on James, p. 104.

were suddenly and at once elevated above the influence of the vice and ignorance in which most of the members had passed their lives, and above the contamination, also, of the extremely corrupt state of society by which they were surrounded, is more romantic than Scriptural. It is as contrary to historic truth, as to the entire analogy of the plan of redemption. The vices which infected the Corinthian church were, as was natural, those to which its members had been addicted before their conversion — the prevailing vices of the city and region. How early they manifested their insidious power, and to what a lamentable extent, the two Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians clearly inform us.

Let, now, the same rational principle be applied to the Jewish churches addressed by James. The Jewish people had become, as a body, exceedingly corrupt. Glorifying in their prerogative as the children of Abraham, boasting of their superior light and knowledge, despising the Gentiles as involved in the ignorance and vice of idolatry; they cherished a proud, worldly, rebellious and contentious spirit, such as that against which believers are warned in the present Epistle. We are aware that Macknight and others argue from the “wars and fightings” to which James alludes, that he must have written just before the overthrow of the Jewish nation by the arms of Rome. But, admitting that these “wars and fightings” were of the nature of seditions and insurrections, rather than of contentions among themselves about rank, property, and the like (which is very doubtful), still the argument is not conclusive. For that last terrible outburst of insurrection which involved the Jewish nation in irretrievable ruin, was not the sudden rise of a new spirit, but rather the culmination, so to speak, of an old spirit of strife and sedition that had been long actively operating in the bosom of Judaism. “During the three centuries preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, and while, with transient intermissions, this nation of true worshippers was contending against the Macedonian, Syrian and Egyptian kings, or fretting under the pressure of the Roman power, there was going on a slow accumulation of those emotions upon the national mind — intense, profound and ungovernable, which, after many a portentous heave, at last burst forth, and spread a universal ruin.”¹

Now it was natural that the peculiar vices of Judaism, in the midst of which the Jewish converts had lived and moved from childhood, should very early insinuate themselves into their churches, and should require precisely such rebukes as are administered by James in the

¹ Fanaticism by Isaac Taylor, Section 7.

Epistle now under consideration. We see, then, no necessity for assuming so late a date as A. D. 62, or 63. If five years sufficed to develop in Corinth such gross *heathenish* irregularities as those reproved by Paul, why should not a longer period of years be adequate to account for the *Jewish* vices rebuked by James?

2. The repeated allusions to the speedy coming of Christ — “the coming of the Lord draweth nigh”; “behold the Judge standeth before the door” — have been supposed to indicate the late origin of the Epistle. It is not necessary, in the present discussion, to go into the question of the true meaning of these expressions. Let it be conceded, if so the reader choose, that they refer to the end of the world, of which the Christians of the primitive age seem to have thought in near connection with the predicted overthrow of Jerusalem. Now believers were taught that “of that day and hour knoweth no man,” and that it was their duty to hold themselves in constant readiness for it. Even this interpretation, then, of the words furnishes no serious objection to the early date of the Epistle, and that other interpretations can furnish no objection whatever, is manifest.

3. The author of this Epistle is alleged to have borrowed ideas and forms of expression from the Epistles of Paul. A full examination of this argument would require a comparison of the various passages of James, in which the hand of an imitator is said to be visible, with the corresponding passages of Paul's Epistles. This is a work which we would most willingly undertake, did our limits permit it, and from some examination which we have already made, we are quite certain that the allegation of imitation would appear to be groundless. At present we can only indicate the principles upon which such an investigation should be conducted. It being conceded, then, as it must be by every reasonable critic, that the general style of James betrays no marks of a copyist, but is, on the contrary, exceedingly original, fresh and lively, the question respecting his borrowing from Paul is reduced at once to an inquiry about particular words, phrases and ideas. Now, so far as these can be shown to have belonged to the common stock of Jewish religious thought and phraseology, the employment of the same words, phrases and ideas by two writers cannot prove that the one borrowed from the other. There must be, beyond this, such special coincidences in the connection of the thoughts and the costume of the arguments as cannot be explained from a common religious education. But between Paul and James no such special coincidences can be made out. The most striking agreement adduced by Schott is James 1: 3, compared with Rom.

5: 3.¹ And here the only identical phrase is *ὑπομονὴν παραγαίτουναι*, "*worketh endurance*," while the idea that afflictions, as producing this good result, should be undergone with alacrity, was thoroughly familiar to the Jewish mind. But many of the alleged parallelisms contain not even the semblance of proof; as, for example, James 1: 18, compared with Rom. 8: 23, where the same Jewish term, *ἀναγχή*, is indeed used, but in totally different connections.²

4. We come now to the main argument of Hug for the later composition of the Epistle, which is, that it furnishes internal evidence of having been written, at least a portion of it, in opposition to Paul's doctrine of justification by faith without the works of the law. On this point he uses very strong language, affirming that "it cannot be by chance that they resemble each other so much in their modes of presenting their arguments; and that "the Epistle was written of set purpose against Paul, against the doctrine that faith procures man justification and the Divine favor."³

We have already seen that the views of Paul and James, fairly interpreted from their connection and scope, are in entire harmony with each other. All that remains is to examine the alleged resemblance in their modes of presenting their arguments, which is supposed to prove that James had specific reference to the prior writings of Paul. With regard to the example of Abraham, Hug himself says: "It is not surprising that both sought in the life of Abraham support for entirely different positions, since the father of the whole Jewish nation and the earliest depository of the promises was an illustrious example of the Divine providence, to which the most dissimilar writers might easily have recourse, without mutual controversy or mutual concert." How, then, does the use which they make of Abraham's example prove that James had reference to Paul? "There is," says Hug, "this peculiarity in respect to the example of Abraham, that each draws his argument for his position from the same event in Abraham's life; and the same passage in the Old Testament; and that, in doing this, both have used almost exactly the same phraseology: Rom. 4: 1, 2, *Τί ἐροῦμεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα*

¹ Isagoge, § 91. note 20.

² This subject the reader will find discussed by Davidson in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. III. pp. 323, 324. In the same volume, p. 339 sq., he may see an examination of various arguments adduced by Kern, De Wette and Schwegler, to show the *post-apostolic* origin of the Epistle, and consequently its *apocryphousness*. Into this general question our limits will not permit us to enter.

³ Introduction to N. T., § 158; from which section also the quotations following are taken.

ἡμῶν εὐρησάναι . . . εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη; James 2: 21, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη." We answer, How could they well make use of Abraham's example, without both appealing to that most illustrious manifestation of his faith in the offering up of Isaac? And, in doing this, they must, of course, draw their arguments from the same event of Abraham's life. As to the allegation that "both have used almost exactly the same phraseology," an examination of the two passages compared by Hug shows that the sameness extends only to the two phrases, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, and, ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη. Now the former was an appellation of Abraham as common on the lips of Jews as is with us the expression, "our Puritan fathers;" and is just as weighty an argument to prove the reference of James to the writings of Paul, as would be the phrase "our Puritan fathers," employed by two New England divines, to show that the one must have had reference to the writings of the other. And, as to the expression ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, not only was δικαιωθῆναι a religious term in common use with all Jewish teachers, but it was employed in this very construction — δικαιωθῆναι ἐκ — the words λόγων, ἔργων, πίστεως, being added according to the subject matter under discussion. Thus our Saviour, in warning his disciples against the use of idle words, says: "Ἐκ γὰρ τῶν λόγων σου δικαιωθήσῃ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου καταδικασθήσῃ," "For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned;" where ἐκ is used, precisely as it is by James and Paul, of the ground of procedure.

But Hug further adds: "They then appeal alike to the words of Gen. 15: 6, Ἐπίστευσε Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην." We answer that, considering the nature of their arguments, they could not help appealing to this text, since it is perfectly unique, being the only declaration concerning Abraham's faith as the ground of his justification which his history furnishes. We think, then, that Hug's argument from the case of Abraham is utterly inconclusive.

"But the fact," says Hug, "that both seek in a person so inconsiderable, and so little praiseworthy as the harlot Rahab, an example and an argument in support of their opposite opinions, cannot be explained by saying that the preëminence and extreme interest belonging to the person, might have attracted the attention of both."

We cannot but think that this is estimating "the preëminence and extreme interest belonging to the person" whose example is adduced upon a very erroneous principle. These would, in the mind of an inspired Apostle, be determined not so much by the outward rank of

the person, as by the inward splendor of the faith exercised. The faith of the penitent malefactor is not the less illustrious, nor the less frequently referred to by Christian divines, because he was a person "so inconsiderable and so little praiseworthy." Rather does the meanness of his external condition add to the brightness of the example which he has left us. "This thief," says Alford, "would fill a conspicuous place in a list of the triumphs of faith supplementary to Heb. xi."¹ So also the humble outward condition of Rahab makes her example, for all spiritual purposes, not the less, but the more illustrious. It is such an exemplification of faith, in its nature and effects, as finds few parallels in the Old Testament; and it is, moreover, intimately connected with a most conspicuous portion of the Israelitish history.

But of the example of Rahab, Hug affirms that "the brief manner in which it is treated by both writers exhibits a similarity more than accidental." Let us examine the proof by which this assertion is sustained. (1) Both writers designate Rahab by the epithet *ἡ πόρνη*, *the harlot*. Answer: they could not well help doing so, since that is the very epithet applied to her in the Old Testament in *all the passages where she is mentioned*. (Josh. 2: 1. 6: 17, 25.) (2) Both speak of her receiving the spies, "and James uses the same word in the same participial form." On this we remark that it was the one simple act of receiving into her house the spies, in which Rahab manifested both her faith and her works. That *any* two writers, who had occasion to use her example, should name this act, was exceedingly natural, we might say, unavoidable; and they would be very apt, moreover, in perfect accordance with the idiom of the Greek, to employ the same participial form, the aorist, which is the true tense of history. But, to show how little ground there is for supposing that James copied from the Epistle to the Hebrews, we set down the words of the two writers side by side.

JAMES 2: 25.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ὑποδεξαμένη τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ ἐτέρα, ὅψιν ἐβαλοῖσα;

HEBREWS 11: 31.

Πίστει Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐ συναπώλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν, δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους μετ' εἰρήνης.

The verbal agreement between these two passages extends, as the reader will see, to the single appellative, *Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη*, *Rahab the harlot*. Not another word, particles excepted, is the same; while

¹ Commentary on Luke 23: 39—43.

the circumstances added by the two writers — by the former, that she *sent them out another way*; by the latter, that her reception of them was *in peace* — are entirely different. Certainly this looks like the work of two independent authors.

There seems to be in the minds of many an impression that Paul not less than James has placed the two examples of the patriarch Abraham and the harlot Rahab in special connection with each other, and that too in a polemic discussion of the ground of justification. But let us look at facts. In the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, Paul dwells at length on the history of Abraham, as establishing, in opposition to Jewish legalism, the doctrine of justification by faith, but says not a word respecting Rahab. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, he does indeed mention the names of Abraham and of Rahab in the same chapter; but it is in the midst of a *long catalogue of worthies*, so that Rahab's example is brought into no nearer connection with that of Abraham, than are the examples of a dozen other Old Testament personages. If we even make the supposition that James *had read* the Epistle to the Hebrews, this does not explain the phenomenon of his selecting from the whole list her particular case. After the example of Abraham, that of Rahab may have suggested itself upon the principle of contrast in respect to outward condition; or, as several writers have remarked, "the example of Rahab may have been current in the mouths of the people;" or his mind may have been led to it from the influence of some law of association too subtle for us to trace. However this may be, it remains true that her example holds, in the Old Testament record, a prominent place, and that it was alike pertinent to the scope of each writer.

Nor is it true that the object of the writer to the Hebrews, in giving us this long catalogue of worthies, is to establish the doctrine of justification by faith in opposition to Jewish legalism. His manifest aim is *to illustrate the nature and effects of faith*, upon the silent assumption, indeed, that this is the ground of justification, but not, as in the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, in any polemic connection.

The above comparison of the arguments for and against the early composition of the Epistle of James, gives, we think, the preponderance to the evidence in favor of its early date; and, by necessary consequence, of its independence in respect to the Pauline epistles.

But we are far from thinking that the establishment of its prior date is necessary to the maintenance of its substantial harmony with the writings of Paul. If, as we trust it has been sufficiently shown, the language of the one, fairly interpreted from its connection and scope, contains no contradiction to the views of the other, then we may readily grant (though we think the supposition unwarranted) that James wrote after Paul; and, further, that he had a general reference to perversions of Paul's doctrine concerning justification. Some may, indeed, think that, in this case, he would have expressly guarded his readers against the idea that he was writing to contradict the doctrine of justification as taught by Paul himself. But it is only a lower degree of confidence that leads to the employment of caveats of this kind. The highest state of confidence, such as we know from the Acts of the Apostles that James reposed in Paul, whose apostleship he acknowledged, would make it to him unnecessary, in combating manifest perversions of Paul's writings, to put in the declaration that he did not mean to combat Paul himself.

In bringing the present article to a close, we wish briefly to notice a characteristic of the Epistle of James from which different writers have drawn very different conclusions: to wit, that, in this Epistle, the statement of Christian doctrine is imperfect and incomplete, containing no allusion to the expiatory nature of Christ's death; and that the position which the writer occupies seems to be peculiarly Jewish. Some, as Neander, explain this phenomenon upon the supposition that James, in the development of his views, stood only on the threshold of the doctrinal system peculiar to the new religion; others, as Davidson, think that the author may have adopted this method of instruction in consequence of the state of mind belonging to the persons addressed, becoming, by a wise condescension to the spiritual condition of his hearers, as a Jew to the Jews; while Kern finds in the absence of the essential principles of Christianity, as those concerning the death of Jesus, concerning redemption and expiation, and concerning the Holy Ghost, proof of the *post-apostolic* composition of the Epistle.

So far as the absence of definite reference to the doctrine of redemption through the expiatory death of Christ has any bearing upon the date of the Epistle, it favors its earlier origin; for this doctrine, though contained from the very first in the Gospel as a vital principle, having been clearly taught by the Saviour himself, was yet gradually developed to the apprehension of the Christian church, under the revelations of the Holy Ghost, and attained to its full and perfect

form and just prominence in the Christian system only by being brought into conflict with Jewish legalism.

We do not find, however, in the character of the Epistle now under consideration anything mysterious or difficult of solution. The fact of the absence of any formal statement of the doctrine of redemption through the blood of Christ may, in our view, be explained by referring,

First, to the *end* which the writer proposed to himself. This did not require such a statement. It cannot be reasonably demanded of any teacher, inspired or uninspired, that, in the compass of a single letter not longer than the present, he shall develop all the parts of the plan of salvation. If what he says be true, and pertinent to the points discussed, that is enough.

Secondly, to the writer's *peculiar turn of mind*; to which, perhaps, we may add, with Neander, his peculiar religious history, as one who had passed, without any abrupt change, from Judaism to Christianity. The Gospel allows each man the free exercise of his own individuality. One of its excellences is that it can enter into and sanctify minds of every order, and in every stage of development; not annihilating, but purifying and ennobling what is peculiar to each. We may readily concede that the Apostle Paul, with his religious experience and his field of Christian activity, would probably have introduced the doctrine of redemption through Christ's blood more than once in the course of an Epistle of equal length, without thereby condemning James. Each had from one and the same Divine Spirit his peculiar gifts, which he exercised with equal acceptableness to the great Head of the Church, and with equal adaptation to the wants of his fellow Christians.

As a suitable conclusion to the present discussion we add an exposition of the last six verses of the second chapter of James.

Verses 21, 22: "Was not Abraham our father justified from works [*ἐξ ἔργων, ἐκ of the ground*] when he had offered up Isaac his son upon the altar? Thou seest that faith wrought with his works, and from works was faith made perfect."

These two verses are mutually explanatory of each other. The Apostle cannot mean that Abraham *first came into a state of justification before God*, when he offered up Isaac, and *by that act*; for the narrative declares of him, many years before, that "he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness" (Gen. 15: 6).

Neither does the idea seem to be that, by this particular act, his

faith *first manifested itself before men as true faith*; for he had before this performed other works of faith — all the works that had been enjoined upon him.

Neither, for both the above reasons, can the meaning be that his faith had before been in its nature incomplete, and that it now *received an addition which made it perfect*.

But James conceives of faith and works as in their nature inseparable, and as *constituting together one perfect whole*. They may be compared to a fountain and a stream, the absence of either of which implies the absence of the other. According to this view, faith and works had, from the first, been united in Abraham, and by his works his faith had, all along the path of his history, been made perfect. But this *one* work is selected on account of its preëminence, and it stands as the representative of a life of works, wrought in faith, and making the faith from which they flowed perfect.

V. 23: "And the Scripture was fulfilled [*ἐπληρώθη*, *was verified*, or *its declaration made good*; viz. by Abraham's having not a dead faith, but one which wrought with his works] which saith: And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God." (Is. 41: 8. 2 Chron. 20: 7.)

V. 24: "Ye see that a man is justified from works [that is, as the previous verses show, from works coöperating with his faith, and making his faith complete] and not from faith only." This is only a generalization of what has been shown in respect to Abraham.

V. 25: "But in like manner was not also Rahab the harlot justified from works, when she had received the messengers and sent them forth another way?" No one will deny the writer's meaning to be that Rahab, like Abraham, was justified *from works coöperating with faith and making faith complete*. We need not, then, dwell upon this example.

What, then, does James teach? That a man, discarding the principle of faith, may be justified from works alone? Far from it. The truth upon which he is insisting is that *works are inseparable from true faith, and, therefore, necessary to its completeness in respect to its nature*. This idea he brings out very distinctly in the next verse.

V. 26: "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also." It would seem, at first view, more natural to consider faith as the animating principle, and works as receiving from faith their vitality. And this corresponds, we think, more nearly with the Apostle Paul's view, that works are a visible outflow from faith dwelling in the soul. But the view of James, fairly inter-

preted from the context, is, metaphysically as well as popularly considered, strictly accurate. For if good works inhere in faith, as has been shown, so that they naturally and necessarily flow from it, as light and heat from the sun, then their absence vitiates the very nature of faith, and makes it "dead, being alone."

There is another principle which will illustrate the language of James in this last verse. The faith upon which both he and Paul insist, is a "faith which worketh by love. Faith and obedience — the obedience which embodies itself in *good works* — both have for their ground-principle holy love; and, where this principle exists, it produces both by the same necessity; so that if one be present the other must accompany it, and if one be absent, the other can exist only in name; and may be well described as "dead, being alone." Thus we have, in the absence of love, the same essential spirit of formalism manifesting itself in a two-fold way. First, there is the formalism of *works without faith*, in other words, of Phariseeism as encountered by the Apostle Paul; proud, self-righteous and self-sufficient; resting, for its ground of justification, on the merit of outward religious observances. Secondly, there is the formalism of *orthodox profession without good works*, as encountered by James; equally proud, self-righteous and self-sufficient; prone to usurp the office of teaching others ("my brethren, be not many masters"); virulent and abusive in its language ("therewith curse we men which are made after the similitude of God"); destitute of the substantial fruits of godliness; "earthly, sensual, devilish." "It is only a different form of development which is here [in the Epistle of James] treated of; the same radical tendency is too obvious to be mistaken. There were two leading forms of this tendency. One of these consisted in an undue estimation of outward works of the law; the other exalted the mere knowledge of the law, of the true God, and of what pertains to his worship, into the principal thing; and, on the ground of knowledge merely — of the mere profession of belief, of faith simply as an act of the understanding — claimed superiority over the Gentiles, although the course of life by no means corresponded to this knowledge and outward profession."¹

¹ Neander's Commentary on James, pp. 29, 30.

ARTICLE VII.

LIFE AND SERVICES OF PROFESSOR B. B. EDWARDS.

A Discourse delivered June 25, 1852, in the Chapel of the Andover Theological Seminary. By Edwards A. Park.

John 21: 7. — THAT DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED.

MEN will cross the sea in order to view a mountain or a waterfall; but there is more grandeur in the human spirit, than in all material nature. There is a glory of the sun, another of the moon, and another of the stars, but the glory of one mind excelleth them all. What shall it profit a man, if he gain all worlds, and lose his own soul! And we feel a peculiar interest in the mind which has an original, distinctive character. The mass of men copy after one another. They lose their individual traits. But when we find the man who has a character of his own, and exhibits a marked specimen of human worth, we pause and survey and admire. Especially are our hearts drawn toward him, when he may be described, not as a philosopher whom men respect, not as a patriot whom they applaud, but, in the beautiful words of our text, as *that disciple whom Jesus loved*.

The brother who has so recently been called to lean on his Redeemer's breast, had rare traits and a unique history. His character was formed by a severe discipline. We may estimate its worth by its cost. In proportion to our interest in it, is the difficulty of describing it. No man can paint the exact hues of the morning sky. In our attempts to portray the delicate features of our friend, we are often obliged to fall back on the comprehensive but apt designation: He was *that disciple whom Jesus loved*. Let us hear a broken narrative of his outer and his inner life.

BELA BATES EDWARDS was born at Southampton, Massachusetts, on the fourth of July, 1802. He had, therefore, nearly completed a half century, when, on the morning of April 20, 1852, he was called home. It was often a pleasing anticipation to him, that when he died he should go to dwell with a long line of godly progenitors. He sprang from that old Welsh family, which embraces among its descendants the two Jonathan Edwardses and President Dwight. His grand-

father, Samuel Edwards, was a parishioner of the exemplary divine at Northampton. Spiritually born under the instruction of the President, he loved to consider himself as a son of that great man. He removed to Southampton in middle age, and remained deacon of the church in that town, until he died, "an old disciple." Not long after the death of Samuel, his son Elisha Edwards, the father of our friend, was chosen deacon of the church, and he continued faithful in that office forty years. He was a vigorous, sedate, discreet man; a firm, well-informed, energetic, self-distrusting Christian. His wife, Ann Bates, was perhaps as highly esteemed as her husband, for a saint-like life, but was more versatile and sprightly. She died when her son, near whose fresh grave we are now convened, was in his twenty-fourth year. Those who saw him bending under this affliction, said one to another: "Behold how he loved her." He felt a pious joy in looking forward to his college vacations, when he might "place some greener sods upon her grave." In his thirty-first year, while called on official business to a great distance from Southampton, he heard of his father's ill health. He resolved to visit, at once, the scene where he feared that he was to be again bereaved. One of the parties interested in the official business, advised him to wait until he had completed all his engagements. "You do not know *what* a father I have to lose," was the filial reply of the mourner, who hastened to his desolate homestead. His household ties alone were strong enough to hold him back from many a youthful folly.

The childhood of our friend was a marked one. His baptism was a kind of epoch in that Abrahamic household. The rite was performed by Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Hadley, Massachusetts. The parents, especially the mother, dedicated their infant to God with an unaccountable, indefinable impression, that they were offering a peculiarly rich gift, and that signal blessings would attend the young child's life. The child grew, and won the general love by that sweetness of temper, which, as it cheered those who surrounded his cradle, afterwards soothed those who stood at his dying couch. He was not a forward nor a brilliant lad; he was modest and retiring; but he was often pointed at, as a model of conscientiousness and propriety to the other children of the neighborhood. His passion for books was developed early. He would read when other children played. Their gambols did not interrupt him, as he sat or lay upon the floor, with his eyes fastened upon the instructive page. Often, he did not hear the voice which summoned him from his volume of history to his field-work or to his meals. But, although he had his father's sedateness,

he had also his mother's vivacity. At certain times, he exhibited that sportive vein which, in his maturer years, enlivened his converse with select friends. He had not a boisterous wit, but a delicate mirthfulness flowed through his intercourse, like the gentle stream that variegates the fruit-bearing fields. In his tender childhood, his company was prized for that quiet humor suggesting more than was uttered; for that half serious smile giving the beholder only a glimpse of the innocent thoughts which prompted it; for that felicitous ambiguity of phrases stealing over the mind of the listener, first to surprise and then to gladden him. In maturer age, as if without intending it, he lighted up his statistical records, here and there, with the gleams of his chastened but playful fancy. Even in some of his most serious essays, we may detect the scintillation of his sprightly genius, illuminating the dark back-ground. In his last years, the light of his delicate wit seemed to hide itself more and more under the physical maladies and official cares that oppressed him, but it never faded entirely from the view of those who watched the last flickerings of his life. As he was in childhood the joy of the old patriarchal mansion, so even until the closing year of his half century, he was like the sunshine to his smiling household.

Our friend was not originally earnest for a collegiate training. He loved his home so well, that he shrunk from the thought of leaving it, even for the sake of mental culture. He already had access to a library of four or five hundred volumes, enough to satisfy his incipient thirst for information. But his parents were desirous that he should, and had a presentiment that he would, become a minister of the Gospel. He lived in a parish from which about thirty young men have gone into the learned professions. At the age of fourteen he began to prepare for college. The last summer of his preparatory course he spent with his revered friend, Rev. Moses Hallock of Plainfield, Massachusetts, a fatherly teacher, who trained during his pastorate about a hundred young men for collegiate life. Mr. Edwards entered Williams College in 1820, and, having remained there a twelvemonth, followed President Moore to Amherst, where, after three years of characteristic industry, he was graduated in 1824, at the age of twenty-two. His early field-labors had so invigorated his constitution that, without seeming to be fatigued or enfeebled, he could devote fourteen hours a day to the improvement of his mind. Even in his vacations, he shut himself up in his chamber at home, and thus acquired the name, among those who did not know his heart, of being

unsocial. Through life he kept up so close a companionship with the great and good men who communed with him in books, that strangers never learned the power of his social instincts. When we compare his earlier compositions with the classical and finished essays of his later days, we feel what we before knew, the amount and worth of his hard work. That polished elegance came not to him by chance. His compressed energy of diction he had never attained, but by a severe drilling of himself over the pages of Tacitus. His life is a commentary on the stubborn truth, that a scholar must make himself, and that, with rare exceptions, the Father of our spirits giveth skill in all kinds of cunning workmanship to him, and him only who endures hardness and presses through much tribulation.

The great event of Mr. Edwards's college life was not the success which rewarded his literary zeal, but it was the apparent renovation of his heart by the God of his fathers. In his junior year at Amherst, he heard that some friends in his native town had become especially earnest for the welfare of their souls. His quick sympathies were aroused, and he began to meditate on his own relation to God. The world would have predicted, that the seemingly harmless tenor of his former life would prepare him for a tranquil conversion, and that a confidence in his own beautiful morality would gently fade away into a trust in Christ, as the starlight loses itself in the shining of the sun. But the depths of sin that lay hidden under the apparent simplicity of his aims, were uncovered before him by the Spirit of grace. He saw the abysses of his depravity, and he recoiled from them. His iron diligence in study was now relaxed. At this time the first revival in Amherst College was in progress. He was unable to endure the power of that revival. His pent-up feelings drove him for relief to his old paternal roof. His father's voice had been often heard at midnight in prayer for the son who, in despite of all the reputed innocence of his life, had now come home like the down-stricken prodigal. One whole night that father and mother had spent in anxious entreaty for this their youngest surviving child, their Benjamin, whom they had consecrated to God with a prophetic faith. All the waves of the Divine judgment seemed now to be rolling over that cherished youth, and out of the depths was he crying, night and day, and all in vain, for one gleam of peace. Through ten successive days it seemed to him and to others, that he would faint under the sad revelations which he had received of his own enmity to God. His feet had well nigh slipped. His constitution broke down almost. We long to know the details of that dark scene.

But they are now among the secrets of the Almighty. Our friend was never able to describe them. Scarcely ever did he allude to them. He kept his classmates ignorant of them. All but two or three of his bosom friends supposed him to have been transformed in a comparatively placid way. The records of his Christian feeling he destroyed, for he was too lowly to think them fit for perusal, and it was his plan through life to conceal even the most interesting parts of his own history. One loose paper escaped him, and this probably marks the day when light from on high first dawned upon his soul. He writes:

"FEB. 24, 1823.

'I'll go to Jesus, though my sin
Hath like a mountain rose,
I know his courts, I'll enter in,
Whatever may oppose.'

B. B. EDWARDS."

"O God, in view of the worth of the soul, and the importance of the *present* time, I have made the above resolution, not, as I hope, in my own strength. O Lord, remove the blindness and stupidity which covers my soul, and enable me to carry my determination into effect, and to Thee shall be the glory forever."

Previously, our friend had been a scholar from taste and, as he would say, from ambition. He now became one from Christian principle. His piety gave new impulse and direction to his literary zeal. So it should be. A student's religion will prompt to a student's life. Six weeks after his self-dedication to God, this faithful man penned a series of resolutions, to remember that every moment is precious, to rise very early in the morning for his daily toils, to be punctual in attending the public and social religious exercises of the college, to keep the Sabbath holy, to spend a certain time every morning, noon and evening in secret devotion, to be benevolent and kind in all his intercourse with his fellow students and the world. The year after he was graduated he spent in superintending the academy at Ashfield, Massachusetts. Here, too, he made and resolutely followed another series of resolutions, to spend six and a half or seven hours of the twenty-four in sleep, six hours in his school-room, five hours, at least, in severe study, two hours in miscellaneous reading, the first and last hours of each day in prayer, and some time in physical exercise. To this last resolve he was no less religiously faithful than to the others. "Ashfield," he writes, five years afterward, "is one of the

cherished spots in my recollection. That little rivulet, — I know all its windings and all the murmurs which it makes; and the place where I read in the summer evenings, with no auditors” but those that lived in the branches of the trees.

It was in part by gratifying his love of nature, that our friend sustained his health amid the studies of his early manhood. In the rural scenes of his youth, he cultivated that sense of beauty, which ever afterward guided his thoughts and, in some degree, formed his character. Hour after hour did he regale himself at Amherst College, in looking out upon the fields which are spread along the banks of the Connecticut, and are bounded in the horizon by the wooded hills, and then in applying the words of a favorite Psalm, to express his adoring gratitude: “Thou visitest the earth and waterest it, thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water.” “Thou crownest the year with thy goodness, and thy paths drop fatness; they drop upon the pastures of the wilderness, and the little hills rejoice on every side. The pastures are clothed with flocks, the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing.” “I love,” he writes from Amherst, “to sit at my third-story window about sunset, and read aloud the 65th, 104th, 145th and 147th Psalms, imagining that David once sung these sweet strains to his lyre, as he stood on Mount Zion, or wandered along the vale of Cedron, or heard the ‘birds sing among the branches’ on the sides of Carmel. In the one hundred and fourth Psalm, after surveying the heavens and the earth ‘satisfied with the fruit of thy works, and the great and wide sea,’ with what transport does he exclaim: ‘I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live, I will sing praise unto my God while I have my being.’ To be able to utter such an exclamation in the sincerity of one’s heart, would be the perfection of happiness. If you will notice these animated Psalms, the description usually begins in heaven, an invocation to the angels, etc., exemplifying what Dr. Brown says, that the eye which looks to heaven seems, when it turns again to the objects of earth, to bring down with it a purer radiance, like the very beaming of the presence of the Divinity.”

In 1825 Mr. Edwards entered the Andover Theological Institution. Here, at once, his poetic soul dilated itself in “surveying the wide heavens that are stretched out over us.” In the depth of winter, he writes to a friend: “We have been living for two or three days past, in a world illuminated with gold and diamonds and all manner of unearthly things. I wish I could show you our sunseting at this

moment. It surpasses all description. The whole frame of nature looks like a mass of liquid gold. A flood of fire is poured from the 'fount of glory,' and a thousand forms of fleecy clouds are skirting the whole western horizon. Well may we exclaim, 'O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all. The spreading out of thy glory is in the earth and the heavens.'"

But when our friend came to this Seminary, he found a richer treasure than the sun, moon or stars could proffer him. He then entered on the Elysium of his life. As he devoted his first year to the Greek and Hebrew Bible, he was fascinated every day with its simple, artless idioms, its mysterious, exhaustless suggestions. And when we reflect that he was called away from earth in less than a third of a year after his first teacher at the Seminary, we find a sad pleasure in remembering, that his earliest letters from this hill, and also the latest letters which he ever wrote, with his hand emaciated by the touch of death, breathed a spirit of admiring gratitude to the man who first astonished him with the wealth that lay hidden in the field of sacred philology. Deeply was he moved, when he heard that his venerable friend had gone before him to converse with the Hebrew sages. "Professor Stuart," he said, "appears to me as a great and noble man. I should be really glad to pronounce his eulogy." He made this last remark, because he had been requested, months before, to edit the posthumous works and to write the personal history of his revered instructor. Nobly would he have performed this service. A distant age would have blessed God, for sending to us such a teacher, to be embalmed by such a pupil, — for allowing the strong features of our Luther to be sketched by the classic pencil of our Melancthon. Still, it was better that the affectionate disciple should go up to a higher school, and be welcomed by his early friend with a heartier enthusiasm, and be led through the glories of the upper temple by the same generous hand which had guided him here below into the sanctuary of biblical learning. So has God ordained it; and we rejoice that if our two friends must be severed from *our* communion, they may unite with *each other* in a companionship of sacred study. How natural, to suppose that "the old man eloquent" was among the first to expound the dark sayings of the prophets to that meek learner, who heard, and loved, and was silent, and adored!

At the close of his first Seminary year, in 1826, Mr. Edwards was called to a tutorship in Amherst College. For two years (between 1826 and 1828), he discharged the duties of this office with all that devotion to his *Alma Mater* which might have been expected from

his filial and reverent spirit. He felt a deep interest in the religious welfare of the students; and several ministers of the Gospel ascribe the great change of their life to the instrumentality of his prudent and affectionate counsels. He was the tutor to whom Mr. Abbott alludes in the tenth chapter of his *Corner Stone*, as making an effective address to a circle of irreligious students who had invited him to meet them, ostensibly for their improvement, but really for their sport. In the twenty-sixth year of his age, he had become so well known for his active Christian sympathies, that he was invited to several stations of commanding influence. On the eighth of May, 1828, he was elected Assistant Secretary of the American Education Society. The duties to be devolved upon him at that time were, to edit the *Quarterly Journal* of the Society, to conduct the more important correspondence, to superintend the arrangements of the Society's office, and occasionally to visit the beneficiaries at our literary institutions. About the same time he was selected to become an Assistant Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and, among other duties of that office, to edit the *Missionary Herald*. While these two solicitations were dividing his mind, he was asked to prepare himself for a Professorship in Amherst College. His nearest friends importuned him to take the Professor's chair. Born to be a scholar, how could he refuse to spend his meditative life amid the groves of the institution which, from its infancy, had been among the most cherished objects of his care, and hard by the old family mansion which he continued to love with a child's tenderness. But he cut the strings which bound him to the old familiar scenes of his youth, and accepted the Secretaryship of the Education Society. In 1828 he commenced the duties of that office, residing at Andover meanwhile, and for two years pursuing his studies in this Seminary.

That he should have essayed to combine the toils of so important an office, with the severer toils of a theological student, was not wise. In his amiable desire for immediate usefulness, he failed here to exercise his wonted sagacity. It was afterwards one of his principles, that the appropriate duties of the divinity school are *more* than sufficient to engross the attention of its members; that no extraneous care should be allowed to interrupt the pupil's investigation of that science which would claim the undisturbed attention of a seraph; that our ministerial candidates will be, in the end, more practical workmen, and render a better service to the mass of mankind, by humbly and patiently, for three or more years, learning to preach the Gospel, than by hastening from their preliminary seclusion into

a course of public effort; that it were better economy for our indigent youth to spend several months in some lucrative employment before or after their seminary course, than to break up the evenness of that course by the onerous duties of a teacher, agent, or public speaker. He had a reverence for the initiatory studies of a theologian, and dreaded every influence which could impair the taste or narrow the capacity for them. He prized *this* Seminary, as a retreat for young men who were in danger of sacrificing the permanent influence of their life, to a restlessness for contact with the bustling crowd. His own experience had made him grieve over any tendency in his pupils, to superadd foreign toil to their prescribed duty. He had learned that the superadded services would encroach upon the more appropriate business of the scholar, or else the effort to be faithful in the two spheres, would endanger the physical system. The tone and vigor of his body and mind, suffered under the divided cares of his Middle and Senior years at the Seminary. He became despondent under their pressure. A dark veil was drawn between himself and his Saviour. He saw his own sins with unwonted vividness, and he trembled in view of them. For many weeks, he struggled and prayed and wept, without the least hope of his final salvation. He resided in what is now the office of our Treasurer, and were its walls to speak of all that has been endured within them, they would resound with many a plaintive groan which they have heard, amid the watches of the night, from that meek sufferer. There, when all his companions in study were locked in slumber, he was compelled to cry out, mild and genial as was his nature, "Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing; I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying; my throat is dried; mine eyes fail while I wait for my God." He did not speak of his griefs, as he *never* loved to expose his inner life, but they afterward gave a peculiar tinge to his aspect and mien. That look of self-abasement, those semitones of subdued grief, that retiring, shrinking attitude before strangers, that deferential treatment of other men known to be his inferiors, that quick sympathy with all who were unrighteously oppressed or despised, that promptness to relieve the sorrows of the poor and forsaken, these and such as these winning traits in our brother, were mementos of the sad discipline which he had undergone, while combining study with business. In some degree these traits were natural to him, but his inward affliction revealed while it purified his nature. One sentiment of penitence and self-distrust seems to

have formed his manners, and moulded the very features of his countenance.

It was an interesting trait in the character of our friend, that he was hopeful in regard to himself in all his relations, except those of a probationer for eternity; and even while mourning over his own religious prospects, he was enthusiastic in the service of other men. During the very months of his spiritual darkness, he wrote with buoyancy of hope for the Education Society, with which he was grieved to regard himself as altogether unfit to be connected. His labors were said by his fellow Secretary, Mr. Cornelius, to be "indispensable for the Society." Whenever he attempted to release himself from them, he was assured by the Directors, that the cause of eleemosynary education would suffer without his counsels and pertinacious diligence. At that period the Society was in the hey-day of its triumph. Our friend writes of sixty thousand dollars collected within two months, of eighty new beneficiaries received, and a hundred new applicants expected at a single quarterly meeting. He looks forward to the day when he shall be called to provide for two thousand scholars, destined to preach the word of life to two million souls. Mr. Cornelius, he writes, "will not be satisfied till the Education Society has four thousand students under its patronage, and the Gospel of Christ is published unto the ends of the earth."

But the bounding spirit of Mr. Cornelius was soon transferred from the cause of ministerial education. In 1832 he died, and Mr. Edwards, inconsolable for his loss, wrote a careful memoir of him, in 1833. The churches of our land had become involved in financial embarrassments, and the Society shared in the common disaster. Still, having loved that Society at the first, our brother, always constant in his attachments, loved it unto the end. He stood true to it and firm in its defence, when some of his friends forsook or assailed it. And the last years of his life, when he needed cheerfulness and repose, were often harassed with anxiety for the cause which he believed to be essential for the growth of our churches. He remained a Secretary of the Society until May, 1833. In 1850, he was chosen one of its Directors, and continued such until all his labors on earth ceased.

It was as an Editor, as well as Secretary, that Mr. Edwards first made an impression upon the community at large. While in the tutorship at Amherst College, he had in part the editorial care of a weekly journal, called the *New England Inquirer*. He devoted about

one third of his time to the religious and poetical departments of that paper. He was afterwards occasionally employed in superintending the Boston Recorder. From the autumn of 1828 until the spring of 1842, he retained his editorial connection with the Quarterly Register and Journal of the Americal Education Society. The plan of the work in its most important features was his, as was also the spirit in which it was conducted. He designed to make it a great store-house of facts for the present and future generations. It gave a new impulse to statistical inquiries in our land. It contains indispensable materials for our future ecclesiastical history. Those elaborate descriptions and tabular views of the academies, colleges, professional schools, public libraries, eleemosynary associations in this country and in Europe; those historical and chronological narratives of parishes, states, kingdoms, sects, eminent men, philanthropic schemes; those calm and trustworthy notices of our current literature; those choice selections and chaste essays were, in great part, either prepared by himself, or at his suggestion, or revised by his discriminating eye. In his superintendence of those fourteen, and more especially of the first ten octavo volumes, so much more useful to others than the care of them could have been to himself, he had melancholy occasion to say, *Alis in serviendo consumidor*. We cannot repress a sigh, when we read in his modest, familiar letters: "I have spent six hours to-day in correcting one page of a proof-sheet;" and again: "After the rest of the Sabbath, my wrist troubles me less, it having been somewhat inflamed by the incessant writing of the last two or three weeks;" and still again, as early as 1835: "I have written eight hours to-day, — four sheets of literary notices. I feel something wrong in my side, I suppose on account of my position in writing." For all these toils in accumulating the materials for this Journal, he received no adequate recompense. They were, in great part, labors of love.

While making his tours of observation among our colleges and theological schools, Mr. Edwards became satisfied that more effort must be made for the mental and moral culture of our pastors, as well as ministerial candidates. He desired to foster the continued interest of our clergy in all good learning, by opening an avenue through which they might communicate their thoughts to the world. It was partly for the purpose of calling out their hidden energies, that he established, in July, 1833, the American Quarterly Observer. He continued this periodical three years, when it was united with the Biblical Repository, which had been during the four preceding years conducted by Prof. Robinson at Andover. He remained sole editor

of these combined periodicals, from January, 1835, to January, 1838. Six years after he withdrew from the Repository, he became the principal editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and *Theological Review*; and, with the exception of two years, he had the chief care of this work from 1844 to 1852. In the year 1851, the *Biblical Repository* was transferred from New York to Andover, and united with the *Bibliotheca Sacra*; so that this veteran editor was entrusted the second time with that Review, which he had already done much to sustain and adorn. For twenty-three years he was employed in superintending our periodical literature; and, with the aid of several associates, he has left thirty-one octavo volumes as the monuments of his enterprise and industry in this onerous department. What man, living or dead, has ever expended so much labor upon our higher Quarterlies? — A labor how severe! and equally thankless.

He combined facility of execution with great painstaking and carefulness. He often compressed into a few brief sentences, the results of an extended and a prolonged research. In order to prepare himself for writing two or three paragraphs on geology, he has been known to read an entire and elaborate treatise on that science. His industry surprised men; for while he had two periodicals under his editorial care, he was often engaged in superintending the American reprints of English works. Besides attending to the proofsheets of his own Quarterlies, he would sometimes correct more than a hundred pages every week, of the proofsheets of other volumes, and would often compose for them prefatory or explanatory notes. And amid all the drudgery of these labors for the press, his rule was, never to let a day pass by, without refreshing his taste with the perusal of some lines from a favorite poet, such as Virgil or Spenser.

It was his patriotic aim in his various periodicals, to encourage a national literature, to guard the reputation and elicit the talent of American authors, to lay the treasures of British, German and French learning at the feet of his own countrymen, and stimulate them in this way to a more vigorous and independent activity. His belief was, that the light of other nations would enkindle our own, and that we should become the more versatile, and even the more original, by the quickening influences of transatlantic mind.

It was also his aim, especially in the *Quarterly Observer*, to combine the good men and true of all evangelical sects in one literary brotherhood, and to call forth their associated activity in aid of the great principles which were dear to them all. He therefore raised the Journal above sectarian influences, and concentrated upon it the

choice talent of varying parties. Ever was it his joy, to see the scattered rays of genius converge to one point. Some of his reviews were published amid the stir and the noise of ecclesiastical warfare; but how serene is the spirit of Christian science which beams forth from his pages! Who would ever suspect, that those catholic words were written for partisans agitated with the polemics of theology, and clamorous, often, against the divine who stood aloof from their strife. He knew the temptation of reviewers to gratify an envious spirit, and to malign *men*, under the pretence of opposing error. It was no *feeble* effort of our friend, to save his journals from the very appearance of a morose, querulous temper, and to keep out those personal or sectional jealousies, which are the most baneful of heresies. To all reckless critics he has taught a wise lesson. Of the numerous authors whom he has reviewed, has a single one ever accused him of an unfair, an unscholarlike, an ungentlemanly criticism? Once when he received an article exposing the grossest literary blunders of a divine whose faith he disapproved, he refused to publish the article, for the mere purpose of checking the tendency to assail the character of men, in order to supplant their doctrines. Again, he was importuned to make a display of the literary plagiarisms which had been detected in a theological opponent. But so sensitive was he to the evils of personal strife, especially among divines, that he spared his foe at the risk of displeasing his friend. — I have used the word foe. I ought not to have used it. For the honor of our race, I would trust that he had no personal enemies; and if he had, — Father forgive them, for they know not what they have done, — if he had personal enemies, they would have been safe in his hand. Probably he never published a word against a man who had injured him. The reputation of others he looked upon as a sacred treasure. He studied that true dignity, which consists in sustaining a principle and forgetting the persons of his antagonists. He had a passion for true and kindly words. Would God, that the mantle of this editor, as harmless as he was wise, not less free from envy than from vanity, might fall upon every man who ventures upon the work, so hazardous to his own soul, of being a censor over his brethren!

It was another favorite aim of Mr. Edwards, in his various periodicals, to combine learning and taste with true religion. As he recoiled from an unsanctified literature, so he struggled for a higher good than unlettered pietism. He digged deep, that he might enrich his reviews with the costliest gems of beauty. His creed was, that a refined sensibility to the graceful and the noble gives ornament and

and aid to virtue. He shrunk from all coarse and vulgar criticisms, as out of harmony with the genius of the Gospel; and he frowned upon every expression of irreverence and ungodliness, as at variance with the spirit of true philosophy. Hence his periodicals were welcomed to libraries which had been wont to receive no books of clerical aspect. He lamented, in his later years, that he had given so much of his time to our serial literature; but he did not know how much he had achieved thereby, in liberalizing the studies of good men, and in purifying the tastes of those who had previously no fellowship with the Gospel. Several features of his reviews have been copied not only by American, but also by European journals. He did not reflect, that he had found access to minds which would never have perused the more lengthened treatises of systematic theologians; that he had insensibly stimulated authors to be more generous in their culture, more candid in their decisions, less flippant and unthoughtful in their words; that he had breathed the spirit of the peaceful Gospel into the hearts of men more belligerent than wise. If his thirty-one octavo volumes of periodical literature had been superintended by a man of indelicate taste and of confined learning and litigious spirit, how disastrous would have been their influence upon the comfort of godly and discreet men!

It was as a *Philanthropist*, that Mr. Edwards began his editorial course. He never would have withdrawn his mind from classical learning to the statistics of schools and charitable funds, had not the same bosom which glowed with the love of letters, been warmed with a still more active zeal for the welfare of men. Animating the pages of his *Reviews*, is found the liveliest sympathy for the feeble, the troubled, the ignorant, the perverse. In his zeal to conduct well the correspondence of the Education Society, he attended a writing school when he was thirty years old, for the sake of improving his chirography, which before was good enough. He became so deeply interested in the culture of the young, that in 1832 and 1835 he published two school-books, *The Eclectic Reader*, and an *Introduction to the Eclectic Reader*; both of them filled with the choicest selections from English and American literature, and both of them showing the fruits of his multifarious reading and delicate moral taste. He also prepared, but never printed, a series of questions on President Edwards's *History of Redemption*, and designed them to be used in academies, as an aid to the recitation of that treatise. In 1832 he published his *Biography of Self-taught Men*, which was designed, as it was admi-

rably fitted, to wake up the dormant powers of the youth who are most tempted to neglect them. While residing in Boston, he was one of the most enterprising members of Pine Street Church; he was enthusiastic in teaching its Sabbath School. He wrote and published, in 1835, for his own adult class, a small volume on the Epistle to the Galatians, and he assisted in preparing several other books for Sabbath School instruction. His labors for Amherst College, during its infantile sufferings, were earnest and faithful. In 1845, he was solicited to become President of the Institution. In 1848, he was chosen one of its Trustees, and he fatigued himself in care and toil for its library, at a time when his health demanded entire rest. He loved his country; and while making the tour of Europe in 1846-7, he collected materials for a large (and it would have been a strikingly original) volume, which he was intending to publish, on the reciprocal influences of the old world and the new, and the methods in which we may give as well as receive good, in our intercourse with transatlantic nations. It would have been an opportune treatise on moral intervention.

Few persons have reflected more than he, on the Missionary enterprise. For several months he examined the question, with an honest, self-sacrificing heart, whether it were his duty to spend his life, where he was entirely willing to spend it, among the heathen. He kept himself familiar with the details of missions established not only by the American Board, but by other Societies. In 1832, he published the *Missionary Gazetteer*, containing a succinct account of the various attempts made by all Christian sects to evangelize the world. With the hope of deepening the public sympathy for the heathen, he edited in 1831 the *Life of Henry Martyn*, prefixed to it an *Introductory Essay*, and appended to it a series of notes, compiled, as the essay was written, after a most extensive research. The character of Henry Martyn was ever dear to him. He resembled that beloved man, in the refinement and generousness of his philanthropy.

From the beginning to the end of his public life, he labored for the African race. The first pamphlet which he ever printed was a plea for the slave. While he was pursuing his theological studies, he heard that a colored youth had come hither to enjoy the privileges of the seminary. Some of his fellow-students had an instinctive reluctance to be in company with the stranger, but our self-denying friend, sensitive as he was to the ridicule of men, shrinking from all appearance of eccentricity, scrupulous in his regard to all the rules of neatness and refinement and seemliness, invited the sable youth to reside

in the same room with him. For several weeks this man, so dignified, so delicate in his sensibilities, studied at the same table with the poor African. This was the man! What would he not do for his degraded fellow-sinners! Like his great Exemplar, he chose to suffer with and for the publican, rather than to sit in the halls of kings. In 1835, he aided in forming the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race. He was among the most zealous and persevering of all the members of this society. He wrote, published, lectured, and gave liberally, too liberally, in its behalf. His great aim was to elevate that race, so as to make it respected, instead of merely pitied. For twenty-six years, he was an unwavering friend of the Colonization Society, in its reverses as well as in its triumphs. He prayed for it. He toiled for it. He meditated plans for it. He suffered for it. He was willing to suffer more. The Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society writes: "I do not know how this society could have been kept alive, for two or three of its first years, but for the aid of Mr. Edwards." He was one of its Board of Managers, from its foundation in 1841, until 1845, and was one of its Vice Presidents during the last seven years of his life. No man had a more intense aversion than he, to the system of slavery. He had seen its evils. He had felt them. He bore his last pain among them. He sighed at the very thought of an innocent man in chains. His spirit was burdened within him, by every new wrong inflicted on a race already bleeding. In his very make, he was a lover of freedom. By his dearest instincts, he recoiled from every form of injustice and harshness. But he restrained the expression of his feelings, whenever the expression seemed to threaten harm. He guarded his tongue with bit and bridle, wherever he feared that his warm sensibilities would rush out in words tending to irritate more than reform his opposers. And as he disciplined himself to be meek and forbearing toward the friends of slavery, so he fostered a patient spirit toward those of its enemies who passed the bounds of what he deemed a safe discretion. He knew, in the depths of his soul, how to sympathize with their abhorrence of the unrighteous bondage, but he knew that indiscriminating rebuke might aggravate the ills which it was intended to heal, and he studied on this subject, more than almost any other, to adopt wise as well as efficient methods for removing the evil under which he groaned.

The whole truth is, that our brother loved man as man; and nothing that touched the welfare of one of the least among his fellow-sufferers, was alien from him. Not a few of us can remember how

he spoke, — it was in the strains of a second Cowper, — when the Choctaws and Cherokees were compelled to leave the graves of their fathers; how he sighed, as if he had been personally bereaved, at the ravages of the Seminole war; how indignantly, — for his gentle spirit would rouse itself at fitting times, — he spoke in this pulpit, against the British invasion of China; how deeply and personally grieved he ever felt at the reports of disasters by land or sea; how carefully he studied to assuage the griefs or fears of the widow and the orphan; how faithfully he taught German to a servant in his house; how thoughtful he was to search out the sick student, to provide raiment for the young men who were poorly clad, and to take such as were desponding to his own home, and attend to their good cheer. So did he live, — and how rare for a man to live so, that we feel even now the rich meaning of the sentence which will one day be uttered before him: "I was an hungred and ye gave me meat; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; sick, and ye visited me; in prison, and ye came unto me."

As a Preacher, Mr. Edwards next appeared before the churches. During his first Senior term at Andover, he writes to his father: "Our class will, I suppose, preach in vacation. I think I shall not. I cannot do it conscientiously, and no one would advise me to do it against my conscience." Again he writes: "As I am borne on towards the Christian ministry, I shrink back almost with terror. It sometimes seems to me, that I shall be upheld till I reach the summit, only to fall the lower." Still again: "My heart and my conscience fail, when I look forward to such a work [as the ministerial]. If I take it upon me, I do not know but that it will be said: Better for that man if he had not been born."

Under the inspiriting influence of Mr. Cornelius, however, our friend was persuaded in 1831 to enter the pulpit. He often regretted afterward, that he had ever done so. "It is," he writes, "a dreadful thought to me, very often, that God is more displeased with me for my prayers than for anything else; they are so heartless and hypocritical."

His excessive diffidence in the pulpit arose, not altogether from his severe introspection of his own heart, but in some degree also, from his want of certain gifts for public address. His voice was not commanding; his gestures were not graceful; his attitudes not easy. He was near-sighted, and compelled to lean his head over and near his manuscript. Still, in a small house, or before a learned audience,

his outward manner, though wanting in some of the graces, was singularly winning. Few men in this Chapel have ever equalled him, in holding their auditory spell-bound. He spoke with a cautious accent and a guarded emphasis, which betokened the selectness of his thoughts. He recited passages from the Bible, with such a glowing countenance and marked inflection, as gave a living commentary on the text. There was frequently a plaintiveness in his tones, that harmonized well with the sentiment breathed forth in them. Some of his attitudes in the pulpit would furnish a sculptor with a good model of self-distrust and self-abasement. In his lowly way, he expressed a reverence and an awe of God, which must have come from a heart broken under a sense of guilt. When he raised his frame from its inclined position over his manuscript, and when for a moment he stood erect and gazed so honestly and earnestly at his hearers, he drew them to him as to a friend in whom they might confide, and whose sympathies were ever with his Redeemer and with all good men. Then there was a classic purity in his style, which fascinated the hearers who were trained to discern it. Then there were the terse, sententious, apothegmatic utterances, which startled and delighted the men who were able to understand them. He did not care so much about the logical form of his discourses, as about their inmost heart. They were free from common-places; and had a luxuriance of thought and feeling, which reminded one of trees with their branches bending and breaking under their fruit. They were not so remarkable for an obvious unity, as for a pathos that swelled through them, or a vein of sentiment original, delicate, graceful, intangible, enchanting. Our brother had the artlessness of George Herbert, whom he loved so tenderly. His simple-hearted suggestions reminded one of the "meek Walton," to whom he had a rare likeness. Where he was known, he gained the ear of his auditors by their reverence for his general character, so congruous with the preacher's calling, and also by their sympathy with his interest in all parts of Divine worship. They perceived his studious care in selecting and in reading the hymns, or rather the psalms, which were his favorite lyrics. He sometimes was so earnest as to specify the tunes in which his select stanzas were to be sung. He had formed the plan of collecting and publishing two or three hundred of the most exquisite songs of Zion, for those worshippers who loved to offer praise in rich words full of choice sentiment.

One might infer from the native sweetness of his temper, that he would be refined in his treatment of men who had no spiritual interest

in the truths which he dispensed. While a theological student he writes: "I would preach the law in all its strictness and spirituality, and terrible denunciations, but only to lead men to fly to the city of refuge;" and after noticing a volume of sermons which had begun to receive the applause of his brethren, he says: "I cannot help thinking that there is an unfeeling and vindictive spirit in these discourses. If I am not mistaken, they will drive the sinner to rage and mutiny, sooner than to self-condemnation. By these sermons, I should think their author lived when Agag and Ahitophel, Ahab and Jezebel were enemies to the church, rather than under the Gospel of mercy."

He was of so contemplative a habit, and his general intercourse with men was so courteous and deferential, that he was less inclined to make a direct and impetuous onset upon the feelings, than to present before them a faithful and vivid delineation of biblical truth. Here, as elsewhere, his private character disclosed itself in his public labors. He was pungent and severe and uncompromising in his application of the law to himself, but he deemed it wise to address other men in a general rather than personal, in an instructive rather than hortatory way. He may have been too exclusive in his preference for the didactic style; but it was a preference founded on mature consideration. Long before he entered the pulpit, he wrote: "You must have noticed, that truth presented in an indirect manner is more touching than when presented in the way of direct assertion and advice. For instance, it has a much more powerful effect in exciting me to duty, to hear a preacher describe particularly the love of Christ, giving minute instances of it, than to exhort me to awake, or to present to me the most pointed appeals. When I was living in entire forgetfulness of God, I was not half so much convinced of the reality of religion by the pathetic exhortations in the letters of my friends, as from some occasional and altogether incidental remarks of my father. It seems to me, here is a field for doing good that is in a great measure unexplored. In writing a letter to an unconverted friend, it seems to me that it will be much more effectual, as a general thing, to present two or three real instances of the value of religion or the evils of wanting it, and to let him make the inference, than to warn or exhort. Also, when in company of a promiscuous kind, a Christian can relate an incident, or make a passing remark, more deep and lasting in its effects than a formal conversation. If I am ever permitted to preach, I think I shall take this course as the general one."

The most conspicuous feature in the sermons of our friend, was

the tenderness of sensibility which they developed in regard to the redemptive system. His tones of voice, his expression of countenance, the arrangement of his words, all changed as soon as he touched this theme. He felt, as few men have ever felt, the worth and power of that grace by which the sensitive conscience is eased of its pains. The waves of trouble flowing from a sense of guilt had rolled over him, and he had found a shelter behind the rock that was higher than he. He had heard the deep call unto the deep, and his soul would have been swallowed up amid the surges that threatened him, had not the voice of his Redeemer cried to the waves: "Peace, be still." His discourses were a sign of his breathing a higher and purer atmosphere than that of the world; of his intense personal sympathy with the Man of Sorrows; of his living in Christ, while Christ abode in him; of his being himself offended with all that could displease the Head of the church, as our sympathizing Head is offended with all that disturbs the peace of his members, even of the little ones that abide in Him.

And if our friend may be thus described as a preacher, how shall we speak of him as a hearer of the Gospel? He seemed to keep up an incessant dialogue with the minister to whom he listened. Was there ever a man who expressed a livelier sympathy with the truths which he heard? He could not endure to sit in the vicinity of hearers, who did not feel as he felt toward the preacher. He has been seen to leave his appropriate seat among his companions in middle life, who, as he feared, would dislike a sermon from which he anticipated pleasure, and to take a seat among young men, who, as he foresaw, would share in his delight. A few years ago, in attempting to recapitulate the substance of a discourse which he had recently heard, on the riches of atoning love, his emotions checked his utterance, and he could not proceed in rehearsing even the schedule of the sermon. Such instances were common in his life. Have not all his friends discerned the smile playing on his lips, at the gracious words which came from the pulpit; or the tear which suffused his eye at every tender sentiment which was uttered; or the frown and hanging head which betokened that he had heard a phrase tending to dishonor his Maker; or the turning of his countenance this way and that way, to catch the sympathies which seemed to be floating around him? And who, that has ever seen the light and shade of sentiment thus alternating over his visage and attitude, has not felt that a spirit so delicate and sensitive was not formed for a lengthened sojourn in a tabernacle of flesh and blood? It is a sad reminiscence, that during the last two

years of his worship in this Chapel, he has perhaps never heard an allusion to the grave and to bereavement, without casting a pitiful eye to those who might soon be clothed in weeds at the side of his own burial-place.

Immediately after leaving the Theological Seminary, Mr. Edwards removed from Andover to Boston, and remained in that metropolis from the autumn of 1830 until the spring of 1836. He then transferred his residence to Andover, and in the autumn of 1837 was appointed Professor of the Hebrew language in the Seminary. At the resignation of Mr. Stuart, he was elected, in 1848, to the chair of Biblical Literature, which devolved upon him instruction in the Greek as well as the Hebrew Bible. As a biblical teacher, he spent the last fifteen years, the most valuable period of his life. As a Biblical Teacher, therefore, he deserves to be noticed at this time.

We are first reminded of the great labor which he spent upon the sacred text, and of his exertions to qualify himself for teaching it. His earliest studies were biblical. He had read the Bible through seven times, and all of Dr. Scott's Notes twice, before he was eleven years old. He began the Hebrew language at the age of twenty-two, and pursued it regularly, almost daily, as long as he lived. He had studied the old Saxon tongue, chiefly for the purpose of being able to appreciate more correctly the merits of our English Bible. Through life it was his rule, to peruse no book which would impair his taste for the sacred volume. During his editorial career, he had corrected proofsheets of Hebrew and also of Greek works then in press, and had submitted to this drudgery, — alas! how much of literary drudgery did he not perform! — for the sake of familiarizing himself with the *minutias* of the sacred languages. In order to gain a more thorough mastery of the Hebrew idioms, he began, in 1839, the study of the Arabic, and in subsequent years, the study of other cognate languages. If we will but examine his essays in the Reviews which he edited, and the volumes which he was engaged in publishing during the last fifteen years, we shall see that they all indicate his design (for he was eminent for acting on a plan matured with forethought), to qualify himself more and more for expounding the original Scriptures. Thus, in 1839, he aided in translating a volume of Selections from German Literature; and his chief design in preparing this work was, to familiarize himself with the German tongue, that key to the biblical literature of the world, that instrumental tongue without which no one, at the present day, will be an

adept in sacred learning. In 1843, he united with Professors Sears and Felton in publishing the "Classical Studies." But his ultimate aim in this work was, to imbibe more deeply the spirit of the old Greek and Roman authors, to refine his taste for elegant letters, and thus to fit himself for worthier comments on the inspired page. He was associated, in 1844, with Mr. Samuel H. Taylor, in translating the larger Greek Grammar of Dr. Kühner. He deemed this a wise discipline for acquiring a minute acquaintance with the structure and genius of the Greek language, and for capacitating himself thereby to examine the New Testament more profoundly. All these studies he made tributary to his one comprehensive aim. They were not miscellaneous in the sense of planless, but were the wide-reaching efforts of an enterprising, concentrative mind.

And when, in 1846 and 1847, he made the tour of Europe for his health, he did not forget his one idea. He revelled amid the treasures of the Bodleian Library, and the Royal Library at Paris; he sat as a learner at the feet of Montgomery, Wordsworth, Chalmers, Messofanti, Neander, the Geological Society of London and the Oriental Society of Prussia, and he bore away from all these scenes new helps for his own comprehensive science. He gleaned illustrations of Divine truth, like Alpine flowers, along the borders of the Mer de Glace, and by the banks of "the troubled Arve," and at the foot of the Jungfrau. He drew pencil sketches of the battle-field at Waterloo, of Niebuhr's monument at Bonn, and of the cemetery where he surmised that he may have found the burial-place of John Calvin. He analyzed the causes of the impression made by the Rhine and the valley of Chamouni. He wrote tasteful criticisms on the works of Salvator Rosa, Correggio, Titian, Murillo, Vandyke, Canova, Thorwaldsen; he trembled before the Transfiguration by Raphael, and the Last Judgment by Michael Angelo; he was refreshed with the Italian music, "unwinding the very soul of harmony;" he stood entranced before the colonnades and under the dome of St. Peter's, and on the walls of the Colosseum by moonlight, and amid the statues of the Vatican by torchlight, and on the roof of the St. John Lateran at sunset, "where," he says, "I beheld a prospect such as probably earth cannot elsewhere furnish;" he walked the Appian way, exclaiming: "On this identical road, — the old pavements now existing in many places, — on these fields, over these hills, down these rivers and bays, Horace, Virgil, Cicero, Marius and other distinguished Romans, walked, or wandered, or sailed. Here, also, apostles and martyrs once journeyed, or were led to their

scene of suffering. Over a part of this very road, there is no doubt that Paul travelled, when he went bound to Rome." He wrote sketches of all these scenes; and in such a style as proves his intention to regale his own mind with the remembrance of them, to adorn his lectures with descriptions of them, to enrich his commentaries with the images and the suggestions, which his chaste fancy had drawn from them. But, alas! all these fragments of thought now sleep, like the broken statues of the Parthenon, and where is the power of genius that can restore the full meaning of these lines, and call back their lost charms! Where is that more than Promethean fire, that can their light relume!

The assiduity of Mr. Edwards in exploring so many sources of knowledge, enabled him to impart various instruction in a chaste, elegant style. His editorial labors had required of him a multifarious reading, and still had disciplined him to be scrupulously exact. Indeed, some have supposed him to be a mere sharp-sighted, punctilious, painstaking, wary chronicler of facts. His moral principles, also, made him correct in his studies. It was one of his favorite maxims, that a rigidly honest heart exerts a reflex influence upon the mental habits. In his conversation he cherished a delicate regard to truth, so that he might be incited to new carefulness in his professional inquiries; and as he was exact in his life, in order to become the more exact in his study, so he was cautious as a scholar, in order to become the more exemplary in his life. His dress, room, manners, evinced his love of neatness, and his taste for just thought and fit words. Writing far more than the majority of scholars, he still wrote with a degree of painstaking, which men who do not sympathize with his love for the precise truth, would think unworthy of him. He conformed to the principle, which he has often reiterated, that "after all which may be said respecting unstudied nature, the outbursting of natural eloquence, the happy disregard of rule and formality, of which we so frequently hear, it is yet refreshing and instructive beyond expression, to listen to well-composed sentences, which have been subjected to the revision of a severely disciplined mind."¹ His style became so well-adjusted, so affluent in thought, that Professor Stuart pronounced it to be "just about perfect for a commentary." But with all his nice care, he combined a singular beauty. His fine taste for nature and art, gave every day the most promising first-fruits of a rich harvest, to be gleaned from his future labors. Other

¹ American Quarterly Register, Vol. IX. p. 13.

men have broken up the fallow ground and have levelled the waste places, and have fought with beasts at Ephesus; but our friend had a rare fondness and an almost instinctive aptitude for detecting the latent beauties of the Bible, for setting in a good light its numberless minor graces, for clothing its loftier thoughts with their own befitting majesty. Here was to have been his excelling power as a commentator. His biblical notes are now like a garden of fruits just budding into life. His classes hung upon his words uttered with a lowly accent, and will now labor to fill out the etchings which were drawn for them by his breathing pencil. He had not the masculine tones, the strong, impetuous, overpowering utterance of Mr. Stuart; he did not compel the attention of the indolent, and force men to hear when they would forbear; but he insinuated his thought into the love of his pupils, and he wound their affections around him with silken bands.

He had another excellence as a teacher. It was his sympathy with the truths and characters delineated in the Bible. He was, indeed, familiar with the geography and archaeology of the Scriptures. He could have threaded his way through the lanes of Jerusalem, as easily as through the streets of Boston, and he did not know the windings of the roads in his own New England, better than he knew the paths along the hills and valleys of Judaea. But he was not so eminent for his knowledge of the outward circumstances in which the patriarchs, prophets and apostles lived, as for his cordial fellowship with their inmost life. His home was in the heart of the sacred penmen, amid their tenderest sentiments. He brought the enthusiasm of a poet to the study of the volume, so large a part of which is written in poetry. Abraham was a father to him, as to the faithful of old. He looked up to Moses with a reverence like that of the ancient tribes. He lingered over the Psalms of David, as if he could never let them pass out of his sight. When he perused them in course for the last time at family prayer, he could "not afford to read many verses on any single day;" they were so precious that he dreaded to reach the end; and the few lines which he regaled himself with in the morning, were his refreshment until the glad return of his hour for household devotion. Few men had ever a clearer insight into the book of Job than he, or a deeper sympathy with the emotions that swelled the bosom of the old patriarch. And, had he lived to finish the commentaries which he had begun on this book and on the book of the Psalms, he would have uncovered new gems of sentiment, and bequeathed untold treasures to a late posterity. Not his lips only, but his entire frame would sometimes quiver with feeling, as he explained before his

pupils a sentiment of the old prophets. Were it not for his reverence for the inspired penmen, we should say that he had a fellow-feeling with them, and this quickened his eye to discern the shades of expression too faint for the notice of cold, verbal critics. He *felt* the philosophy which lies hidden under the poetic forms of the Bible. His taste for the inspired beauties was like a magnet attracting them to itself. To him the sacred words were written in illuminated letters. He enjoyed the delicate graces imperceptible to heartless inquirers. His was an elect mind.

The merits of a teacher do not lie entirely in his general character. He needs a particular interest in the school which he instructs. While a tutor in Amherst College, Mr. Edwards *identified* himself with it. During the fifteen years of his residence at Andover, he loved this Seminary with an intenseness which wasted his frame. It was his terrestrial Zion. His joy was to go round about her, telling her towers and marking well her bulwarks. Before her gates he scattered the flowers of his various learning, and at her altars, with a grateful heart, he threw down the laurels with which a world had crowned him. No arrow that was hurled at her could ever reach her, without first passing through his own soul. He will not be remembered here as fully as he would have been, if a mysterious Providence had not broken him off from his labors. But his memory will wave before distant generations of students, as the memory of *that disciple whom Jesus loved*. They will walk with a tender interest around the classic stone that is to mark his resting place. They will write and speak of the star that rose mildly in the east, and attracted the gaze of distant observers, and men were turning their glasses to it, and watching its upward progress, when it vanished out of their sight.

Shall I speak of our friend as a Theologian? I have hesitated long, before consenting to associate his name with a word which has come to be regarded as a symbol for wrangling and logomachy; for dry, fruitless theories, marring the simplicity of the Gospel, confusing, and therefore exasperating the very men who strive for them. His soul turned away from ecclesiastical pugilism. He never descended into the ambitious and envious quarrel about the *shibboleths* of a party. He never soiled his white raiment in those contests for personal or sectional preëminence, which have been so often waged over the interminable jargon of scholastic metaphysics, misnamed divinity. Men have not been wont to speak of him as a theologian. They

have called him a student of the Bible. They have talked about him as a pure-minded inquirer for the truth. They have termed him an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile. They have spoken of him as *that disciple whom Jesus loved*. But as a technical theologian he has been named so seldom, that perhaps I shall disturb the sacred associations that cluster around his memory, if I allude to him in this sphere of his labor.

But he *was* a theologian, in the best sense of that abused word. He was versed in the science of the great God, and this science is theology, and it is the noblest of all sciences. He was a *divine*. As a logician, he may have had no signal preëminence, although he was familiar with the books and the rules of dialectics, nor did he undervalue them. When he left his home for the last time, he took with him the Port Royal Logic, for his entertainment amid the scenes where he was to close his studies on earth. But he was a biblical, if not peculiarly a logical divine. He explained the Scriptures according to the canons of a sound, strong, plain common-sense. He was remarkable for his cautious, discreet, circumspect analysis of the text, his patient waiting before he made up a judgment, his humble inquiry, — and the good Spirit promises to show the truth to a lowly seeker, — his readiness to discern and to shun the absurdities, which a spurious logic derives from the letter, rather than from the meaning of the inspired words. He had the rare merit of taking his faith from the general import of the Bible, rather than from a few of its detached, “picked phrases.” He had a large comprehension of its main scope, and he watched its decided drift, and was candid, — for he prized candor as among the chief, and perhaps the very hardest of a scholar’s virtues, — and was conscientious, — it was indeed his daily prayer that he might have a pure, sensitive conscience, — in treating the Bible as a consistent whole, instead of seizing at a few of its terms, and wresting them from their adjuncts, and despoiling them of their simple, wholesome sense. It was the distinction of his creed, as he affirmed it to be the glory of Protestantism, that “it has no favorite chapter and verses; it stands or falls on the spirit of the entire volume, on the widest induction of particulars, on the simultaneous support of all the sacred writers, and of all which they declare. It pretends to no darling Apostle, to no artfully culled symbols; it shrinks from no argument, is afraid of no catechizing, never arrays faith against reason, and relies” on a broad, common-sense interpretation of the Bible.¹

¹ Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. V. p. 621.

As our friend was a biblical, so was he a practical divine. It was common to speak of him as an intellectual man. He was such, but a man of feeling, likewise. He was led into the truth by his experience of its power. He did reason concerning it, but with the help of his instincts and his Christian sympathies. He did not learn the native character of man by abstruse inference, or by observation of his neighbors; but while he confesses his unfitness "for standing at the door and introducing others to the momentous work of preaching the Gospel," he adds: "Of whatever else I am ignorant, I do most fully believe the utter and enormous depravity of the human heart, and the absolute necessity of Almighty grace to subdue it; and whatever else I neglect to preach, if ever I am permitted to preach, I shall endeavor not to neglect Jesus Christ and him crucified." The divinity of the Saviour, also, he did not learn from a merely grammatical comment on the letter of the Bible; but his own deep grief gave emphasis to that letter, and he interrupts his expressions of despair in himself, by exclaiming: "If there is one ray of hope, which ever visits the darkness of my soul, it is when I think of the Saviour as Almighty, and ever present to hear and to help."

Having learned the truth in this impressive way, it was natural that he should be a kind-hearted, generous divine. Bigotry and intolerance come of a spirit that knows not its own frailty. Those great facts of the evangelical scheme, which are made so prominent and so lovely in the Divine word as to draw all men unto them, he prized as the substance of the Gospel. And if men believed those great facts with the heart and from the heart, he bore their philosophical errors with a serene indulgence. Was he too catholic? That were an ungracious criticism, — but he was more liberal and kindly in his estimate of others, more lenient toward their mistakes, and more hopeful of their improvement, than any man whom I have ever known in our uneasy and uncomfortable race. He felt that he had enough to do in mourning over his own foibles, without wasting his probation in exposing the faults of his fellow-men. How sadly shall we need his mild counsels, when we gird on our armor and go out to meet a challenge of the Philistines. How sorrowful shall we be, when we come back from the dust and clamor of the warfare, that we shall no more be greeted by his words of peace and sweet charity. Were there ten such men as he among our divines, then would the churches have rest.

Let it not be inferred that, because he was tolerant of unessential error, he therefore had no fixed belief in unessential truth. He had

his predilections for one sect, unworthy as this assertion may sound of his expansive sympathies. He delighted to reflect on himself as belonging to the same church with Clement and Jerome and Augustine and Chrysostom and Bernard, and Pascal and Fenelon, and Luther and Zinzendorf, and Leighton and Heber, and John Foster and Robert Hall, and Whitefield and the Wesleys; and he loved his own denomination, because it fitted him to fraternize with all good men and to call them all his own. He was among the very straitest and most unyielding of his sect, — if I may use that sharp and narrow word, — because its genius is, to leave the inquirer free and untrammelled; and still, among his most cherished authors were such men as Wordsworth and Coleridge, — the very men who had the strongest repugnance to some of his own ecclesiastical partialities. Men think of him, and should think of him, as a large-hearted Christian, and may dislike to have him styled a Calvinist, rather than a Lutheran. I should not render him entire justice, if I should insinuate that he loved to make the severer features of Calvinism prominent in his intercourse with men. Still, in a peculiar degree, his life developed the *true* spirit of a Calvinistic divine; not the spirit which has been commonly ascribed to the admirers of the Genevan creed; not the spirit which has been always harbored by them; but the spirit which is fostered by the reasonable and biblical expositions of that sublime faith. He looked up to Jehovah as a Sovereign, and trembled before him. He would not boast, nor be egotistical; for all his powers and attainments he traced up to the everlasting decree, to the love which planned them before the foundation of the world. He stood with awe at the foot of the throne, which, resting on its own strength, is firm, changeless, unmovable. He repeated with marked reverence the name of the great "I Am." He walked softly before the Monarch who elects one and abandons another. In the near prospect of seeing the Arbiter of his destinies face to face, he paused, and was thoughtful, and bowed his head, and his words were few. He was not dogmatical, — how could he be, if he valued his creed? — for he knew the littleness of his powers, and counted himself to have no more than an insect's eye, and to be shut up to the vision of a mere, small surface; and can such a man utter assuming and presumptuous and overbearing words? He did not calumniate his brethren — could he do so, if he fostered a hearty trust in the doctrines which he professed? — for he had learned his own vileness, as well as that of his fellow-men, and he felt that both he and they deserved alike to be driven from before the Lord, as grains of chaff; — that instead of upbraiding his com-

panions in evil, he should beg, from his place in the dust: "God be merciful to me a sinner." He knew and he felt, that his heart was searched by the Ruler who killeth and who maketh alive, and that he was under the dominion of a Monarch who giveth no account of his matters to his servants, "nor borrows leave to be;" and with these thoughts of his Judge, he was humble, and subdued, and still; he went to his grave, meditative and penitent, nor did he strive nor cry, nor was his voice heard in the streets;—and this is the true spirit of a Calvinistic divine.

The honor which we pay to our friend is a peculiar one; for his excellence was more conspicuous in his private than in his public life. As a *Scholar*, he gained the profoundest respect from those who saw him in his every day walks. By the fact that he wrote or edited, alone or with coadjutors, forty-three volumes, and several pamphlets, the world have known that he was industrious. But the exposed fabric is often less interesting, than the secret machinery with which it was wrought. When we inspect the private habits of this student by nature, we see him absorbed in thought as he moves along the road-side, and he does not notice his most intimate companions, who may chance to meet him; or we see him on a journey in his chaise, and he is reading Wordsworth's *Excursion* aloud to the friend at his side; or we see him at his family repasts, holding a conversation or a recitation in German or French or Latin; and all this is not a labor but a pleasure, and it is all smoothed with his quiet humor. His delight was in books. When he needed relaxation, he would change the topics or the order of study, but study was like his breath itself, a vital function. After the labors of the day were closed, he appeared as ready as in the morning, to begin a new toil. In the time of his firm health, he seemed untiring. He was the scholar everywhere. Even his home-bred associations were with literary themes. He purchased a half-acre of land adjoining his house, partly for the sake of getting possession of an aged oak tree that grew on the land; for he had long desired to own such a tree; for the oaken wreath is rich with the memories of the old Greek and the Roman; and angels of the Lord came and sat under the oak, in the days of that Covenant People whom our brother loved; and many an elegiac sermon did he hope to write, under the shade of that venerable wood.

As he was a man of multifarious reading, some might infer, that he did not keep himself familiar with the few select, standard authors,

and that he lost in definiteness as much as he gained in comprehension. But he never allowed a year to pass, without disciplining his mind on the works of Pascal, Bishop Butler, John Foster and Robert Hall. He had the virtues of a man of one book. The poems of Homer he often carried with him in his pocket for his refreshment as he stopped by the wayside. When the near approach of death had taken away his power to read the volumes which he had carried from this place to his distant sick-room, and he had slowly consented to send back the volumes to their old shelves, he requested that his Homer might be spared him; for he still hoped to enliven some of his lingering hours with the winged words of his chosen bard. Because he was a man of books, it might be surmised that he took only a stinted interest in the scenes of daily life. But he always seemed to have the latest news from the German Diet and the British Parliament, and our National Congress and State Legislature, and our metropolis, and our tranquil village. The question has been often put by one class of his admirers: When does he find any time for the studies which we know that he pursues? and by another class: When does he find any time for the general intelligence which we see that he amasses? He was a man of quick and strong memory; and the adage is, that such a man fails in judgment; but perhaps our friend enjoyed a better name for his accurate judgment, than for his capacious memory, even. He had a passion for statistics, and a plain critic, who had wearied himself over some of the tables in the *Quarterly Register*, pronounced its editor to be "without a particle of imagination." But to those who knew his love for the Greek poets, his reverence for their genius, his sympathy with their tenderest expressions, it seemed amazing that he could ever have found a pleasure in accumulating the driest details of local history. He was a Grecian, not only in his love of the beautiful, but also in his self-control; yet by no means did he always attune his life to the Dorian mood. He wept over the pages of the tragedy; he lost his sleep over those historical realities which are often more harrowing than fiction. He was catholic toward the literary parties which differed from him; yet he felt a personal union with his favorite authors, and a tear would often suffuse his eye when he listened to ungenerous criticisms upon Plato or Socrates. He felt such criticisms, as if made upon himself.

A living enthusiasm for good letters was the soul of his literary enterprise. "I feel sometimes an unaccountable desire," he writes in one of his youthful epistles, "to accomplish some things which

man has not attained ; yet I consider it right to strive after a perfection in literary pursuits, which is probably beyond my reach ;" — this was the high aim ever animating and exalting his mind. It made him a man of progress. It gave him a fixed purpose, in reliance on Heaven, to go on improving to his grave. He strove to perpetuate in his mind the fresh sympathies and aspirations of youth. He continued, even in his last hours, to cherish his early desire of conferring "great and endless blessings" on the learned world. The power of his character lay, somewhat, in these noble contrasts of enthusiasm and discretion, delicate sensibility and sterling sense, lofty enterprise and meek wisdom.

As a *Christian*, he was more admirable than as a scholar. His religious feeling was mirrored forth in his literary essays. His life was a rich lesson, as it illustrated the power of Christian principle over the constitutional sensibilities. He was by nature so gentle, that he would sometimes be taken for a timid man ; but when a religious interest was assailed, he became bolder than his compeers. His amiable temper predisposed him to yield his own opinions and preferences to those of his associates ; but if he suspected that the claims of learning or virtue would suffer, by one iota of change in any one of his plans, no man was more inflexible than he. Nothing could move him. He would sacrifice his comfort, or his health, or friends, — anything, everything, to the scheme which was demanded by his conscience. He would have been sure that he was right ; he would have petitioned to Heaven for a sound opinion ; yet for a worthy end, he would have died a martyr. In these days his life has been a timely lesson, as it has illustrated the union between a literary enthusiasm and a depth of piety. He had theoretical arguments, but in himself he was a living argument, against the policy of dwarfing the intellect for the sake of nourishing the affections. His interest in the pliant language, the beautiful images, the nice distinctions, the wise maxims of the Greeks, prepared him to admire the higher sublimity and the broader wisdom of the inspired Jews. The progressive delicacy of his taste quickened his zeal for Christian truth, of which all the beauties of earth are but types and shadows. His religious progress is well delineated in those three words inscribed on Herder's tomb-stone : "Light, Love, Life." For as he gained the more light, he caught the more glowing love ; and as his love flamed out in a new ardor, he enjoyed the truer life. In the autumn of 1837, he was bereaved of a child, his first-born. Often had he felt

the chastisement of the Lord; but now it seemed to him, he said, "as if the heart, the physical organ itself, would be moved out of its place." For a twelvemonth, he could not apply his mind to tranquil and consecutive study. Just two months after the day of his bereavement, he was inaugurated a Professor in this Seminary. At the close of his Inaugural Address, he cast his mild eye toward that little grave, and uttered the modest words: "The experience of almost every day warns us, that the fairest earthly hopes bloom only for the grave." From that grave he learned his best lessons. He studied it daily, through life. In nearly all his sermons there is some word or phrase, which indicates that he was preparing to meet his absent child. He loved more and more to preach on the rewards of the blessed, and especially on the resurrection of the just; when, as he said, "those little ones, millions of whom fell asleep in Christ's dear arms, shall spring to new life in their Father's house."

We shall do injustice to Mr. Edwards, as a scholar, unless we regard him as a Christian; and we shall fail to honor him aright either as a scholar or as a Christian, unless we consider him as a *Man*. He was a man. The qualities of a meek disciple underlay the excellence of the student; and the qualities of the man underlay the excellence of the student and Christian both. He acted and reacted upon himself in those varying capacities; his virtues in each relation blossomed out of his virtues in the other. There was a concinnity in him as a man; yet, he was versatile and generously endowed. He combined the varying physical temperaments, in an uncommonly unique system. The even tenor of his life was cheerful; but certainly he was given to pensive and sombre moods. He had a kind of reverence for that melancholy which is so often the attendant of genius. He loved the poet Homer for speaking of "tearful war." He sometimes queried, whether there were not an intensity of meaning which we cannot fathom, in the phrase "pitying angels,"—whether the spirits of the blessed, those ministers of grace, must not feel a tender and profound sorrow for human sin and woe. He was pliant in his intercourse, but on important themes he had a manlike tenacity of his opinions. How many have been overpowered by his modest ways!—but he yielded to no one in a just self-respect. He was honest, simple-hearted, but wise and far-seeing. The world did not know him. Like his blessed Lord, he passed through the crowds whom he served, and in his inner life was a stranger to them. There was a depth of feeling in him, and such a quiet self-possession;

there was an energy of will in him, and such an accommodating temper; there was such a sensitiveness and yet so cool a judgment, that he baffled men who would fully analyze his worth. And here was the secret of his power over his associates. They trusted in him; they leaned upon him; they often yielded their opinion to his; for they revered the spirit which had a depth, a width, a variousness, a compass, an extent of information, not exactly intelligible to them. They did not deem him faultless, for he was too lowly to suffer such a mistake; but as they became more minute in observing his private life, so much the more did they confide in the purity and rectitude of his aims.

And there was one sphere where he moved aloof from the gaze of men, and where he cultivated the virtues whose influence diffused itself silently through his public life. There was one temple, where he ministered as a high-priest of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. There was one altar, where he bowed with a dignity and a grace which we are not to describe in this sad presence. Who shall tell of his serene walk through the chambers, that are now darkened because he is taken up from them! With what reverence did he bend over the cradle of his sleeping infants! In what phrases can we describe the veneration which he felt for the character of woman. Let us not venture behind the veil which hangs, with so sacred a beauty, before his domestic life. The words of a stranger are but unmeaning sounds, in the ear of those desolate ones who know more than even they can express.

"What practice howsoe'er expert
In fitting aptest words to things,
Or voice the richest-toned that sings,
Hath power to give thee as thou wert?"

As a man, our friend was mortal. That activity of mind which is a rest to him where he is now, overpowers the flesh and blood which cannot enter the kingdom of God. The seeds of consumption sprang up in his body, which had been leaning so long over the learned page. For seven years he was yielding, inch by inch, to that insidious disease. He could not be persuaded that he had any serious malady. He refuted the intimations of his friends, with a tranquil smile. He still cherished his plans for a long life. He persevered in cultivating such habits (for this was his singular forethought), as would make his old age benignant and attractive. He persisted in accumulating new materials for new commentaries. He was just

ready to finish for the press his Expositions of Habakkuk, Job, the Psalms, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Fifteen years had he spent in amassing the treasures for these works; now had come the time for putting the gems into their caskets. Sudden was his disappointment, when he heard, a year since, that his disease was beyond all cure. Still, having consumed the vigor of his life in bringing together from afar the stones of the temple, it was hard to give up the hope of rearing the sacred edifice. He repaired to Athens in Georgia, with the desire of pressing onward to their fulfilment his long cherished schemes. He could not endure the thought, that men should look at him as a doomed man, — should point at him with the finger of sympathy, as given over to the grave. He would fain keep his doom as a secret in his own breast. But while he was taciturn, death hurried on. He became too feeble for study. He was compelled to shut his books. This was a new rebuff to his enterprising mind. He seemed like a man bereaved of his children. He looked like one who was soon to die of a broken heart. His loftiest ideals, the most comprehensive scheme of his life waved before him in his last hours. His frame was attenuated; it was almost a shadow; but his mind continued, as it had been wont, to engross itself with great themes. Socrates would have referred to him as a sign and pledge of the soul's immortal life and youth. On the Sabbath before he died, he asked that the doors of his room might be thrown wide open, so that he might see the fields glistening in the sunlight, and might inhale the fresh breeze of spring. He was enchanted with the vernal scene, with the boughs putting forth their tender leaves. His soul was alive with happy thoughts, all the happier because it was the Sabbath morning. He recited the words:

"As when to them who sail
Beyond the cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabeian odors from the spicy shore
Of Arabia the blest," —

"Take out Milton," he added, "and read that figure." It was read. "It is one of the grandest in the language," he remarked, "and another like it is in those lines:

'Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood,
Stand dressed in living green.'

At one season of the year, the hills of Judaea may be distinctly noticed clothed in green, beyond the river." And then he meditated on the

scenes beyond the river. It had been his hope, to spend that very season of the year in Palestine; but he was hastening onward to a holier land than Canaan of old, — fields greener than those which line the Jordan. After he had read the one hundred and fiftieth Psalm, at family prayer, he rose to lead the devotions of the circle around him; he poured out the affluence of his imagination and his heart, in the seraphic spirit of that Psalm, calling on everything that hath breath to praise the Lord; — “praise him with the sound of the trumpet, with the psaltery and harp;” — but when he came to the individual petitions for himself and household, his voice broke down at once, his whole style sunk from that of an angel to that of the publican, and all his words and tones were those of a stricken, bruised, crushed penitent. No other man can repeat the thoughts which he uttered, more than the sentiments of Plato can be transferred into our ruder speech. Words could not express them. They overflowed the appointed channels. They came out in the trembling lip, the curved frame, the tremulous, broken, whispering voice. While thinking of himself he never cried out with the Apostle: “I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith;” — but when he heard the words quoted: “Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom,” he seized at them; those were just the words; — “Yes,” he said, “I can put myself in the place of the thief.” Less than the least of all saints, not worthy to be called an heir of heaven, a poor child of sin, almost fainting under the burden of his guilt, — so did this disciple whom Jesus loved ever represent himself. And all his words were measured and cautious. He would ask to be left alone, that he might meditate with a composed mind. Over and over did he reiterate the phrase: “I renounce myself utterly, — I renounce my past life.” Even *his* aptness in the choice of phrases failed to express his lowly temper.

He did not suppose that he was soon to die; he expected, — his malady made him tenacious of his expectation, — and some medical advisers did not abandon the hope, that he might live to complete the volumes, with the plan of which his soul had been charmed. But a sudden alteration came over him, on the morning of the nineteenth of April. At the break of the next day, about five hours before he died, it was announced to him that his end was near. The thought was new to him. But he believed it. Neither then nor ever before in his sickness, did he utter one word of murmuring. He felt no terror. When asked if all was peace, he answered with his wonted caution: “*So far as I can think, it is.*” With a clear

mind, he sent his love, his ardent love, to his old friends, expressed his unmeasured confidence in the Bible, — the first and last book of his life's study, — and then he breathed out his spirit, just as an infant falls asleep. He died as he had lived, and as we expected that he would die, — humble, self-distrustful, considerate, loving. He walked thoughtful along the banks of Jordan; he stepped his feet in the waters, carefully and silently; he reserved his triumphs, until he had pressed the solid ground of the other shore.

"One does not perhaps fear," he said in this pulpit four years ago, "one does not perhaps fear so much the pains of death, what is often incorrectly termed, the agonies of dissolution, as he does the launching out on an unknown sea, alone, — plunging into darkness, entering into a boundless space, where there is nothing tangible, local, or visible, where the soul leaves behind all the warm sympathies of life, all which can communicate with other beings. However, fortified by faith, it seems to be a dread experiment. We cling instinctively to some sure support, some familiar surrounding objects. But is it not a thought full of comfort, that to the believer, his Redeemer stands at the very threshold of death, the other side of that thin curtain which hides mortality from life; stands there, not as an abstract form, or an impalpable vision, but as a dear friend, with his heart overflowing with human sympathies. It is like meeting on a foreign shore, our best earthly friend, — perfectly familiar with the language and all the objects there, a guide most intelligent, most faithful, who will anticipate every desire, and in whose society we find the sweetest contentment, and the largest accessions of knowledge and delight."

So, we doubt not, was our brother ushered into that home of elect scholars, for which all his previous discipline had prepared him. He had written short memoirs of many illustrious saints, whom he expected to meet in that spiritual world. He had learned their history by heart. It seems as if he must instantly have felt at home among them. It appears to us natural, that he should be in their company. In our simple way, we think of him as beatified and perfected; yet as changed less than other men, and as retaining more of his familiar features, and, above all, his grateful smile.

After a becoming religious solemnity¹ at Athens, the remains of our friend were brought hither. He had been wont to choose a pri-

¹ The time of this solemnity was Wednesday, April 21st, the day succeeding Prof. Edwards's decease. The remains reached Andover on Thursday, April 29th, and were interred on Friday afternoon, April 30th. The funeral discourse was

vate funeral, and a few sorrowing friends met around his bier. He loved to regard a funeral in its more cheerful aspect, and to console the mourner's heart with descriptions of the tender mercy of God, and the sure hope of a resurrection. He preferred that the obsequies of the dead should be performed with low and gentle accents. And so it was done for him.

The day of his burial was the birth of spring. It was precisely such a day as he would have chosen. In the still and balmy atmosphere, we bore him along his favorite walk, under the trees then budding, as if in sign of the resurrection of the good. We bore him through the avenue which he had so often trod, on his way to meet his pupils, and to comment on the words: "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him; for he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust." We came slowly toward this Chapel, where, for the first time in his life, he celebrated the dying love of Jesus, and where he partook of the sacred emblems for the last time before he drank the new wine in his Father's house. We came near to his Lecture-room, where he had so often explained the words: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." These halls were deserted of their inmates. His pupils were scattered; but, in spirit, they seemed to come together, and to hear from him the words which he once uttered in this place, and which he now repeated with the emphasis of silent death: "There is no land of *forgetfulness*. The grave is vital now. It is a region of soft and pleasant slumbers. There is an almighty and an omniscient Watcher, over all these sleepers." Onward we bore him toward his grave, so pleasant to him,—in that field of God where the corruptible is planted, that it may spring up incorruptible. We passed the new resting-place of his venerable colleague, who was not disturbed by our sobs and sighs. We laid him down by the little son whom he had loved so tenderly, and at whose side he had in his last will charged us to bury him, and over whose grave he had inscribed the stanza:

"These ashes few, this little dust,
Our Father's care shall keep,
Till the last angel rise and break
The long and peaceful sleep."

deferred until Friday, June 25th, because the day of the interment occurred during the Seminary vacation, and the students were therefore absent. This circumstance explains some of the allusions in the subsequent parts of the discourse.

We sung his old family hymn, which had been sung by his own request, at the grave of his mother whom he so much resembled; and then the faithful tomb unveiled its bosom, and took the new treasure to its trust. And so we buried him; and wended our way back slowly and sadly, passing these desolate halls, to his house, yet more desolate. There we watched, as he had so often watched there, the setting sun. It went down in more than its wonted glory. A few clouds were floating about in liquid amber, reminding us that the most cheering light comes sometimes from the darkest dispensations. The beauties of the world fade not away, when our strong staff is broken and our beautiful rod. The government of Jehovah moves on as it moved aforetime, and he will sustain his own cause, and is dependent on no child of mortality. And, far beyond that setting sun, our brother lives and speaks the language of Canaan. All his germs of thought have blossomed out and are bearing fruit. All his treasured hints have expanded into a science, of which he had no conception in this dark world. The plans from which he was cut off have ripened into unexpected means of joy. His endeavors are rewarded as if they had been accomplished. With his Redeemer, a good intention is a good deed, and baffled efforts are as a glorious consummation. A disappointment here, is but a preparative for new service there.

I can utter, my brethren, no words of instruction, in this reverend and afflicted presence. But there is one, who, being dead, yet speaketh. He whose form has now vanished from us, once taught us the lessons to be learned from the grave of pious men. "When the wise and good," he said in this Chapel, "when the wise and good are taken from the earth, their surviving fellow-disciples may well obtain a more impressive idea of the reality of Christian communion, of the living links which still bind them to all who have won the prize, or who are yet on the field of conflict. If the grave is becoming populous, so is the region of life and light beyond its confines. Ten thousand chords of sympathy, invisible except to the eye of faith, connect our world with that better land. In one sense it is becoming less and less unknown. The distance diminishes as the avenues are multiplying, along which throng holy desires, earnest sympathies, longing aspirations. The illumined eye can, occasionally, gain glimpses of its cloudless horizon; the quick ear catch a few notes of its invitations of welcome. *That* is not the world of doubts and phantoms. It is, by eminence, the land of life and of conscious existence. Its happy

shores are even now thronged by earthly natures, perfected in love, happy in final exemption from sin ; who still, from the very necessity of the sympathizing remembrances with which their bosoms overflow, cast down looks of loving solicitude to their old friends and companions, and would, if it were possible, break the mysterious silence, and utter audible voices of encouragement, and reach forth signals of welcome. These, in the view of faith, are undoubted realities, facts which have a stable foundation, truths most comprehensive and fruitful, the distant contemplation of which ennobles the soul, and fits it for its long-desired and blessed society. This, therefore, is one of the uses of these dispensations, — to give new vigor to faith, a fresh reality to that communion of which Christ is the source and the centre ; to enable one to feel that, however weak and unworthy he may be, he is still a citizen of a mighty commonwealth, an inmate of an imperial household, connected by bonds over which chance and time and death have no power, with those who are now pillars in the temple of God."

ARTICLE VIII.

SKETCH OF JUSTIN MARTYR.

By C. E. Stowe, D. D., Professor at Andover.

THE two parables recorded in Matthew 13: 44—46, represent two different ways in which men come to an experimental acquaintance with the religion of Christ. The first find the treasure as it were accidentally, without expecting or seeking for it. The second are anxiously in search of goodly pearls, and it is in consequence of their seeking that they find the pearl of great price. The first are the common kind of worldly natures, who feel no particular spiritual wants, and no special need of religion, till their attention is called and their desires are awakened by some striking providence ; the second are those deeper spiritual natures, whom this world can never satisfy, and who are always restlessly in search of some higher good, till they find in Christ what they need, and what can never be found in any other object.

To this second class belonged Flavius Justin, the celebrated Christian apologist and martyr, one of the first among the learned men by profession, to declare himself a Christian. He was born about the year 100, in the city of Shechem or Sychar (Neapolis), in the territory of Samaria. His father, Priscus, was a Greek of good property, who was anxious to give his son the best education that money could buy. The family, it seems probable, belonged to a Roman colony which had settled there under Vespasian.

Like Augustin, from his earliest years Justin felt an earnest longing after a knowledge of Divine things. Wandering unsatisfied from one school of philosophy to another, he at length found, in the despised and persecuted religion of Christ, the pearl of great price, of which he was in such anxious search. It will be most interesting to listen to his own relation of his experience.

Full of longing to become a proficient in philosophy (he says), I made application to a Stoic. I remained with him sometime; but when I found that I did not attain to any knowledge of God, that this philosopher neglected all such knowledge, and even despised it as something altogether superfluous, I left him and went to another, a Peripatetic, who had a high opinion of his own acuteness. He kept me with him several days, and then asked me, how much I would pay him for his instructions; for, as he expressed it, he wished to have some fruit of his labor in his connection with me. Such conduct I considered beneath the dignity of a philosopher, and immediately left him. My unsatisfied longings to find the nucleus and germinating principle of all philosophy, left my spirit no rest, and I next applied to a very celebrated Pythagorean, to whom I laid open my desires. He immediately asked me: Dost thou understand music, astronomy and geometry? Thinkest thou that thou canst understand any of those things that lead to blessedness, unless thou first become acquainted with all the sciences, which alone are capable of withdrawing the spirit from the sensible and making it capable of the supersensible, and of fitting it for an intuition of that which is in itself beautiful and good, in which the life of blessedness consists? This philosopher eulogized in lofty words the mathematics, and expatiated on their necessity. When I acknowledged my ignorance of these preparatory sciences, he dismissed me. At this I was not a little troubled, and thought then that I would apply to the Platonists. They were in high repute at that time, and fortunately one of them, a man of distinguished talent, had, a little while before this, taken up his residence in our city. I enjoyed his instructions daily, and made

commendable progress. The knowledge of supersensible things ravished me; and the intuition of ideas as it were gave me wings, on which I raised myself above myself. Within a short period I considered that I had become a truly wise man, and was foolish enough to expect that I should soon have the intuition of God, for that is what the Platonic philosophy aims at. Full of this hope, it occurred to me, that I would withdraw to some solitary place, far from the turmoil of the world, and there, in perfect self-collection, give myself to my own contemplations. I chose a spot by the sea-side. Here, there one day met me an old man, whose whole aspect was radiant with an air of mildness and dignity. I fixed my eyes upon him and earnestly observed him, but without venturing to speak. He approached me, was the first to break silence, and a conversation was commenced.

This old man was a Christian, and their conversation pertained to the nature of God, the immortality of the soul, the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked. Justin professed himself to be a friend of science and of self-contemplation. The old man asked him, why he would not be a friend of actual deeds rather than of mere meditations. Justin replied, that without philosophy there was nothing in man either sound or pleasing to God; that to philosophize was the most important and most dignified of all employments, and that other employments had value only so far as they were connected with this. The old man expressed a desire to be informed what Justin meant by philosophy; and he replied, that it was the science of being and of the absolute, the knowledge of the true, and that the reward of this knowledge was the life of blessedness. To the inquiry of the old man as to what he understood by God, he replied, that God was the eternal and imperishable ground of all things.

The old man perceived that the youth was capable of higher things, and was pleased with his conversation. The young man answered all questions on the principles of the Platonists; and the venerable Christian now so pressed upon him with inquiries and comparisons and reasonings, that Justin at last was forced to acknowledge that the Platonic philosophy did not satisfy the wants of the human soul, and was far from solving the problem of existence. The old man then referred the earnest inquirer to the prophets, to Christ, to the apostles. Above all (he concluded) pray, that thine understanding may be opened; for no one attains to the true wisdom, till God and his Christ shall have opened the eyes of his soul.

Justin says that he immediately felt a Divine fire kindling itself

in his soul; he felt a deep love for the prophets and the friends of Christ; he began to be a Christian philosopher. The work which the old Christian had begun by his conversation, was carried on and completed by a study of the Sacred Scriptures. In the light of God's Word, he saw the nothingness of Paganism and the falsehood of the accusations against Christianity. What finally decided him to make an open profession of Christianity, was, the courage and constancy of the Christians in their martyrdoms. He who dies like these men (thought he to himself), he who has so little fear of death and of all that is generally considered most dreadful among men, cannot possibly be guilty of those vices which are generally attributed to the Christian. A man who loves extravagance and dissipation, who finds his highest, his only pleasures in sensual gratifications, could he with such cheerfulness encounter death, which robs him of everything that in this world can be considered honorable or desirable? Would not such an one rather use all means to prolong, as far as possible, his earthly life, on which everything depends; and so far from becoming his own accuser, would he not rather withdraw and hide himself from the eyes of the magistrate?

Justin was at this time about thirty years old; it was at the period of the rebellion of the Jews under the impostor Bar Cochebas, in consequence of which Palestine was overrun and laid waste by the Roman troops.

The salvation which Justin received for himself, he longed to communicate to others. He became a missionary of the cross, and traversed both Asia and Europe. He visited Rome twice; he finally fixed his residence there, established a Christian school in the city, and there he died the death of a martyr.

He always wore the philosopher's mantle, and was the first of the Christian philosophers. Of the writings of Justin extant in the time of Eusebius, this historian mentions his two Apologies, the first addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius; the second addressed to this emperor's adopted son and successor; the Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; a work against the Greeks on philosophical questions between the Greeks and Christians, and on the nature of demons; a work against the gentiles entitled *Refutation; Remarks on the Soul; Psalter or the Psalmist*; and a work against Marcion. Of these all are lost to us except the first three. Incidentally, in his writings, he gives interesting notices of his own history, and of the condition of the Christian church at that early period. Of the mode in which persons were admitted to the church, and of the order of public worship on the Lord's day, he gives the following account:

Those who from conviction hold what we teach to be true, and who are willing to promise to live accordingly, are instructed to ask of God, by prayer and fasting, the forgiveness of their former sins, and we also pray and fast with them. Then we conduct them to a place where there is water, and there they are regenerated as we had been regenerated before; for in the name of the Father of all, the Lord God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, they receive the bath of water. The reason hereof, as we have received it from the apostles, is as follows: at our first generation, without our knowledge, we are born by a sort of natural necessity, from the seed of our parents, and grow up in bad morals and evil discipline. In order that we may no more be children of physical necessity and ignorance, but become the children of freedom and knowledge, and obtain the forgiveness of sins before committed, therefore the Christian is baptized. This bath is also called the illumination, because they who thus learn, are spiritually illuminated. And whoever is illuminated, is washed in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who by the prophets, foretold all that relates to Christ.

After the candidate for baptism has made the confession of faith and received baptism, we conduct him to the assembly of the brethren, in order that with all devotion we may offer up our united prayers for him, for ourselves, for all, wherever they may live, that we, being now in the possession of the true knowledge, may also be found active in the works of a good life and zealous in the observance of the Divine commandments, so that we may obtain everlasting blessedness. After our prayer is ended, we salute each other with a kiss. Then there is brought to him who presides over the brethren, bread and a cup of wine mingled with water. He receives it, offers praise and glory to the Father of all, in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and gives thanks that he has honored us with this gift. The prayer and thanksgiving being ended, all the people present respond Amen. Then the deacons hand to every one present a portion of the bread and of the wine mingled with water, which has received the blessing. This meal is called by us the Eucharist; and no one is allowed to partake of it unless he believes those things which are taught by us, and has received baptism for the forgiveness of sins and for the new birth; and lives according to the precepts of Christ. For we do not receive this as common food and common drink; but, as Jesus Christ our Saviour, by the word of God became flesh, and had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we are taught that

by the power of the prayer uttered with his word, the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus becomes a blessed nourishment, whereby by means of a transformation, our flesh and blood are nourished. After that we mutually exhort each other; and those who are able, contribute for the support of the poor; and thus we daily come together. For everything which we enjoy, we praise the Creator of all things, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost.

On the day which is called Sunday, all who dwell in the cities and in the country, come together in one place; and then the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, so much as the time allows. When the reader has done, the presiding officer makes an exhortation that such excellent instructions be followed. Then we all stand up and pray; and this being ended, bread and wine and water are brought and the distribution begins; and to those who are absent, portions are sent by the deacons. Those who have property and are willing, contribute according to their pleasure, and that which is contributed is deposited with the presiding officer, who distributes it to the orphans or widows; or to those who are sick or strangers or otherwise needy. Generally he takes charge of all the poor. We hold our meetings on Sunday, not only because this is the first day on which God created the world, but because our Redeemer, on this same day, arose from the dead.

In this simple and beautiful account of the primitive Christian worship, no mention is made of singing or chanting; but that this was always practised, we learn abundantly from other sources. The first Christian worship, in its form, was modelled very considerably after the synagogue worship, and of this the chanting of the psalms and other sacred poetry was always a very prominent part; and Pliny, writing to inform the emperor Trajan of what he had learned respecting the Christians, among other things, says: *Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christi quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.*

The incident which gave occasion to one of Justin's defences of Christianity, will illustrate the character of the times and the decision of the martyr. A woman at Rome, who with her husband had led a life of sin and scandal, was converted to the faith of Christ by a Christian named Ptolemy. The husband continuing his evil course, she obtained a divorce from him. In a rage he denounced her before the city magistrate as a Christian. She obtained permission to arrange her household affairs before the trial, and the husband, foiled in his expectation of immediate revenge, then denounced Ptolemy. He

acknowledged himself to be a Christian, and was at once condemned to death by the prefect Urbicus. A Christian, named Lucius, being present, indignantly exclaimed: Why do you condemn this man, who is neither an adulterer nor a murderer, neither a thief nor a robber — who is convicted of no crime, but only confesses that he is a Christian? O Urbicus, you do not give a judgment which is becoming to the times of a pious and philosophic emperor, and a venerable senate. Urbicus, instead of attempting a vindication of himself, only said: I think you too are a Christian. Ptolemy did not deny the charge, and he was instantly condemned to death, as was also another Christian who happened to be present. This lawless mockery of all justice, excited the indignation of Justin, who immediately wrote one of his apologies for the Christians and directed it to the reigning emperor.

A few extracts from the Apologies of Justin, and from his Dialogue with Trypho, will further illustrate the character and history of the martyr, and the condition of the Christian church in his time.

The first Apology was directed to the emperor, Antoninus Pius, and his adopted son and heir, Marcus Aurelius, called the Philosopher, and the Roman senate. Without fear or hesitation, Justin, at the very commencement of it, gives his own name, the place of his birth, and the name of his father, declares himself a Christian, and without circumlocution tells the emperor that it does not become him, who is surnamed the Pius, nor his son, who is surnamed the Philosopher, to hold on upon old opinions which are wrong, but they ought to honor and love the truth only. All the world calls you religious, philosophers, the guardians of righteousness, the friends of science. You should now show whether you are so in reality. It is not my purpose in this writing to flatter you or speak you fair; I would only exhort you that in your judicial sentences you pronounce a right judgment. Otherwise, so far as you may be influenced by a preconceived opinion, or a desire to gratify superstitious persons, or an ungovernable passion, or by false reports, which may for a long time have been spreading against us, in all this you would only pronounce your own condemnation. For, as to what pertains to ourselves, we are most deeply convinced that no one can injure us while we do no wrong. You can, indeed, put us to death; but you cannot hurt us.

We would not live, if we must purchase our life by a lie. Longing for an eternal and a pure life, we desire communion with God, the Father of all and the Creator of the universe. . . . From the

manner in which you treat a religion which leads all men to virtue, one might conclude that you feared lest all should become good and you would have nobody to punish—an idea more becoming to a hangman than to a wise prince. . . . If, however, you are resolved to imitate the foolish, and sacrifice the truth to prejudice, you are doing the worst thing you can do. For I must say to you, that even princes, when they yield more to the vain opinions of men than to the truth, have no more authority than robbers in a forest or in a desert. . . . All these things our Lord distinctly foretold, and, as we see them come to pass, we hold to him the stronger. . . . Shame, shame to you, that you should attribute to the innocent that which you yourselves publicly do, and the evil which is peculiar to yourselves and your gods you ascribe to those in whom not a trace of it is to be found—O repent and be wise.

He said to Trypho: Jews and Pagans persecute us on all sides, they rob us of all our possessions, they take our lives whenever they can. They behead us, they nail us to crosses, they throw us to wild beasts, they put us in chains, they cast us into fires. But the more evil they do us, the greater is the number of the believers, the more numerous are they who become pious in the name of Christ. As when you cut off the fruitful branches of the vine, it immediately puts forth other flourishing and fruit-bearing branches, so it is with the Christians; for the vine planted by God and Christ the Saviour is his people.

Justin expected that his boldness and fidelity would cost him his life, and in this he was not deceived. I expect (said he) that I shall be clandestinely assailed and bound to the stake by some foe or other—perhaps by Crescens, that prater and bawler; for he is not worthy of the name of a philosopher—he who calls Christians blasphemous and atheists, and in all things labors to flatter the ignorant and deceived mob.

The Crescens here alluded to, was a Cynic philosopher of very bad character, who had often been worsted in public disputes with Justin, and whose bosom rankled with rage and thirst for vengeance. By his endeavors, Justin was accused, condemned and beheaded at Rome, about A. D. 165.

The Holy Scriptures were Justin's delight, and the source from which he drew his theology. Of the Scriptures, he says: There is in them a majesty, which may well cause those who forsake the right way, to quake with fear; but the sweetest rest and quiet do they give to those who bear them in their hearts. When ridiculed for so often

citing the same texts, he says: We see that the sun and moon and stars daily pursue the same course, and always bring about the same changes of the seasons; and it is nothing ridiculous, when he who studies the Holy Scriptures, grows not weary of quoting the same passages, and does not imagine that he can find better thoughts or more appropriate expressions than those which are furnished by the Sacred Writings.

In his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, Justin says, in allusion to the twentieth chapter of Revelation: A certain man among us, whose name was John, one of Christ's apostles, in the revelation made to him, hath prophesied that the faithful in our Lord Christ will spend a thousand years in Jerusalem, and after that will come the general and universal resurrection and judgment. When Trypho asks him if he really believes in this thousand years' reign, he replies, in substance: I have confessed to you before that I and many others entertain this opinion; as also you (the Jews) universally understand that this will take place. I and all other Christians, who are in all respects orthodox, understand that there will be a resurrection of the flesh, and then one thousand years in Jerusalem, rebuilt and adorned and enlarged; as is also declared by the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others. (Ezek. 37: 12 seq. Isa. 65: 17 seq.) In his Apology, he asserts that this thousand years' reign will not be a human, political kingdom.

Of the more striking peculiarities of Justin's theological system, the following is a brief but faithful summary:

There is in every man a germ of the Divine reason, a seed of the Logos, whereby man is related to God, and becomes capable of forming an idea of God. By this spark of the Divine intelligence, the better men among the Pagan philosophers were illuminated; but more especially and far beyond these, the prophets and inspired men of the Old Testament. Still this revelation was only fragmentary and partial. Only in Christ was the Logos, the Divine reason, perfectly revealed. The Logos, the Word, is himself God, yet from God; the Word, the First-begotten, the Power, the primitive Revelation of God. He is the only-begotten of God, yet without any dividing or pouring forth of the Divine substance, but begotten solely by the will of the Father.

The Son was with God before the creation; the Word of the Father, and begotten when God by him in the beginning created and ordered all things. As to his personal subsistence, he is distinct from God, but numerically only, not essentially; and subordinate to the

Father, but only inasmuch as he has his origin and being from the counsel of the paternal will.

As He is the first revelation of the Father, so He is the medium of all the subsequent revelations of the Divine light and life. He is the Creator and Governor of the world, the universal reason. He dwells in every reasonable being, in different measure, according to the susceptibility of each individual; and He was the leader and bearer of the Old Testament theocracy. He is the God who appeared to Moses and to the patriarchs. He it is who said, I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob; and He was with such heathen as Socrates, though not with those who were ungodly.

When the fulness of time had come, this Word through the virgin became flesh, according to the will of the Father, that He might participate in and bear our infirmities, and take away from us the curse of the law. In him were united and made objective the human reason and the Divine intelligence; he was in the flesh both man and God incarnate, and thus the Saviour of fallen men.

This is the true and the only safe and saving philosophy; in comparison with this all other philosophy has only a subordinate value; this alone works salvation, and here only can we recognize the Divine and attain to God. He who is filled with the spirit of Christ, derives not his knowledge from the erring and imperfect and fragmentary reason, but from the fulness and perfection of reason, which is Christ himself.

[NOTE. — The above sketch of Justin is derived mainly from what is said of him by Eusebius, Böhringer, Neander and Gieseler.]

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

I. TRAILL'S JOSEPHUS.¹

By Rev. Samuel Wolcott, Belchertown, Mass.

THERE is scarcely any ancient author, whose writings are so widely circulated, and so little read, as those of the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus. By the Christian public generally, his works are regarded with an indefinite but peculiar authority and interest; they are held in a kind of sacred estimation, and large popular editions of them have met with a ready sale. In the small collection of books which is to be found in almost every religious family in New England, it is very common to meet the title of Josephus among them; the owners of the volume imagining that they possess in it—they know not exactly what, but a treasure which they have reason to value; and hardly any physiognomy, ancient or modern, is more current and familiar than that of the turbaned and bearded Jewish priest.

The work which has been thus widely diffused, is Whiston's translation. But, while it has been extensively circulated, because it relates to sacred subjects, and is believed to illustrate and corroborate the Sacred Scriptures, it is seldom read, principally because it is a dull and heavy translation. It would be difficult to find more tedious reading; and nothing but the most determined resolution can carry an intelligent reader through its dreary books, chapters, and sections.

Among men of letters, Josephus has not been held in equal or universal esteem; and some critics, of no mean repute, have spoken of him in the most slighting and disparaging terms. Of late years, an increased attention has been awakened to some of his statements, on account of their bearing on questions of topography, antiquity and discovery in the Holy Land. The researches in Palestine of our learned countryman, Dr. Robinson, have contributed much to the new interest felt in this author.

At this juncture, it was the good fortune of Josephus to fall into the hands of an able and appreciative translator, the Rev. Dr. Traill, Rector of Schull, a parish in the south-west of Ireland. A slight comparison of the version before us with that of his predecessor, will be sufficient to satisfy any reader, that he has executed his difficult task well, and given us a far more correct and spirited translation. It is a highly creditable work, and can be

¹ The Jewish War of Flavius Josephus: A New Translation by the late Rev. Robert Traill, D. D., M. R. I. A. Edited, with notes, by Isaac Taylor. With pictorial illustrations. Vols. I. II. London: Noulston Stoneman. 1847, and 1851. 8vo. pp. xii, 258, lxiv; xi, 252, lxx—cxciv.

read with interest, both by those who are not acquainted with the original, and by those who are familiar with it.

Dr. Traill entered upon his formidable project, and prosecuted it, with a scholar's enthusiasm; and with the noble desire of vindicating the reputation and doing ample justice to the merits of his favorite author as a historian. It was his purpose, as the title-page of the First Volume imports, to give a new translation of the complete "Works of Josephus." It opens with a suitable Preface, and a discriminating Essay on the personal character and credibility of Josephus; and then follow the Autobiography, and the first two Books of the Jewish War. The work was published in Parts; and just as the fourth Part, completing this First Volume, was coming from the press, the lamented translator was removed by death. "Dr. Traill fell a victim to the generous and extraordinary exertions made by him, during that winter of horrors, 1846-47, to alleviate the sufferings of his parishioners and neighbors."

After an interval of three or four years, the Second Volume made its appearance, with the modification indicated by its title-page, which we have given below. It contains the remaining five Books of the Jewish War; and the plan of giving the entire Works of Josephus is relinquished by the editor. The translator, it is said, had made much progress in preparing for the press the two Books against Appian, and the Antiquities of the Jews; but the manuscript was not in such a state as to warrant their publication. The months and years, which he must have spent on that unpublished manuscript, will not prove, we may hope, to have been in vain. A new and improved translation of Josephus was evidently the literary venture of his life. To its execution he appears to have devoted himself with a religious fidelity, impelled, among other motives, by the high and holy consideration, that he was contributing to the elucidation of sacred history, a service which is its own reward to one who engages in it with a genuine love. We trust that his original plan will be happily realized at some future day; in the meantime, it is a satisfaction to know that the perfected portion before us is not a fragment, detached from the rest, but a distinct history, complete in itself.

Both Josephus and his translator may be pronounced fortunate in the supervision of the accomplished editor, under whose auspices the work is issued. He has contributed to the publication, not merely his name and fame as an author, but a portion of his multifarious lore. Nearly two hundred pages of explanatory notes, embracing a wide range of topics, are the fruits of his archaeological researches, in connection with the work before us. They are inserted together, at the close of each volume, those in the last being paged continuously with those in the first. They are not connected with the body of the work by any marks or notes, either in the text or margin, and will hence be of less interest and value to the general reader. The relation between the translator's department and the editor's, as here given, appears to be rather mechanical than natural; and this effect is heightened by the circumstance, that many of the notes are merely explanatory of the

plates, some of which have but a remote and incidental connection, if any, with the author.

The work of the editor, as well as of the translator, was a labor of love; and with reference to their author, we cannot but regard their undertaking as highly successful. In connection with the observations of explorers in the field, we think that they have demonstrated to every candid mind the personal integrity of Josephus, and his general trustworthiness as the chronicler of his unhappy nation.

The pictorial illustrations, with which the work is embellished, are a great ornament to it, and will be received by many as its chief attraction. They consist of some sixty Views in Palestine, sketched and engraved expressly for this work, and nine Medallion Heads of celebrated historical personages, carefully executed from ancient and authentic coins in the British Museum. The sketches of Palestine were furnished by Mr. William Tipping, an English amateur artist, whose visit to the East for the purpose was professional, and whose connection with this work was not the result of any special sympathy with the views and aims of the translator and editor, but arose from its offering him a convenient and suitable vehicle for bringing before the public some of the productions of his clever pencil. An American missionary, who was in company with him in Jerusalem, in 1842, wrote at the time respecting his delineations: "His sketches are strikingly faithful, and will be an invaluable acquisition to the forthcoming publication of Josephus."¹ This flattering testimony is fully borne out by the published plates; the Editor is correct in pronouncing them "exact and trustworthy." They are executed with great accuracy and finish, and as an accompaniment of the work, are both illustrative and decorative. Even those which have no direct relation to Josephus, but belong to Jewish archaeology and oriental scenery, have, with the editorial notes, an interest and value of their own.

We deeply regret that our brief notice of this interesting publication may not properly close here. We took it up with the intention of preparing a more extended article, and with high anticipations of the pleasantness of the duty which we had imposed on ourselves. With so much that is entitled to our warm commendation, we are sincerely grieved to discover a trait of great weakness, so positively objectionable, that justice and the truth of history require us now to expose it. This shows itself in the notes which the artist has furnished the editor, and which are given in connection with his plates; and as our eye turns from the engraving to the letter-press, a shadow falls upon the page. Not content with the high credit which fairly belongs to him in his own department, he has greatly and most foolishly obscured it, by appropriating freely what did not belong to him in another. One of the objects of most remarkable interest secured for his friend, the editor, was the ancient rock-fortress of Masada, first seen at a distance and recognized by Dr. Robinson, and first visited and identified by Mr. Tipping and his American friend, referred to above. After a general explanation of the three plates

¹ Bibliotheca Sacra, 1843, p. 42.

relating to it, the editor introduces a more particular description of the locality, as follows: "*Mr. Tipping's account of this exploration will best bring the scene before the mind of the reader; he says:*" and then follow, as Mr. Tipping's, four or five solid pages of Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, drawn up and furnished for him by his own countryman and correspondent, with only three or four verbal alterations, which were necessary to conceal the transfer of authorship! For not a line of this narrative, except these alterations, has Mr. Tipping the slightest responsibility. It was drawn up exclusively by his fellow-traveller, from notes of his own, after his return to Jerusalem from the excursion, addressed to Dr. Smith, and forwarded by him to Dr. Robinson, who published it, years ago, over the writer's name. Before it was transmitted, it was read to Mr. Tipping, who remarked that its perusal would afford much pleasure to Mr. Taylor, and asked permission to send him a copy of it—which of course was granted. It now appears that he sent it, not as a copy, but, with slight verbal changes, as a communication of his own; and the consequence is, that, long after it had been given to the public as another man's, and without any comment on that known fact (for the editor extracts, with due credit, a brief testimony for Josephus from almost the next page of the same publication), this faithful narrative of diligent investigations in a virgin field, makes its appearance in the English work, *mutatis mutandis*, as fresh and original; Mr. Tipping describing, as his own, a personal adventure of his companion, which he did not even witness! We are inclined to characterize this procedure as decidedly cool!¹

The finest pictorial trophy of the work, unquestionably, is the magnificent Vaulted Hall beneath the mosk el-Aksa. It was discovered through a grated window elevated in the southern wall of the Haram. Mr. Tipping's account is as follows: "It immediately occurred to my friend and myself that this window would be worth climbing up to; and I accordingly made one or two visits to the spot for the purpose,"¹ etc. This statement is unfortunately destitute of truth, though not more so than other parts of the same communication. That window was first observed and climbed up to by Mr. T.'s "friend," in a solitary exploration in the unfrequented spot, during Mr. T.'s absence from Jerusalem; on finding what a vista it opened into, he informed his friends, who visited it with him the next day, and subsequently; and Mr. Tipping, on his return to the city, eight days after, was likewise conducted to it, and then expressed as much surprise and pleasure as the other Franks, residents and tourists, at the casual and unexpected discovery! All this can be substantiated by notes made at the time, and by living witnesses. As Mr. T. knows that he would in all probability have left Jerusalem, without a sketch of this grand substructure in his portfolio, if he had not chanced to meet his American friend there, it is exceedingly gracious in him, to permit his editor to speak, in this connection, of "the claim which Mr. Tipping advances in his own behalf, and that of his friend, to the merit of discoverers!"²

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, 62—67. Josephus, 1851, II. cxi—cxiv.

² Josephus, I. xvi.

There are other statements of Mr. T., which are equally open to animadversion; especially his allusions to any risk or peril which he incurred, and also his account of the process by which the secret entrance to the vaulted passage, after his sketches were completed, became closed to other artists and visitors—about which he knows more than he would like to communicate.

Mr. Tipping's companion, whose descriptions and discoveries have been thus appropriated, has hardly more reason to complain of the injustice, than his correspondent has of the imposition. The high-minded and honorable English editor, who is incapable of any meanness or unfairness, has been made the unsuspecting instrument of giving currency to a plagiarism and a fraud.

The unpleasant disclosure which we have made, though in itself of little consequence to the public, is strongly demanded by general considerations of truth and equity and historical accuracy, especially when such a name as that of Isaac Taylor may seem to stand sponsor for the deception. The Holy Land has been of late years the theatre of most interesting research and discovery; the field is open to a generous rivalry; and the gleanings, however inconsiderable, which a fortunate searcher may have it in his power to gather, ought not to be rifled from him. Travellers and explorers in that sacred territory must be held to a strict accountability—to the obligation of reporting with the truthfulness of a witness on the stand. Half the necessity of Dr. Robinson's present visit to Palestine, will probably be found to have been occasioned by the loose statements of inexperienced and superficial observers and theorists, who have followed him and given, on some important points, different representations from his own, which he could not feel at liberty to contradict or correct, without a fresh examination.

This edition of Josephus, we would remark, is published in the best style, and is a beautiful specimen of typography. It is understood that two American houses commenced the republication of it, on its first appearance in England; but neither has resumed it, since its suspension, and it is not known that any American edition is now contemplated. If it could be published in a single volume, of suitable print, with a judicious selection of the plates and notes which directly illustrate the author, connected with the text by distinct references, it would be a readable and valuable, and ought to be a salable, work.

II. WORKS OF RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

MANY of the writings of this distinguished prelate, are well and favorably known in this country. All our readers, for example, are familiar with the *Elements of Rhetoric*; the *Elements of Logic*; the *Easy Lessons on Reasoning*; the *Sermons* (first edition); the *Charges and other Tracts*; the *Essays on the Errors of Romanism*; the *Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*; the *Essays on some of the difficulties in the writings of Paul*; the *Bampton Lectures and other Sermons*; the *Essays on the*

Dangers to the Christian Faith; the Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte; and The Kingdom of Christ delineated.

In addition to these are the following, which are less generally known in this country: Introductory Lectures on Political Economy, delivered at Oxford in Easter Term, 1851; A View of the Scripture Revelations concerning a Future State; Sermons (an enlarged edition); Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences; Introductory Lessons on the History of Religious Worship; Easy Lessons on Money Matters, for the Use of Young People; Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles, and especially their Conduct at the time of his Apprehension and Trial; Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels; A Letter to a Clergyman of the Diocese of Dublin, on Religious Controversy; Address to a young person who has been confirmed, on the subject of Self-examination.

Our attention has been recently called to an American edition of the Selection of English Synonymes revised by Dr. Whately. This is a compact and discriminating little work, which may be made abundantly serviceable in the study of our language. It will be found a worthy companion of the Lectures of Trench, which were noticed in our last Number. It may be thought a mistake that it does not go more fully into the etymology of words, but this seems to have been considered by the author and set aside on the ground that "in an enquiry into the *actual* and *present* meaning of a word, the consideration of what it *originally* meant may frequently tend to lead us astray." This may sometimes be the case without doubt, but a knowledge of the etymology does not involve a slavish obedience to it, and the history of a word, under the wise guidance of a master of language, would, we must think, far oftener contribute to our intelligent use of it, than tend to confuse us. The words "right" and "just" may be referred to as examples.

Another work which was drawn at the Archbishop's suggestion, and revised by him, bears the following title: Historic Certainties Respecting the Early History of Armenia, Developed in a Critical Examination of the Book of the Chronicles of the Land of Ecnarf; By Rev. Aristarchus Newlight, Phil. Dr. of the University of Giessen; Corresponding Member of the Theophilanthropic and Pantisocratical Societies of Leipsic; Late Professor of all Religions in several distinguished Academies at home and abroad, etc. pp. 62. 8vo.

The following Dedication will sufficiently explain the design and spirit of the work: "To the learned and enlightened Public of Europe and America, specially to those eminent critics at home and abroad, whose labors upon Jewish History I have humbly made my model; to Dr. W. M. Leberecht De Wette, Dr. D. F. Strauss, Mr. F. W. Newman, these pages are inscribed by their faithful servant, the Commentator." Of course the object of the work is, to expose the absurdities of the style of criticism adopted by Strauss and his followers. In this respect, the work is on the same plan with Dr. Whately's celebrated Historic Doubts respecting Napoleon Bonaparte. It illustrates in an admirable manner, the tendency of the Straussian school to give *à priori* interpretations of historical documents; to make every difficulty in

the explanation of the Bible a reason for rejecting the truth of the Biblical narrative; to spurn every hypothesis by which the apparent discrepancies of Scripture may be reconciled, and to indulge in the most improbable conjectures for giving plausibility to its mythical interpretation. Infidelity requires too much of faith for common logicians. If we possess all the credulity which it demands, we can easily explain, as does Dr. Aristarchus Newlight, the French Revolution, the Russian Campaign, the Spanish Invasion, as *myths* rather than *histories*. In comparison with German Neology, the religion of the Bible is preëminently rational. It is, indeed, the perfection of reason.

There are several additional works which were written at the Archbishop's suggestion, and which also received his revision. Among these are Eden's Theological Dictionary; Tractatus Tres; Cautions for the Times, addressed to the Parishioners of a Parish in England, by their former Rector. These "Cautions for the Times" are in separate numbers, the first number containing seventy-six pages. All the tracts are terse, ingenious and powerful. The greater part of them richly deserve a republication in this country. The genius of Dr. Whately is very conspicuous in some of them.

III. MEMORIAL OF DR. POPKIN.¹

PROFESSOR POPKIN was born in Boston on the 19th of June, 1771, and died at Cambridge on the 2nd of March, 1852. He was for eighteen years Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Previously he had been, for sixteen years, a Pastor of a Congregational Church, first in Boston, then in Newbury, Mass. In some respects he was a good representative of the early New England clergymen. He inherited their honesty and their learning. We are prone to undervalue the amount of their philological attainments. Dr. Popkin has thus described one of his predecessors in the pastoral office at Newbury, Mass., Rev. Thomas Parker, who came to New England in 1634, and was the first minister of the Congregational Church in Newbury: —

"He was a man of a very charitable and liberal mind, and at the same time fervently pious and engaged in the duties of a minister. He taught a school in this Newbury, of about twelve or fourteen scholars; and took no pay, but such presents as were freely sent him. When he was blind, he could teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew. There is a report, of which I have no written vouchers, that some ministers, being dissatisfied with his opinions, came to reason with him on these subjects. They addressed him in English, he replied in Latin; they followed him in Latin, he retired to Greek, and to Hebrew; they pursued, but in Arabic he stopped them. He then refused to be examined by them." — *Biographical Sketch of Dr. Popkin*, p. xl.

¹ A Memorial of the Rev. John Snelling Popkin, D. D., late Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Edited by Cornelius C. Felton, his successor in office. "*Μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοιαν ἀνασιν*." Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1852. pp. 480. 12mo.

This extract from Dr. Popkin, while it illustrates the Spartan brevity and genial humor of his style, indicates also his own scholarly habits and his theological peculiarities. "His acquaintance with the Scriptures," says Professor Felton, "rested upon a profound knowledge of the original languages in which they were written. During the latter years of his life, he abandoned classical literature almost wholly, and devoted all his remaining energies to the reverent study of the Old and New Testament, especially the former in the Hebrew and the Septuagint translation." — *Biographical Sketch*, p. lxxxvi.

Dr. Popkin speaks of himself as rather an "anomaly" in the theological world, as a man who did not follow any human leader, but aimed to be a strictly Biblical divine. "I like," he says, "what is commonly understood by the term Evangelical preaching, but not the extremes on any side. Yet these extremes appear to be the very essence, the essential points of the various systems; and for this reason, that they are the chief points of difference, and are therefore most closely and stoutly fenced and opposed and defended. And these points are such as are most beyond our comprehension. In my humble opinion, religion is or ought to be, in its highest points, more a matter of sentiment than definition. I think that the expressions of the Divine Word are best adapted to make the right impressions on the human mind; and that what we call the heart or the affections may be duly impressed by the Divine expressions which the mind cannot fully comprehend. But then we ought not to attempt to define or explain these expressions further than they are revealed by the Divine Word." — *Biographical Sketch*, p. lxxxv.

It may be inferred from the preceding quotations, that Dr. Popkin was an original and suggestive writer. Few men would agree with him in his theological peculiarities, yet all must respect his honest pursuit of truth. He loved the old fashions in literature as well as in religion, but ever thought and felt for himself.

Besides the *Biographical Sketch*, written in a very agreeable style by Professor Felton, this Memorial contains three Lectures by Professor Popkin on Liberal Education, seven on Greek Literature, and five sermons. They abound with rich thoughts tersely expressed. They exhibit an uncommon power of intellect, as well as childlike sincerity of heart.

IV. PAUL'S ANALYSIS OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.¹

THE main body of this work consists, as the title intimates, of an analysis and critical interpretation of the Hebrew text of the Book of Genesis. In

¹ Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis, preceded by a Hebrew Grammar, and Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch and on the Structure of the Hebrew Language. By the Rev. William Paul, A. M., Minister of Banchoory Devenick, N. B. Published by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1852. pp. 521. 8vo.

this, every word is analyzed, numbered, and referred to the Index at the close of the volume. The analysis is preceded by a short Grammar, formed upon the plan and principles of that of Dr. Lee, to which the reader will find frequent references for fuller information. This Grammar is, as the author himself tells us, rudimentary. "It contains little more," he says, "than the general principles of the Hebrew Grammar, which are illustrated in the Analysis. I have preferred pointing out the exceptions there, to the loading of the Grammar with them. I thought, if the general principle was well understood, that the learner would soon regard every case that appeared contrary to it as an exception, and treat it as such." To the whole is prefixed an Introduction, consisting of three parts. The design of the *first* part is to show that the Mosaic account of the creation is in no respect invalidated by modern geological discoveries; and to establish, in various ways, the genuineness of the Pentateuch in general, and of the Book of Genesis in particular. In this part, the author discusses the question concerning the probable sources whence Moses derived the materials for writing the Book of Genesis. In the *second* part, the genuineness of the Pentateuch is proved by arguments founded on a comparison of the styles of the earlier and later writers of the old Testament. The *third* part contains an investigation of the principles and structure of the Hebrew language (embracing a dissertation upon the sequences of the tenses), which are developed and referred to in the Analysis.

The author studied Hebrew in Scotland (where Hebrew literature has not held the high rank that it justly claims of theologians), without the assistance of a teacher. Alone and unaided he threaded his way through the intricacies of the Hebrew language; a language so different, in both its grammatical forms and its syntax, from our occidental tongues. And this historical fact has impressed itself upon the whole work. It is manifestly the production of one who, by his own proper strength, has encountered and overcome the obstacles which beset the path of the young Hebraist. Hence its fulness of analysis, explanation and illustration. For those who enjoy the instructions of a competent teacher, this analysis might seem to be carried to a superfluous extent, occupying, as it does, 284 pages of the volume, and embracing 3427 forms. One might fear lest, with too many students, such a profusion of help should operate to repress the vigorous exercise of their own analytic powers, without the thorough culture of which there can be no true scholarship. But, however this may be, it is certain that, for those who have not the privilege of enjoying the instructions of a teacher, the book furnishes all the facilities that are, in the nature of the case, possible. With its help, and with the superadded aid of some more extended grammatical treatise, a person of ordinarily good capacity might, we should judge, soon gain an accurate knowledge of the sacred language of the Old Testament.

Some of the points upon which the Introduction touches, are involved in much difficulty, and concerning the true solution of them learned men are not agreed. All these are discussed in a candid and truth-loving spirit;

and the reader, however he may dissent from particular positions, will feel himself benefitted by the perusal of this part of the work. B.

V. PROF. BARROWS'S MEMOIR OF MR. JUDSON.¹

THIS is the biography of a man who was not himself distinguished in the walks of literature, but was successful in giving an impulse to many scholars. His life exhibits the power of religion over the intellect, and of the church over the schools. It illustrates the truth, that Christianity is the foster-parent of good letters.

Mr. Judson was born in Woodbury, Connecticut, December 8th, 1799, was graduated at Yale College in 1826, was for eighteen years minister of the Congregational Church in Milan, Ohio, and died in the bosom of his parish, August 20th, 1848. He was distinguished for his energy of mind, his sound sense, his fervid and devotional spirit, and his success in the pastoral office. He was bold in the promulgation of his opinions; powerful, too stern sometimes, in their defence. He was a practical man. His experience with regard to the various styles of preaching, the various methods of performing pastoral duty, is uncommonly valuable. He was an efficient friend and Trustee of Western Reserve College. He was the founder and chief support of the Huron Institute. "While he was pastor of the church in Milan," says his biographer, "twenty-six young men — all beneficiaries and more or less assisted by him — passed from under his eye to college. Of these, nineteen have already entered the ministry, three have died, and the others are yet in their course of preparation to preach the Gospel. Very many of this number would have devoted their lives to other employments had it not been for his special exertions in their behalf."

The Memoir by Prof. Barrows is eminently frank, honest and faithful. He discloses the faults of his friend and classmate, Mr. Judson, with rare truthfulness. He leaves the decided impression on the reader, that Mr. Judson did not need eulogy; that he could afford to be criticised.

The remarks and quotations of Prof. Barrows on the comparative value of extemporaneous and written discourses, pp. 103—113, and on the suitable topics for the pulpit, pp. 117—129, on the uses of affliction, on "protracted meetings," and various kindred topics, are judicious and timely. The whole Memoir is instructive to clergymen, especially the younger class, as an exhibition of the success which will result from unremitting effort, from struggling against difficulties, from an honest and unremitting desire to do good.

¹ Memoir of Everton Judson, by E. P. Barrows, Jr. Boston: Published by Crocker and Brewster, 47 Washington Street. 1852. pp. 212. 12mo.

ARTICLE X.

SELECT THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE Philosophical Journal of Drs. Fichte and Ulrici has been recently reanimated, and is at the same time to serve as a continuation of the journal commenced last year by Dr. Wirth and others. Dr. Wirth is associated with the former editors in the management of the new journal. The Preface gives the plan which the editors propose to adopt. As a reaction from the intense activity of speculative philosophy a few years ago in Germany, there has recently prevailed great indifference to philosophical studies. Because philosophy did not do all that it promised, it has been thrown aside as useless. The more practical departments of science have engrossed almost exclusive attention. Experience teaches, however, that zeal and efficiency are soon exhausted, unless the speculative and the practical go hand in hand. It is now less prominently the question what school of philosophy shall prevail; than whether speculative philosophy as a science shall maintain its existence. This journal invites the earnest effort of all the friends of speculative science, and will be supported by representatives of all philosophical parties, not for the purpose of controversy, but with the design of promoting the progress of true philosophy by concentrated effort. No. 1 contains an article by Prof. Drabisch, "The objections of Trendelenburg to the Metaphysics of Herbart;" by Prof. Schaller, "Das Wesen der Natur;" by Prof. Chalybæus, "Monadology as the Foundation of Ethics," a letter addressed to Prof. Fichte; and "What hypotheses are admissible in Philosophy?" Fichte's reply; by Weisse, "The Ground of the Right of Possession;" by Fichte, "Religion and the Church as the restorative power of the Present," Art. I.; by Dr. Carrière, "German Philosophy since Hegel's death, and its representatives in the Present;" and by Prof. Ulrici, "The so-called Inductive Logic."

The principal article in the last No. of Niedner's "Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie," is a long and valuable discussion by the editor, of the present tendencies and problems of Dogmatic Theology.

The Tübingen "Jahrbuch" for July contains, from Dr. Baur, "Criticism of the most recent (Hengstenberg's) interpretation of the Apocalypse;" from Hilgenfeld, "The Gospel of Justin;" and from Schwarz, "Critical remarks on Liebner's Dogmatics."

In the Lutheran Quarterly of Rudelbach and Guericke for July, we find a concluding article from Rudelbach on "State-Churchism and religious freedom;" from Guericke, "Versöhnliches über brennende Kirchenfragen der Zeit, Art. I.;" from Prof. Caspari, "Who are the executors of the judgments on Judah and Jerusalem mentioned in Micah?" and from J. Diehl,

"A brief examination of the question, Whether the present so-called Ministerial Office is a Christian one?" together with some sixty pages of critical book notices.

The 4th Heft of the "Studien und Kritiken" contains "The method of the history of doctrines, with special reference to the recent works in this science," by F. Dörtenbach; "Die Schöpfungsthat und das Ebenbild, oder, Genesis, Cap. 1 and 2," by J. G. Staib; "The reformatory and the speculative in the style of thought of the author of 'Deutsche Theologie,'" by Ullmann; "What is the relation in the Scriptures of the Divine revelation to the free mental activity of the sacred authors?" by Köster; a review of Delitzsch on Solomon's Song by Umbreit, of Ritschl on "the Origin of the old Catholic Church" by Kedepinning, and of Jacobi's "Natur Leben und Geistes Leben" by Wächtler; and from Süskind, "Beleuchtung der neuerdings erhobenen Reclamation der Privat-Belichte vor dem Abendmahl."

The prospectus of the "Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," announces as Editor, Prof. Herzog of Halle, and as coöperators, Profs. Hundeshagen, Schenkel, Ullmann and Umbreit of Heidelberg, Müller, Thilo and Tholuck of Halle, Nitzsch and Twisten of Berlin, Gieseler and Lücke of Göttingen, Hagenbach of Basle, Höfling of Erlangen, and others. The Encyclopaedia is intended to present in alphabetically arranged articles, as fully as the space will allow, the results attained by Biblical science in all departments of theology. The active participation of all those is invited, whose scientific cultivation, steadfast faith in the facts and doctrines of Christianity, and sympathy in the weal and woe of the church, dispose in this way to promote the work of the Spirit. The compass of the work is to be about ten volumes of fifty sheets (octavo). Each volume is to appear in ten numbers, and the whole to be completed in the course of five or six years. The first number is announced for September.

In the department of Lexicography, the last quarter gives us Fasc. 6 of Vol. VII. of the new edition of Stephanus's Greek Thesaurus; Passow's "Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache," 5th edition, Vol II. No. 6. pp. 1105—1313. *πρόδους* — *πῶν*; Nos. 6 and 7 of the Latin Lexicon of Klotz; No. 2 of Grimm's German Lexicon (for this work there were 7000 subscribers before the appearance of No. 1), and a 4th revised and enlarged edition of Crusius's Homeric Lexicon.

The contributions to Biblical Exegesis are, a 4th edition of De Wette's Commentary on the Gospel and Epistles of John, revised and enlarged by Dr. B. B. Brückner; a 2nd edition of Hitzig's "Minor Prophets," also a 2nd edition of Hirzel's Job, edited by Prof. Justus Olshausen. Philippi's Commentary on Romans is completed by the appearance of Part III. chap. XII—XVI. Part XII. of Meyer's Commentary on the N. T. contains Luther's "Epistles of Peter and Jude." The 2nd edition of Lücke's "Introduction to the apocalyptic literature in general, and the Apocalypse of John in particular," is completed by the appearance of Part III. From Dr. E. Volckmar we have "The Gospel of Marcion — a review of recent investigations for the determination of the text, and the interpretation of the Gospel

of Luke." Prof. Hupfeld has recently published two programmes with the title "*Commentatio de primitivâ et verâ festorum apud Hebraeos ratione ex legum Mosaicarum varietate eruendâ.*" Of Stier and Theile's Polyglott Bible we have Vol. II. Part II. Nos. 3 and 4. Those works worthy of mention for their development of the early history of the Christian Church and of Christian doctrine in the Early Church are, a work in French by Prof. Reuss of Strasburg, entitled "*The history of Christian Theology in the Apostolical Age,*" 2 vols.; from Prof. Baumgarten of Rostock, "*Apostolical History, or the progressive development of the church from Jerusalem to Rome,*" Vol. I. "*From Jerusalem to Antioch,*" Vol. II. Part 1, "*From Antioch to Corinth;*" and from Prof. H. W. J. Thiersch, "*The history of the Christian Church in Ancient times,*" Vol. I. "*The Church in the Apostolical Age, and the origin of the N. T. Scriptures.*" The first mentioned work introduces its main subject by giving a view of Judaism as it was immediately before the appearance of Christ; Book II. gives the plan and an outline of the doctrines of the Gospel; Book III. The Jewish-Christian Theology; Book IV. The Theology of Paul; Book V. The Theology of John; Book VI. "*Ideas and Parties*" resulting directly or indirectly from the predominance of one or another of the great modifying influences working on the early church. The design of the second work is to save the "*Acts of the Apostles*" from the distinctive negative criticism of the day, and to develop its unity and plan. The work of Prof. Thiersch is prepared from material mostly collected by the author before he was withdrawn from his former sphere of labor by the adoption of Irvingian notions. The name of the author warrants the commendation of the work as one of superior ability and learning.

"Christ, or the doctrine of the Old and New Testament concerning the person of the Redeemer," is the title of a new work by Adolph Schumann, Vol. I. of which has recently appeared. This volume contains the discussion of the Messianic Element in the Old Testament, and the teachings of Christ concerning himself. The doctrine of the Apostles concerning Christ is to follow. The work indicates vigorous and protracted preparation, and will claim to be read in the critical examination of this vital theme.

Ewald's "*History of the Israelitic people,*" is completed by Part 2 of Vol. III. The history is carried down from the exile to the birth of Christ. This era is assumed as the close of the history for the reason that a further advance would involve the discussion of principles and elements which introduce an essentially different period. The preface contains the usual poem from this Ishmael among German theologians.

From F. Larsoe we have "*The Festal letters of Athanasius,*" translated from the Syriac, with notes and preliminary discussions illustrating chronological, geographical and critical questions involved in the text. Vol. VIII. of "*Chrysostom's Homilies on the Epistles of Paul,*" Arnoldi's translation continued by Ph. de Lorenzi has just appeared. Prof. J. L. Jacobi has published a little treatise on the doctrines of the Gnostic philosopher Basilides. Lindner's Church History, Vol. III. Part 1 contains the period A. D. 1517—1648. Vols. 2 and 3 of Ranke's "*History of Germany at the time of the*"

Reformation," have appeared in the new edition. From W. Drumann we have "The Life of Boniface VIII." in 2 vols.; also an appendix to vol. 2 of Baum's "Life of Beza," containing the citations and references. Vols. IV. and V. are added to the Tauchnitz edition of Philo. Of Ritter's "Erdkunde," Theil 16, Abtheilung 1, containing Palestine, has just been published, and of Kramer's Strabo, Vol. III. in the large edition, Vol. II. Part 2 in the smaller. Lepsius's "Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai," which were most of them published in the journals at the time of his expedition, have just been collected in an attractive volume. The magnificent illustrated work, "Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia," exhibiting the fruits of Lepsius's expedition, is coming out as rapidly as possible, thirty-two Parts have been already published. Prof. L. Ross has added to the series of works embodying his observations among the Grecian Islands, "Travels in Cos, Halicarnassus, Rhodes and Cyprus."

In the department of Dogmatics we have to note only Vol. II. of Ebrard's Dogmatics and of J. P. Lange's, Part III. containing "Applied Dogmatics, or Irenics and Polemics." Among philological works we notice the appearance in two beautiful volumes of G. Hermann's *Æschylus*. Also of a third revised and enlarged edition of Forbiger's *Virgil*. Also of the "Fragments of Empedocles of Agrigentum, arranged, revised and commented on by H. Stein." A new edition of Part 1 of Krüger's Greek Grammar has recently appeared. From M. Sachs we have "Contributions to philological and archaeological investigation, mostly from Jewish sources," and from Dr. P. Bötticher a little work "Wurzel Forschungen."

For the "Corpus Scriptorum Byzantinorum" there is now in press Bekker's revision of Michaelis's *Attaliota*. There are to follow Vol. III. of Zonaras, Vol. III. of Nicephorus Gregoras, and Vol. II. of Anna Comnena. These complete the series. There is to follow a literary-historical survey of the Byzantine authors, prepared under the direction of the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences, by a member of the Academy.

The second and last Part of Dr. Kühner's *Xenophon's Anabasis* has been published in the *Bibliotheca Græca*, the whole making a volume of 641 page, 8vo. A map of the route of Cyrus and the Ten Thousand, accompanies the work.

THE NETHERLANDS.

THE Programme of the Society at the Hague for the defence of the Christian Religion is published in Reuter's Repertorium. It proposes the following subjects for 1852: (1) An historical investigation of the nature and origin of the Presbyterian system in the Reformed churches, its changes and its present influence. (2) Pictures from the church history of the Netherlands, in the form of biographies of eminent men, giving a view of the different theological tendencies. (3) The history of Pantheism in its different forms, and a comparison of the pantheistic idea of God with the Christian. For 1853 are assigned: (1) Biblical Cosmogony, its various interpretations, compared with the results of scientific investigation. (2) The epistles of

Ignatius, the origin of the various collections, and their value in giving a view of early Christianity. (3) A religious reading-book, in a form suited to the times, presenting the Gospel as adapted to the reason and the heart, in contrast with the dogmatic and mystic views. (4) How can Home-missionary labor be arranged so as not to interfere with the evangelical view of the clerical office as a priestly office? How far can voluntary societies be made to work in harmony with existing ecclesiastical bodies? (5) A critical and concise sketch of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands. Two subjects are assigned for an indefinite period: a scientific sketch of the literature of "Apologetics," and a comparison of present and former methods of defending Christianity, with the causes and consequences of the differences. Other topics announced are, the Ebionites, the special Revelations of God, Paul's doctrine of Justification, the descent of Christ to Hades. The treatises may be written in Dutch, Latin, French or German. The value of each prize is four hundred gulden.

SWEDEN.

THE Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen are preparing for publication a second volume of their "*Antiquités Russes et Orientales*," on the basis of Scandinavian historical monuments. At a recent meeting of the society, Prof. C. C. Rafa exhibited four Icelandic planispheres of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, showing that the main-land of North America was then known. The Society will soon publish a second volume of its new edition of the *Younger Edda*; a "*Diplomatorium Islandicum*;" and a history of the Orkney and Shetland islands from A. D. 865 to 1231, in the original Icelandic text with an English translation.

GREAT BRITAIN.

A Greek New Testament of high authority is in preparation by S. P. Tregelles, LL. D., to be published by Messrs. Bagster and Sons, London. Dr. Tregelles has already devoted many years to this work, and is at present proceeding with it as fast as the state of his health will permit. The work is to be in the quarto form, and the Greek text to be printed in large Porson type. The Latin version of Jerome is to be printed by the side of the Greek text, on the same page. Under the Greek text are given the various readings which are supported by considerable authority, but in the opinion of the editor, by less than he has received into the text. When completed, it will undoubtedly be one of the most critically edited editions of the Greek Testament ever published. The text is formed on the authority of the oldest Greek MSS. and versions, and thus presents the readings commonly received at the earliest period to which reference can now be had for critical authority. The various readings given are those of *all* the more ancient MSS., most of them collated by the editor himself, in libraries at Rome, Paris, Basle, Munich, Modena, Venice, Hamburg, London and Cambridge; most of the others were collated with published fac-simile editions. The various readings have also been derived from all the ancient versions, and

likewise from citations found in the earlier ecclesiastical writers. The editor has compared his own collations with those made by previous critics, from Dr. Mill onward. At Leipsic he compared his collations with those of Tischendorf, whose edition of the Greek Testament was noticed in our last Number. The materials which have been collected with this unwearied labor, it is expected, will soon be put to press.

Rev. J. E. Riddle and Dr. William Freund are preparing a Copious Latin-English Lexicon, founded on Dr. Andrews's translation of Freund, already published and highly appreciated in this country. The first volume of Freund from which Dr. Andrews's translation was made, was published eighteen years since, and the last one seven years. During a greater part of the time since the publication of the first edition of his Lexicon, Dr. Freund has been engaged in preparing a second edition, which will shortly be published in Germany. The improvements made in this new German edition will be incorporated in the English edition, which Dr. Freund and Rev. Mr. Riddle are now preparing in London.

A new Latin English Lexicon, in one large octavo volume, designed for the higher classes in universities and public schools, is in preparation by Dr. William Smith, the accomplished editor of the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology and Biography, etc.

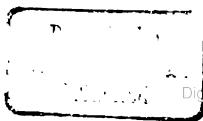
The second volume of Alford's Greek Testament, completing the work, has been published.

Alison, the historian, is preparing a History of Europe from the fall of Napoleon in 1815 to the reëstablishment of a military government in France in 1851. This will properly be a continuation of the author's History of Europe from the French Revolution in 1789 to the battle of Waterloo.

The Memoirs of Robert Haldane, and of his brother James Alexander Haldane, by Alexander Haldane, Esq., have been recently published at Edinburgh, in one 8vo. volume. The work comprises notices of many of the most eminent men, and most remarkable religious movements from the close of the last century to the present time. The *British Banner* says of it: "This is in all respects an extraordinary production. British Biography presents nothing to be compared with it."

ERRATA.

Page 481, last line, for Senanus read *Serranus*; p. 645, l. 12, for Edipa read *Edessa*; l. 19, for Jelliack read *Jellinek*; l. 25, for Idu read *Idee*; p. 649, l. 16, for S. J. read *S. P. Tregelles*; l. 25, for Theopholi read *Theophili*; for Antolycum read *Autolycum*; l. 26, for Worsae (T. T. A.) read *Worsae (J. J. A.)*; p. 651, l. 7, for Willett's Synopsis Papisari read *Willet's Synopsis Papismi*; l. 31, for Sentence read *Sentences*; l. 32, for Complet read *Complectus*; l. 39, for Historie read *Histoire*; p. 652, l. 2, for Bretaque read *Bretagne*; l. 9, for Préce's read *Précis*; l. 13, for fondamentale read *fondamentale*; l. 37, for Sonabe read *Souabe*; p. 653, l. 21, for der read *du*; l. 35, for Quirard read *Querard*; l. 36, for 1837 read 1827; l. 38, for l'Heraire read *Littéraire*; p. 654, l. 22, for Melite read *Melito*; l. 23, for Eugena read *Erigena*; l. 25, for D'Acbery read *D'Achery*; l. 26, for Thesausus read *Thesaurus*.



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